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EDITED BY
N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
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AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.)
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

PART VI

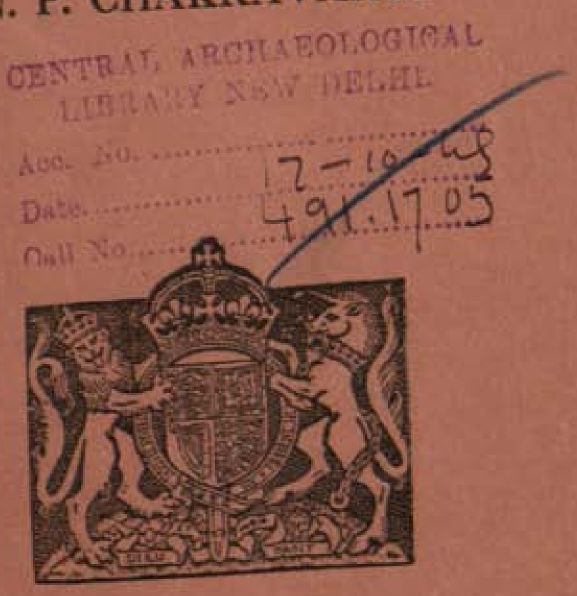
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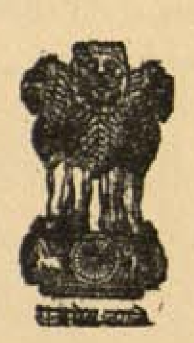
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The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 56, line 7.—*For* पृच्वा *read* पृच्वी.
„ 64, line 7.—*For* sattya *read* sattyā(ya).
„ 65, lines 16-17.—*For* kōśambaḥ *read* kōśāmraḥ(?)
„ 72, line 3.—*For* Śrī-Chadra(ndra) *read* Śrī-Chandra.
„ 78, line 2.—*For* Airavāṭṭa *read* Airāvaṭṭa.
„ do. text line 1.—*For* Ōjjyanī *read* Ōjjayanī.
„ 100, line 1.—*For* [Bha]=rathēśvara *read* [Bha]rathēśvara.
„ 103, f. n. 7.—*For* सस्कृत *read* संस्कृत.
„ 106, f. n. 19.—*For* स्वाधाय *read* स्वाध्याय.
„ 114, f. n. 4.—*For Rāshṭrakuṭas* and *their Times* read *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*
„ 115, last line.—*For* 'si' after date *read* 'is'.
„ 118, f. n. 4.—*For vice versā* read *vice versa.*
„ 131, f. n. 5.—*For* Limakara *read* Himakara.
„ 134, text lines 2-3.—*For* Kuttura *read* Kuttupu.
„ 136, f.n. 9.—*For* Nandivamran *read* Nandivarman.
„ 141, line 3.—*For* Ākasapadda *read* Ākāsapadda.
„ 141, line 11.—*Insert* a comma after Bṛihaspatisava.
„ 141, f. n. 2, line 15.—*Insert* a comma after Kadambas.
„ 142, f. n. 2.—*Supply* the number 2 for this footnote.
„ 154, f. n. 2.—*Read* ' in other ', etc.
„ 163, line 14 from bottom—Insert a comma *after* for.
„ 169, f. n. 9.—*For* f. n. 8 *read* f. n. 1.
„ 171, f. n. 6.—*Supply* the number 6 for this footnote.
„ 181, f. n 4.—*For Nava-āhasāṅkacharita read Navasāhasāṅkacharita.*
„ 199, line 4 from bottom.—*Read* ' . . . . presupposes a large kingdom ', etc.
„ 199, line 2 from bottom.—*For* adminisration *read* administration.
„ 200, text line 10.—*For* कीर्त्तिः *read* कीर्त्तिः.
„ 202, f. n. 1.—*For* kṛityō° *read* kṛityō°.
„ 204 line 30.—*For* Jaika II *read* Jaika I.
„ 207, f. n. 2.—*Read* ' the real spelling, etc. '.
„ 221, f. n. 3.—*Read=ālōky=āti°.*
„ 226, text line 34.—*For* स्मत्तव्यं *read* स्मर्त्तव्यं.
„ 230, line 12 from bottom.—*For* daugher *read* daughter.
„ 236, f. n 3.—*Read* ' Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar . . . Purusgupta '.
„ 237, f. n. 3.—For *bove* read *above* and *for* ·64 a ter No. 66 *read* p. 64.
„ 244, last paras —*For* Panchayat *read* Pañchāyat.
„ 245, line 3.—*For* Panchayat *read* Pañchāyat.
„ 245, *add* at the end of para. 2.—[God Kēśava or Gōpinātha consecrated by a chief or a person or in his name is called after him. The god Mitra-Kēśavadēva may have been originally installed by one Mitra or in his name. See the following instances :—
(1) Kīrti-Gōpināt a installed in the name of one Kīrti (*S. I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 700).
2) Ananta-Gōpinātha temple (No. 299 of 1915 in *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1916)
and (3) Tribhuvanamalla-Kēśavadēva (*S. I. I.*, Vol VI, Nos. 630, 635f.f)——C.R.K.].

Page 270, f. n. 3.—*For* Rāsthṭrakūṭa *read* Rāshṭrakūṭa.
" 275, f. n. 4.—*Insert* 'of' *af er* 'inscription'.
" 283.—The page number ought to be 283 and not 28.
" 292, text line 60.—*For* सामान्येयं *read* सामान्योयं.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXVI.

No. 1.—INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By Dr. H. N. Randle, London.

This is the plate to which Nalini Kanta Bhattasali drew attention in 1927 under the title "The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal,"[1] and its reappearance fully confirms the conclusions reached by Bhattasali on the evidence of a report (fortunately printed in the *Calcutta Gazette*, May 14, 1829) of a meeting of the Asiatic Society held on May 6, 1829.[2] From this it appears that Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, had obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, zamindar of Bhāōyāl and presented it to the Society. Although the 'translation' furnished by the Pandit of the Dacca City Court was, as H. H. Wilson, the Society's Secretary, pointed out, almost entirely a product of his own invention, it included a few proper names which are to be found in the present plate,—Jye Seen (Vijayasēna), Goree Pereah (*Gaurīpriyā*, line 1), Mulla Seen (Vallālasēna ?), the Sybolenee river (Śaivalinī, line 23) and Beer Seen (Vīrasēna, line 6). And the Pandit rightly said that the inscription commences with an "invocation of Narayunu." Wilson recognised it as an ordinary land-grant of a Sēna king, reading the date (really 27, as Bhattasali conjectured) as 37, and remarking that the imperfect condition of the plate rendered it very problematical whether it would hereafter be more satisfactorily deciphered.[3] The plate was forgotten for half a century, until Navīnachandra Bhadra in his *Bhāōyālēr itihāsa* (1875) gave a brief account of the finding of it;[4] and then again forgotten for another half century, until Bhattasali's article appeared in 1927. In 1930 I turned out from a safe in the India Office Library a number of copper-plates, and ascertained that, with three or four possible exceptions, all had been published. The present plate was one of these exceptions. Subsequent

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III (1927), pp. 89-96. I published a preliminary notice of the reappearance of the plate in the same journal, Vol. XV (1939), pp. 300-302, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal then claimed it. It has now been restored to the possession of the Society.

[2] Bhattasali points out that the Asiatic Society's proceedings were not printed before 1821, and again not between 1827 and 1829. In 1829 they were printed in the monthly "*Gleanings of Science*", which, however, may not have included the May proceedings.

[3] Wilson did not allow for the subsequent discovery of other similar plates which supplement the imperfections of this one.

[4] The relevant passage is at p. 26. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. R. H. Williams, Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library, for the following translation. "At Bhāōyāl, amongst the Chaṇḍāls was a certain Chāshā Nāgarī who was accustomed to do accounts and had even procured some books. Some time previously he had found a copper-plate with some characters on it, opposite the afore-mentioned hermitage of Maghī. At the instance of a zamīndār who formerly lived in the place, the late Mahātmā Golāk Nārāyaṇa Rāya Chaudhurī, many attempts were made to read this inscription, but no one was able to identify it. It was sent to a certain learned Englishman of Dacca; but there too no one was able to decipher it, so it was forwarded to Calcutta. Again in that city no one could read it, so at last it has been sent to England".

examination, in the light of Bhattasali's article, has convinced me that it is the **Bhowal** (Bhāōyāl) **copper-plate.** In view of the fact that H. H. Wilson was afterwards Librarian to the East India Company, it is not difficult to suppose that it came to the East India House with him.

Walters' account of the find-spot of the plate is as follows :—" About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala, and a short distance from the banks of the river Luck'iah, is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to pergunnah Bhowal, and included in the modern division of thannah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill, stands an ancient building called by the natives Moggee's Mut (*Maghir maṭha*). It is built in the usual pyramidal form of Hindoo *muts*, but of considerable solidity, and contains a small vaulted apartment . . . Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude . . . At a distance of about two miles to the north-west of the *mut* stood the palace of Raja Chandal . . . A large tank called Dunwa Digee, and the scattered remains of old brick buildings, evince that the spot was once the habitation of man. . About forty years ago the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch ryot, at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal zemindar, Luckhenarain Rae, from whose son, Golucknarain Rae it has now been obtained ". These topographical clues should be sufficient, but they are not in fact easily intelligible to a person using modern maps and gazetteers, since Bhowal and "Mowza Rajabary" are unknown to the Gazetteers and are not to be found on modern maps, while the Jamalpur of modern maps is not 30 miles but 90 miles to the north-west (not north) of Dacca. The distance from Dacca, and proximity to the river Lakhya or Lakshya remain the only useful pointers to modern maps. The Lakhya figures on the maps[1] as the name of that stretch of river which runs roughly north and south through the Kāliganj and Rūpganj sections of the Dacca District. Older maps are helpful, and the map of the western districts of the Dacca Division contained in Volume V of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* (1875) marks in the Dacca district of the division, " Jaidebpur or Bhowal ", and " Bhowal or Nagari ". There is no doubt that the former locality is the relevant one as the names of zamindars mentioned in Mr. Walters' account show.[2] The plate must have been found in the extreme north of the Dacca District—since Walters located Mowza Rajabary 30 miles north of Dacca[3]—and must then have been brought to Jaydebpur (otherwise called Bhowal). The *thāna* Kapasia appears to be indicated as the locality of the find. An account of Bhowal and " Capassia " will be found in James Taylor's *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840, pp. 110-118).

The India Office plate is a **single plate** measuring $13\frac{3}{4} \times 12$ inches, weighing 7 lbs., and having 59 lines incised upon it, 30 on the obverse and 29 on the reverse. The **seal**, projected from the top edge in the shape of an inverted shield or heart, carries the usual Sēna device, the image of Sadāśiva, 3 inches in diameter, fixed by a stout central bolt almost $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter which projects about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch on the reverse. There is a certain amount of corrosion, which affects especially the proper right side of the reverse, so that the first ten or twelve *aksharas* of many lines in the latter half of the inscription are more or less illegible. But (as Bhattasali had rightly conjectured)

[1] See Survey map-sheets of Bengal (1 mile to the inch—1919), 78. L. 12 and 79. I. 9.

[2] See *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers*, Dacca (1912), pp. 183 f., under Jaydebpur.

[3] As to Walters' " thannah Jamalpore ", which included the " pergunnah Bhowal ", Bengal map-sheet 79. I. 9 shows a Jamalpur and a Jamalpur Chak near and on the Lakhya river in the Kāliganj part of Dacca District. Neither appears on Hunter's map ; but Jumalpoor is marked as the headquarters of a *thana* on the map in *Principal heads of the history and statistics of the Dacca Division* (Calcutta, 1868). The same map shows " Joydebpoor or Bhowal " some 12 miles west of Jumalpoor, and Kapasia some 30 miles north of Dacca. Ekdalla is marked about 5 miles north-east of Jumalpoor.

this plate so closely resembles the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakshmaṇasēna[1] that the *lacunæ* over a large part of it can be supplied from the Mādhāinagar plate. In fact Banerji's and Majumdar's reading and translation of that part of the Mādhāinagar plate which is identical with lines 1-24, 27-34, 43-45 and 49-57 of the present plate render a fresh reading and translation of these passages superfluous, except in so far as the India Office plate happens to supply *lacunæ* in the Mādhāinagar plate. But it seemed more convenient to transcribe and translate the whole. The engraver seems to have made no mistakes in reproducing his copy, although he was not always careful in forming his characters. The usual ambiguities (*r, v, ch* ; *ś, p, g* ; *h, ṅg* ; *dh, p, y* ; some conjuncts ; and vowel marks) therefore present occasional difficulty, and (in combination with the effects of corrosion) make the reading of some characters, especially in unfamiliar place-names, open to doubt.

The deed was issued by the *Mahārājādhirāja Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara* **Lakshmaṇasēna-dēva** (lines 28 and 57-8). The name of the place of issue has been doubtfully read in the Mādhāinagar grant as **Dhāryyagrāma**. In the present plate it is again doubtful (line 24). The grant is **dated** on the 6th day of the month Kārttika in the **year 27**, and was executed by **Śaṅkaradhara**, the *Gauḍa-Mahāsāndhivigrahika* as *dūta* (lines 57-59). It is a conveyance of land to *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhadēva-śarman**, son of Mahādēva[dēva]-śarman, grandson of Jayadēva-śarman and great-grandson of Buddhadēva[?]-śarman, of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna *pravaras*, a follower of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Sāma-vēda (lines 45-7). The motive of the gift is to win merit for the *Mahādēvī* ..**pādēvī** and the *Mahādēvī* **Kalyāṇadēvī** (line 48)[2]. The land conveyed consists of two adjacent estates, of the annual value of 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas*, in the **Pauṇḍravardhana-bhukti**, one at least (possibly both) being in the **Vaṭumbī** *chaturaka* of the **Vāśchaśa** (?) *āvṛitti* of that *bhukti*. Both portions of land have as their southern boundary Jaladāṇḍi, while the village Khāvōlāpāṇḍi forms the eastern boundary of one and the western boundary of the other. That on the west is bounded on the north and west by the Suja-nadī(?). That on the east (which perhaps fell in a different *chaturaka*) is bounded on the north by Valēṅgavēnada[3] (?), and on the east by Siṁhaḍāvillī (?), by the southern part of Kaimajagrāvāḍī (?) and apparently by a water-exit. The lands conveyed comprised four part-estates (*khaṇḍa-kshētra*) named **Kavillī, Chuñchalī, Gāṇḍōlī** and **Dēhipā**. Measurements are given, but they are not intelligible. There is possibly a reference to a 22-*hasta* unit of measurement. I cannot identify on the maps any of the places named ; but the find-spot may indicate that they are to be looked for in the north of the Dacca District.

The invocation and genealogy in thirteen stanzas, identical with those of the Mādhāinagar inscription, occupy the first 23 lines of the plate. The remainder is in prose, with the exception of the *dharm-ānuśaṁsinaḥ ślōkāḥ* (vv. 14-19)[4] which are given precisely as in the Mādhāinagar plate up to the point to which that plate is legible. The list of officials addressed corresponds in every respect with that found in other Sēna grants. But the amplification of Lakshmaṇasēna's titles which occupies six lines in the Mādhāinagar plate is here reduced to two lines (lines 26 and 27, probably corresponding to two of the three illegible lines in the Mādhāinagar plate). Lakshmaṇasēna is described in both plates as *Gauḍēśvara-paramēśvara-paramanārasiṁha-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, but the present plate omits the description of him (given in

[1] Edited by R. D. Banerji, with facsimile, in *J. P. A. S. B.*, new series, Vol. 5 (1909), pp. 467-476 ; and by N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 106-115 (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929).

[2] [See below p. 9 n. 3.—Ed.]

[3] [See below p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

[4] [and a verse introducing the *dūta* (v. 20).—Ed.]

lines 30-32 of the Mādhāinagar plate) as *paramadīkshita*, *parama-brahmakshatriya*, *vikalīkṛita*-**Kaliṅga**[1] and *vikrama-vaśīkṛita*-**Kāmarūpa**. It does not seem, however, that the omission here has any significance. The references to **Kaliṅga** and **Kāmarūpa**[2] made in the verse *praśasti* (lines 19 and 20) were presumably regarded as a sufficient record.

The **date** of the inscription, if Lakshmaṇasēna's reign was *c.* 1170-1200 A.D.[3], must be fixed at **c. 1197 A. D.**, and therefore very near the time of his overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. And this dating[4] cannot be far wrong if we accept—as I think we must—the solid evidence of four passages in Vallālasēna's *Adbhuta-sāgara*[5] (not to mention the colophon found in late MSS. of the royal author's *Dāna-sāgara*),[6] which give *Śaka* dates for the commencement of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (1090=1168-69 A.D.), for the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* (1091=1169-70 A.D.), and for the early part (not necessarily the first year) of Vallālasēna's[7] reign (1082=1160-61 A.D.). There is

[1] As read by Majumdar. Banerji reads *-kalaṅka*.

[2] Here called Prāgjyōtisha.

[3] The doubts which have arisen about Lakshmaṇasēna's date are due to difficulties in the interpretation of two eras (used later but never by the Sēnas themselves):

(*a*) the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat*, which Kielhorn determined as commencing in 1118-19 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 1).

(*b*) the *atīta-rājya Lakshmaṇasēna* era used in Aśōkachalla's inscriptions.

As to (*a*) there was never any real reason for Kielhorn's very natural assumption that 1118-19 A.D. was the date of Lakshmaṇasēna's accession. The question whether it is to be taken as the date of his birth or as the date of Vijayasēna's accession, or as the date of some other landmark in Sēna history, is still *sub judice*. But, whatever the solution may be, it need not prevent the supposition that Lakshmaṇasēna's reign commenced *c.* 1170 A.D.

As to (*b*), the interpretation of the *atīta-rājya* era as commencing from the overthrow of Lakshmaṇasēna is in itself the obvious interpretation, and it seems to fit in with facts and probabilities. Contrary views are mentioned in the following note.

[4] Maintained by R. C. Majumdar, 'Chronology of the Sena Kings', in *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII (1921), pp. 7-16, and D. C. Bhattacharyya, 'Date of Lakshmaṇasena and his predecessors', in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 145-148 and 153-158. The contrary opinion is maintained by R. D. Banerji in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 277. He holds that the *Lakshmaṇa saṁvat* era (1118-19 A.D.) dates from the *accession* of Lakshmaṇasēna and that the Aśōkachalla inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 27) dated in years 51 and 74 of the *Lakshmaṇa atīta-rājya* era refer to the same epoch, their dates being therefore equivalent to 1169-70 A.D. and 1192-3 A.D. For a later discussion of the problem see P. C. Barat in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 1-9. Barat gives four passages from the *Adbhuta-sāgara* which take 1090 *Śaka* as the initial date for various calculations; and each passage mentions that this is the year in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was commenced. It seems quite impossible to reject this evidence. Barat's readjusted chronology is:—

Vijayasēna b. 1069 acc. 1095 died or retired 1158
Vallālasēna b. 1094 acc. 1158 died or retired 1168
Lakshmaṇasēna b. 1119 acc. 1168 died or retired 1182

The scheme is acceptable with the exception of the last date. The present plate shows that Lakshmaṇasēna ruled 27 years at least. Minhāj ibn Sirāj in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* states that "Rai Lakhminya" had been on the throne for eighty years when he was attacked by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār at Nadiya. Minhāj's statement must mean that Lakshmaṇasēna was then 80 years old. This would date the attack in 1198-99 A.D.

[5] D. C. Bhattacharyya, *loc. cit.*, gives the reference to the passages in Muralīdhar Jhā's edition of the *Adbhutasāgara* (Benares, 1905), pp. 4, 125, 235 and 236.

[6] See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI (1915), p. 347.

[7] The length of the reign of Vijayasēna (Vallālasēna's predecessor) depends on the reading and interpretation of the date in his Barrackpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 282). Banerji read it as 32, Bhattacharyya as 61. Bhandarkar (*List*, No. 1683; p. 236, note 1) accepts the reading 61, but suggests that the year could be referred to the Chālukya-Vikrama era, giving 1137-8 A.D. as a date for Vijayasēna. Bhandarkar's suggestion will not fit in with the date given in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (=1160-61 A.D.) for the early part of Vallālasēna's reign.

then no difficulty in accepting the tradition that it was in fact this Lakshmaṇasēna, and no other, whose overthrow by Muḥammad Bakhtiyār is related in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*,—an event variously dated from 1194 to 1207 A.D.[1]

TEXT.[2]

Obverse.

1 Siddham[3] [|*] Ōṁ namō Nārāyaṇāya || Yasy=āṅkē śarad-ambud-ōrasi taḍil-lēkh=ēva Gaurī priyā dēh-ārddhēna [Hariṁ samā]śritam=a[bhū]d=yasy=āti-

2 chitraṁ vapuḥ | dīpt-ārkka-dyuti-lōchana-traya-ruchā ghōraṁ dadhānō mukhaṁ dēvas=tvāṁ sa nirasta-dānava-gajaḥ pushṇātu Pañchānanaḥ || [1*][4] Svar-gGa-

3 ṅgā-jala-puṇḍarīkam=amṛita-prāvāra[5]-dhārā-gṛihaṁ śṛiṅgāra-druma-pushpam=Īśvara-śikh-ālaṅkāra-muktā-maṇiḥ | kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-jī-

4 vitaṁ kumudinī-vṛind-aika-vaihāsikō[6] jīyān=Manmatha-rājya[7]-paushṭika-mahā-śānti-dvijaś=chandramāḥ || [2*][8] Tribhuvana-jaya-sambhṛi-

5 t-ārtha[9]-kḷiptaiḥ kratubhir=avārita[10]-sattriṇō=’marāṇām | ajanishata tad-anvayē dharitrī-valaya-viśṛiṅkhala-kīrttayō narēndrāḥ || [3*][11]

6 Paurāṇībhiḥ kathābiḥ prathita-guṇa-gaṇē **Vīrasēnasya** vaṁśē **Ka[rṇṇāṭa**-kshatri-] yāṇām=ajani kula-śirō-dāma

7 **Sāmantasēnaḥ** | kṛitvā nirvīram=urvvī-talam=a[dhika]tarām[12] tṛipyatā nāka-nadyā-[ṁ nirṇṇi]ktō yēna [yudhyad-ripu-rudhira]-kaṇ-ā-

8 kīr[ṇṇ]a-dhāraḥ kṛipāṇaḥ || [4*][13] Vīrāṇām=adhidaivataṁ ripu-[chamū]-mār-ā[ṅka-ma]lla-vratas=tasmā[d]=vismayanīya-[śaurya-]ma[h]i[mā]

9 **Hēmantasēnō**=’bhavat | kshīrōd-ādha[r]a-vā[s]asō Vasumatī-dēvyā yadīyaṁ yaśō ratnasy=ēva [Su]mēru-mauli-mi-

10 lita[ṁ] kshauma-śriyaṁ pushyati || [5*][14] Ajani **Vijayasēnas**=tējas[ā]ṁ rāśir=asmāt samara-vi[sṛima]rāṇ[āṁ] bhūbhṛitām=ē-

11 ka-śēshaḥ [|*] iha jagati vishēhē yēna vaṁśasya pūrvvaḥ purusha iti sudhāṁśau kēvala[ṁ] rāja-śav(b)daḥ || [6*][15] Bhū-chakraṁ

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[1] See Raverty's translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Work No. 78, published in 1881), pages 554-558. Raverty (footnote, p. 559) argues for the date 1194. From the side of Sēna chronology a date near 1198 would seem to be indicated.

[2] Square brackets are used to indicate what is illegible but has been supplied. Round brackets indicate a necessary emendation. A single dot enclosed within square brackets indicates an illegible element in an *akshara*.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[5] The Mādhāinagar plate has *-prādāra-*. I find no authority for either word. [Probably we have to take *prā-vṛi* here in the sense of 'to fill'. See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under *prā-vṛi*.—Ed.]

[6] Mādhāinagar *-vaihāsakō.*

[7] Mādhāinagar *-rāja-.*

[8] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[9] This is the reading also in Mādhāinagar.

[10] Mādhāinagar *-avādhita-*. [Reading in M. also seems to be *-avārita-*.—Ed.]

[11] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.*

[12] [Reading both here and in Mādhāinagar is clearly *=api na tarāṁ tṛipyatā*, *i.e.*, not being fully satisfied even after, etc.—Ed.]

[13] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[14] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[15] Metre : *Mālinī.*

12 kiyad=ētad=āvṛitam=abhūd=yad=Vāmanasy=āṁghriṇā Nāgānāṁ kiyad=āspadaṁ yad[1]=urasā la[ṅgh]anti[2] gūḍhāṅghrayaḥ | ēk-āhā-[3]

13 d=yad=anūrur=añchati kiyan-mātraṁ tad=apy=amva(mba)ra[ṁ] yasy=ēt=īva yaśō hriyā tribhuvana-vyāptyā=pi[4] nō tṛipyati || [7*][5] Tasmād=aśē[sha-]

14 bhuvan-ōtsava-pārvvaṇ-ēndur[6]=v**Vallālasēna**-jagatīpatir=ujjagāma | yaḥ kēvalaṁ na khalu sarvva-[narē]śvarāṇām=ēkaḥ sa-

15 magra-vidushām[7]=api chakravartti(ī)[8] || [8*][9] Parāpar[10]-āntaḥpura-mauli-ratnaṁ[11] **Chālukya**-bhūpāla-kul-ē[ndu-lē]khā | tasya[12] [priy=ābhū-]

16 d=va(ba)humāna-bhūmir=lLakshmī-Pṛithivyōr=api **Rāmadēvī** || [9*][13] Ētābhyāṁ[14] Vasudēva-Dēvakasu[tā]-dēh-āntarā[bhyā]m=iva [śrī]mal-**La-**

17 **kshmaṇasēna**-mūrttir=ajani kshmāpāla-Nārāyaṇaḥ | chakrē[15] yan-maya-janma-nissaha-milan-nidrāndha-vach-cha[ñchalāt | kṛi-][16]

18 shṭēn=ādhi-payōdhi kañchakam=iva [tyaktvā?] pramu[gdhaṁ] vapuḥ ||[17] [10*][18] Dṛipyad-[19] **Gauḍēśvara**-śri-haṭha-haraṇa-kalā yasya kaumā-

19 ra-kēliḥ **Kāliṅgēn**=āṅganābhiḥ[20] pratipada ◡ dhadāś=chakrirē[21] yasya yūnaḥ | yēn=āsau **Kāśirājaḥ** samara-

20 bhuvi jitō yasya nistriṁśa[22]-dhārā-bhīruḥ **Prāgjyōtishēndraś**=charaṇa-[23]ja-rajasā nirmmamē kārmmaṇāni || [11*][24] Ā-kau-

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[1] Mādhāinagar reading doubtful, and unintelligible. Banerji reads *āsyadarpam*, Majumdar *ābhyudaryam*. The India Office plate is clear and intelligible.

[2] The illegible *akshara* is so read by Majumdar in the Mādhāinagar plate. Banerji reads *lapsanti*.

[3] So read by Banerji in the Mādhāinagar plate. Majumdar reads *ēkāhō*, remarking that the sign for *ō* is not clear, but seems to be intended.

[4] Majumdar reads °*naṁ vyāpy=ā*°, Banerji °*na-vyāpy=ā*°. *Vyāptyā* is clear on this plate.

[5] Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[6] Mādhāinagar *kāraṇēndur*. *Pārvvaṇēndur* is clear on this plate.

[7] Mādhāinagar *virudhām*. India Office plate clearly *vidushām*.

[8] Mādhāinagar °*vartī*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] The India Office plate appears to read *parāparā*°, not *dharādharā*° as in the Mādhāinagar plate. [Obviously the intended reading is *dharādhar-āntaḥpura*.—Ed.]

[11] Mādhāinagar *ratna-*. The India Office plate shows clearly the *anusvāra* which the metre demands.

[12] *Tasya* is clear. Majumdar's reading *tasyā* must be mistaken.

[13] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[14] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[15] These two syllables, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are fairly clear here. But a mark attached to *ya*° suggests *dya*°. If it is not accidental, *rakshēd* must be read.

[16] Mādhāinagar reads °*milad=vimbānuvachchhañchalāt=kri*°. The India Office plate clearly has °*milan=ni*°. What follows is only partly legible, and remains unintelligible. [Reading seems to be *-ānuva(ba)ndha-chchhalāt*.—Ed.]

[17] The India Office plate is more legible than the Mādhāinagar plate, but I have failed to obtain an intelligible reading.

[18] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[19] These two *aksharas*, apparently illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are quite clear here. Majumdar reads *āsīd*.

[20] So also the Mādhāinagar plate. The remainder of this *pāda* is illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, except the last three *aksharas*, read as *-vē yasya pūrvvaḥ*. The India Office plate, but for one *akshara*, is legible. The last word cannot be *pūrvvaḥ*. [See next note.—Ed.]

[21] [Reading seems to be *pratipadam=uva(pa)dāś=chakrirē*. The idea is that the king of **Kalinga** accompanied by his wives often presented gifts to him (*even*) when the latter was young.—Ed.]

[22] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[23] Illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[24] Metre *Sragdharā* (not *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, as inadvertently stated by Majumdar).

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

Obverse.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ONE-HALF SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 1999 E'40—275.

Reverse.

21 māraṁ samara-jayinā kurvvat=ōrvvīm=avīrām=ētēn=āmī katham=iva diśām=ī[ś]itārō vimuktāḥ[1] [a]shṭa[.]aṅgē[2] va-

22 pushi kalayā tasya tē=shṭau pravishṭāḥ pra[dhva]stēti[3] prabhavati na hi kshattriyāṇāṁ kṛipāṇaḥ[4] || [12*][5] Yatr=ārāma-druma-dala-[ru-]

23 chā **Śaivaliny**=arddha-śṛiṅgāḥ [pra]syandy-ambhō-janapada[6]-guṇair=yēshu [r]ōmāñchitā bhūḥ | prāṇān muñchanty=avanipatayō

24 nō cha naryān=anēna grāmās=tē tē sapadi dadirē kōṭiśaḥ śāsanāni[7] || [13*][8] Tē khalu........**grāma**[9]-parisara-sa-

25 māvā[sit]a-[10]śrīma[j-jaya-skandh]āvārā[t] paramēśvara-parama-Vai[shṇ]ava-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā[jādhirā]ja-śrī-**Vallā**-

26 **lasēna**-dēva-pādānudhyā[ta-] vi....ra-jagad-dhanya-Ma[ṁ]dara-pramathita-sōma[11]-sama-rasāgara-samās-āditya-Śrī[.] Lakshm=īva[12] **Sē-**

27 **na**-kula-kuśēsha(śa)ya-vikāsa-vāsarakara[13]-**Gauḍēśvara**-paramēśvara-parama - Nārasiṁha-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārā-

28 jādhirāja-śrīmal-**Lakshmaṇasēna**-dēva-pādā vijayinaḥ | samupagat-āśēsha-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñī-rā[ṇaka-rā]-

29 japutra-rājāmātya-mahāpurōhita-mahādharmmādhyaksha-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahāsēnāpati-mahāmudrādhi[kṛi]-

30 t-āntaraṅga - v(b)ṛihaduparika - mahākshapaṭalika - mahāpratīhāra - mahābhō[gika - mahā-] pīlupati-mahāgaṇastha-dauḥ-

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[1] These two *pādas*, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate, are fortunately clear.

[2] First *akshara* illegible. The omitted character in the third *akshara* looks legible but I have failed to identify it. The metre requires a conjunct consonant. [Possibly *ashṭa-prāṅgē* and used as qualifying *vapushi*.—Ed.]

[3] [Reading may be *prahvībhūtē*.—Ed.]

[4] In these two *pādas* again the India Office plate supplies the *lacunæ* in the Mādhāinagar plate.

[5] Metre *Mandākrāntā*.

[6] [I would read *Śaivaliny=ūr[d]dhva[gaṅgā] sasya-vyājā[j*]=janapada*.—Ed.]

[7] The India Office plate supplies with certainty the last four syllables of the first *pāda*, and (less certainly) the whole of the second *pāda*. It supplies the second half of the third *pāda* and the whole of the fourth *pāda*, illegible in the Mādhāinagar plate. *Naryān* however remains unintelligible. [Reading is *naryāv=anēna*, *naryau* meaning the two objects of human desire, *viz.*, heaven and earth.—Ed.]

[8] Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

[9] Majumdar reads *nirgatē khalu Dhāryyagrāma-*, etc. It seems clear that the India Office plate follows the Mādhāinagar plate in this line. But *ni* is followed by a punctuation mark, apparently read as "*rga*" by Majumdar. The *akshara* following the punctuation mark can only be read, with Majumdar, as *tē*. It is the demonstrative pronoun anticipating *Lakshmaṇasēnadēva-pādāḥ* in line 28. The place-name may be the same as in the Mādhāinagar plate. As it stands I should read *Phupphagrāma*. But corrosion produces such strange effects that what now looks like *Phu* might once have been *Dhā*. Superscript *r* easily disappears, so that the second *akshara* might be *-ryya*.

[10] From this point up to the word *Gauḍēśvara* in line 27 the Mādhāinagar version, so far as legible, differs widely from the present inscription. These two and a half lines (25-27) of the India Office plate replace no less than seven lines (25-32) in the Mādhāinagar plate (three of which are altogether illegible). The lines omitted in the India Office plate include references to Lakshmaṇasēna as having "crippled" Kaliṅga and subdued Kāmarūpa

[11] [To me the reading appears to be *°dhyātō nija-bhuja-......Maṁdara-pramathit-āśēsha-*.—Ed.]

[12] [Correct reading is *samāsādita-Gauḍa-Lakshmīka-*.—Ed.]

[13] For the preceding phrase compare the Edilpur grant of Kēśavasēna, line 41, *Sēna-kula-kamala-vikāsa-bhāskara*. From the word *Gauḍēśvara* up to the middle of line 34 the present inscription is identical with the corresponding part (line 33-39) of the Mādhāinagar plate.

Reverse.

31 sādhi[ka]-chaurō[ddha]raṇika-nau-va(ba)la-hasty-aśva-gō-mahish-āj- āvik - ādi - vyāpṛitaka-gaulmika-daṇḍapāśi-

32 ka-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapaty-ādīn[1] anyāṁś=cha sakala-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinō='dhyaksha-prachār-ōktān=ih=ākīrtti-

33 tān chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-jātīyān janapadān kshētrakarān vrā(brā)hmaṇān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān yath-ārhaṁ mānayanti vō(bō)dha-

34 [yanti] samādiśanti cha matam=astu bhavatām yathā śrī-**Pauṇḍravarddhana**-bhukty-antaḥpāti-**Vāśchaś**-āvṛitty[2]-antarggata-**Vaṭumvī**[3]-chatu-

35 rakē pūrvvē **Khāvōlāpāṇḍiḥ**[4] sīmā | dakshiṇē **Jaladāṇḍi**[5][ḥ] sīmā | paśchimē **Sujanadī**[6] sīmā | uttarē=pi tathā

36 [sīmā | ittha]ñ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ **Kavillī–Chuñchalī–Gāṇḍōlī–Dēhipā**[7] -khaṇḍa-kshētra-samēta-Vāpa[8]-

37 ....chaturakē pūrvē[9] [Tr]aḍapāsalamvanni[10]-bhū-sūtra-dvayaṁ Siṁhaḍāvillī tathā Kaimajagrāvāḍī[11] paśchima-kā-

38 ṇḍas=tathā..............jiprastarīya[12]-chatuḥ-sūtra[13]-bhūs=taj-jala-nirggama-jāśraḥ[14] sīmā dakshiṇē Jaladāṇḍiḥ sīmā

39 paśchimē Khāvō[lāpāṇḍiḥ[15] sī]mā | uttarē Valēṅgavēnadaḥ[16] sīmā | itthañ=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnō mā-

40 ....makēśa-dēva-dēśaḥ | ittham=ētāv=upari-likhita-bhū-sīm-āvachchhinnau [|][17] dvāviṁśati-hastē-

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[1] The initial vowel follows. There is a tendency to separate the different categories in this list by not applying *sandhi*, and by using a punctuation mark (a dot or short upright line).

[2] *Vāśchaśa* is an improbable name. The second *akshara* remains doubtful. And, but for the fact that *āvṛitti* is always read in Sēna plates as the name of an administrative division of land I should have read the last three *akshara* as °*śī-vṛitty*-.

[3] *Vaṭumvī(mbī)* seems clear.

[4] This is clear. The same name appears to occur in line 39, in describing the western boundary of the second lot of land granted.

[5] This is clear. The name recurs in line 38, in describing the southern boundary of the second lot of land granted.

[6] Reading doubtful. The character read *d* could be *h* or *ḍ*.

[7] I take these to be the names of four separate *khaṇḍa-kshētras*, and I find confirmation for this assumption in the phrase *khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatushṭaya* in line 42. The names are quite legible. [There appears to be a *daṇḍa* after each name.—Ed.]

[8] Perhaps *Rīpa*°.

[9] There is no trace of the doubling of *v*.

[10] This appears to give the name of a field. I am indebted to the Editor for the reading *bhū-sūtra-dvayaṁ Siṁhaḍāvillī*.

[11] [To me the reading appears to be *Chēmaḍagrāvaṭī*.—Ed.]

[12] This seems to conceal a place-name.

[13] The partly obliterated mark below the character *s* is probably *ū*. But the meaning of *sūtra* remains obscure in such a compound.

[14] *-jāśraḥ* conveys no meaning to me, but I cannot read it in any other way. [To me the reading appears to be *jāsaḥ* for Skt. *yānaḥ*.—Ed.]

[15] What remains legible suggests this reading. The same village has been mentioned above, line 35.

[16] [Reading seems to be *Vānahāra-nadaḥ* which may be identical with the river *Bānār*, N. N. E. of Jaydevpur.—Ed.]

[17] The mark which I have taken as a punctuation sign is an unusual angular mark.

41 [na parimitaḥ][1]..............................va-bhū-samēta-kākinō dvāviṁśati-yashṭy-adhika-pādik-ōpēta-drōṇik-ānvita-

42 ....daśa..........................kau saṁvatsarēṇa kapardaka-purāṇa-śata-chatushṭay-ōtpattikau khaṇḍa-kshētra-chatushṭaya-sa-

43 [mē]ta-..kiyad=ēka-bhū-bhāgau sa-jhāṭa-viṭapau sa-jala-sthalau sa-gar[tt-ōsha-

44 rau sa-guvāka-nārikēlau sahya-daś-āpa]rādhau parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍāv=a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēśāv=a-kiñchi[t-pra-]

45 [grāhyau tṛiṇa-yūti-gō]chara[-paryantau Buddha]dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Jaya-dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Mahādēva-

46 [dēva]śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Maudgalya-sa-gōtrāya Aurvva-Chyavana-Bhārggava-Jāma-dagny-Āpnavāna-pravarāya[2] Sāma-vēda-Kauthuma-

47 śā[khā]-charaṇ-ā[nudhyāyi]nē **Pāṭhaka**-śrī-**Padmanābhadēva**śarmmaṇē pu[ṇyē=ha]ni vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ bhagava-

48 [ntaṁ śrīman-Nā]rāyaṇa-bha[ṭṭāra]kam=uddiśya mahādēvī-........**pādēvī**-[3]mahādēvī-**Kalyāṇadēvy[ō]ḥ**[4] [puṇya-prā]pti-ni-

49 [mittaṁ]..samastēna śata-chatushṭay-ōtpattikāṁ bhūmim=utsṛijy=ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāva-

50 [d=bhūmi-chchhidra-]nyāyēna tāmra-śāsanīkṛi[tya pra]dattāv=asmābhiḥ | tad=bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=ēv=ānumantavyaṁ | bhāvi-

51 [bhir=api nṛipa]tibhir=apaharaṇē naraka-pāta-bhayāt pālanē dharmma-gauravāt śāsanam=idaṁ pālanīyam [|] bhava-

52 nti ch=ātra dharmm-ā[nuśaṁsinaḥ] ślōkāḥ | Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | u[bhau tau] puṇya-ka[rmmā]ṇau ni-

53 yataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya[dā bhūmis=] ta[sya tasya] tadā

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[1] If *-na* is present it is a subsequent addition above the line; *parimitaḥ* is vaguely outlined on the damaged surface, I think. But the reading is conjectural.

[2] I owe the reading of the fifth *pravara*-name to the Editor. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali had suggested that either *Vātsya* or *Sāvarṇa* is required as the *gōtra*, in view of the first four *pravaras*. At that time the name of the fifth *pravara* had not been read.

[3] In this name the first *akshara* is so ambiguous that I do not venture to read it. It must give the name of one of the two queens. The first *akshara* resembles *Śri*; but this gives no intelligible name. It is possible that an initial vowel has combined by *sandhi* with the last vowel in *mahādēvī*. [The correct reading is *Śri(Śrī)yādēvī*, a name not unfamiliar in inscriptions. A Telugu inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma, dated Śaka 1050, mentions Śrīyyādēvī, the *mahādēvī* of Anantavarman(-Chōḍagaṅga), (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1195). Another Telugu record in the temple of Kēśavasvāmin, on a hill near Konidena, dated Śaka 1075 gives Śrīyā-mahādēvī as the name of the mother of the Telugu Chōḍa chief, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tribhuvanamalladēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 634).—Ed.]

[4] I have no doubt that two queens are meant. The termination, as the plate now stands, looks like the singular (*Kalyāṇadēvyāḥ*); but there is room for the additional stroke which would turn this into *-dēvyōḥ*. Unfortunately, the names found in other plates for Lakshmaṇasēna's consorts are diversely read. In the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 25) Banerji reads Taṭṭaṇadēvī, Majumdar *Tyashṭaṇadēvī*. In the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna (line 23) Majumdar read the name of Lakshmaṇasēna's other consort as *Chāndrādēvī*, but in the Madanapāḍā plate of Viśvarūpasēna (line 21) he reads it as *Tāḍādēvī*, while Vasu reads *Tāndrādēvī*. [I would read the name of the queen in l. 25 of the Sāhitya Parishad plate as *śrīmaty=Alhaṇadēvī*. The name of the queen in l. 21 of the Madanapāḍā plate is certainly Tāḍādēvī as read by Majumdar. If the name read as Chāndrādēvī in the Edilpur plate of Kēśavasēna l. 23, is identical with Tāḍādēvī, which appears possible, the Sēna records so far known have furnished the names of at least four queens of Lakshmaṇasēna, *viz.*, Śriyādēvī, Kalyāṇadēvī, Alhaṇadēvī and Tāḍādēvī. See the following note.—Ed.]

54 phalaṁ(lam) || [15*] [Āsphō]ṭayanti pitarō valgayanti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmidō=smat-kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trā[tā bha]vishyati || [16*] Sha-
55 [shṭiṁ] varsha-sa[hasrāṇi sva]rggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha [tā]ny=ēva narak[ē vasēt] ||[17*] Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā [yō]
56 [ha]rēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | [sa] vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [18*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya
57 [manushya-jī]vitañ=cha | [saka]lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ || [19*] **Ari-rāja-Mada-**
58 **na-Śaṅkara**-narapatir=akarōn=mantri-śata-mukhyaṁ(khyam) [|*] **Śaṅkaradharam**=iha dūtaṁ Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahikaṁ(kam) [|| 20*][1]
59 Śrī ni | mahā[-sā]ṁ ni | śrīma[d=rā]ja ni[?] | śrī-**Madana-Śaṅkara** ni. | śrīmat sāṅga-samaya-ni.[2] | **saṁ. 27 kā. dinē 6.**

TRANSLATION.

Success. Ōṁ. Adoration to Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 1) May the god Pañchānana give you prosperity, in whose embrace his beloved Gaurī is like the lightning flash on the bosom of an autumn cloud, whose resplendent form rests with half his body in Hari; who makes his countenance terrible with three eyes shining like the burning sun; who as a lion (*pañchānana*) has vanquished the elephants who are the *dānavas*.[3]

(V. 2) Victory to the Moon, the lotus in the stream of the heavenly Ganges, the fountain of ambrosia-showers, the flower on the tree of love, the pearl adorning the head of the Lord;—(*the Moon*) whose being is from the milky sea and who alone can make the lotus-clusters smile, the priest in the great rite which augments the kingdom of Love.

(V. 3) In his (*i.e.*, the Moon's) line were born princes who offered *sattras* to the Immortals incessantly, the sacrifices being performed with the wealth gathered during their conquest of the three worlds; princes whose fame was not confined within the girdle of the globe.

(V. 4) In **Vīrasēna's** family, the tale of whose virtues is told in Paurāṇic histories, **Sāmantasēna** was born, a garland on the brow of the race of **Karṇāṭa** *kshatriyas*:—who, being fully satisfied after[4] leaving the face of the earth without a warrior, cleansed in the heavenly stream his sword, its edge dripping with the blood of opposing foemen.

(V. 5) From him was **Hēmantasēna**, the presiding deity of warriors, whose sworn purpose was the destruction[5] of the armies of his enemies, whose majesty and might were objects of wonder; whose fame, like a jewel in the crown of the Sumēru mountain, bears the beauty of the silken (*upper*) garment of the goddess of Earth, the lower being the milky ocean.

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[1] [Metre: *Āryā*; the second *pāda* is short by one syllabic instant.—Ed.]

[2] The reading and interpretation of *sāṅga-samaya-ni* are doubtful. See the footnote to this line in the translation.

[3] I am indebted to the Editor for the reading of the *aksharas* "*s-tvāṁ sa*, and for the now intelligible translation of this clause.

[4] [See above, p. 5 n. 12.—Ed.]

[5] *Mārāṅkamalla* is, as Majumdar points out, parallel to *Mārāṅkavīra* in the Dēōpāra inscription (line 10, there also applied to Hēmantasēna), and occurs in a verse ascribed in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* to Umāpatidhara, the poet who composed the Dēōpāra inscription (*J. P. A. S. B.*, 1906, p. 161, verse 5, referred to by Majumdar, p. 193). Since verses 4 and 6 of the Mādhāinagar (and India Office) plate are parallel to verses 5 and 16 of the Dēōpāra inscription it has been suggested that Umāpatidhara is the author also of this *praśasti*. See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. V (1909), p. 469 (referred to by Majumdar, p. 107).

(V. 6) From him was born **Vijayasēna**, a mass of splendour, the only remainder of princes moving about in battles, by whom the name "King" was suffered in this world only in the case of the Moon, as being the progenitor ancestor of his house.

(V. 7) His fame is not satisfied with even the pervasion of the three worlds, (*thinking*) as it were with shame: "How extensive could the circuit of the earth be which was covered by the foot of the Dwarf! How large the abode of the Nāgas (*i.e.*, the nether world) which the serpents traverse on their bellies! How spacious the sky which the thighless one (*i.e.*, Aruṇa) crosses in a single day!"

(V. 8) From him issued **Vallālasēna**, lord of the earth, full moon of the whole world's rejoicing, who was sole suzerain not indeed of all princes alone but also of all learned men.

(V. 9) **Rāmadēvī**, the crest-jewel of far and near *harems*,[1] the crescent moon of the family of the **Chālukya** princes, who was an object of deep veneration even for Lakshmī and Pṛithivī, was his consort.[2]

(V. 10) From these two, who were as Vasudēva and Dēvakī themselves re-incarnated, was born Nārāyaṇa himself in the form of the illustrious King **Lakshmaṇasēna**,......... [3].

(V. 11) Whose sport in youth was the art of taking away by violence the fortune of the proud King of **Gauḍa**; whose....when a young man were made by the prince of **Kaliṅga** by means of women;[4] by whom that king of **Kāśī** was defeated on the field of battle; fearing the edge of whose sword the lord of **Prāgjyōtisha** performed magic rites with the dust from his feet.[5]

(V. 12) How has he, who has from his very boyhood been victorious in battles rendering the earth empty of warriors, spared the guardians of the regions? (*Because*) these eight have entered his body consisting of eight principal parts, each according to his share (*kalā*)[6] and the sword of *kshatriyas* does not act when (*an enemy has*) already fallen (or has sought refuge).[7]

(V. 13) Where, with the beauty of the foliage of the garden trees, [are] the half-curves of the **Śaivalinī**, in which the earth is thrilled with the beauties of the denizens of the moving water. Princes lose their lives, but not thereby (*the merit of their gifts*).[8] These villages [and] royal charters in tens of millions at one time have been given.[9]

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[1] [See above, p. 6 n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] [The idea apparently is that the king had several consorts among whom were counted also Lakshmī (*i.e.*, sovereignty) and Pṛithivī (*i.e.*, earth, territory). The last two were held in high esteem, but Rāmadēvī was respected even by them. With this description of Vallālasēna we may compare that of Dilīpa in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, I, 32: "*Kalatravantam=ātmānam=avarōdhē mahaty=api | tayā mēnē manasvinyā Lakshmyā cha vasudhādhipaḥ* ||", to which Mallinātha's comments are: "*tayā Sudakshiṇayā, Lakshmyā cha......Vasudhādhipa ity=anēna Vasudhayā ch=ēti gamyatē.*"—Ed.]

[3] The reading of the rest of verse 10 is too uncertain to admit of translation.

[4] The reference to Kāliṅga remains unintelligible, in the absence of a complete reading. I conjecture the meaning to be that tribute on *pratipad* days in the shape of a gift of women was paid by the ruler of Kaliṅga to Lakshmaṇasēna, when the latter was a young man. [There is nc evidence of Lakshmaṇasēna's sporting with or receiving gifts of Kaliṅga ladies. See above, p. 6 n. 21.—Ed.]

[5] The reference is obscure. [Kāmarūpa is traditionally famous for sorcery.—Ed.]

[6] [Cf. *ashṭānāṁ dik-pālānāṁ mātrābhir=nirmmitō nṛipaḥ*. Also *Manusmṛiti*, *VII*, 4-7.—Ed.]

[7] The translation follows the Editor's reading. See above p. 7, nn. 2, 3.—Ed.

[8] *Naryān* is clear, but not intelligible. [Read *naryār*. See above p. 7, n. 7.—Ed.]

[9] The construction is at least awkward, and leads me to suspect that I have misread something. [According to my reading the translation would be: where the river is like the heavenly Ganges (*i.e.*, Mandākinī) on account of the beauty of the gardens and foliage (*found along its banks*); where the earth, on account of the merits of the country (*janapada*), is so thrilled that her hair stands on end in the guise of the (*standing*) crops; (*where*) the rulers would fain give up their lives but not the two supreme objects of desire—heaven and earth—and therefore divers villages were given (*by them*) in great numbers by means of grants.—Ed.]

(Ll. 24-28) His Majesty, from his illustrious camp of victory pitched in the environs of.......[1] **-grāma**, meditating on the feet of the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Vishṇu, His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings **Vallālasēna-dēva** :—His most excellent Majesty the King of Kings the victorious **Lakshmaṇasēna-dēva**, the Moon churned up by Mount Mandara out of the wealth of the...world, the Āditya of battles, the Śrī of the ocean (*of knowledge*),[2] the Lakshmī of word-composition, the sun that opens the lotus of the Sēna family, the lord of Gauḍa, the mighty prince, the devout worshipper of Narasiṁha :—

(Ll. 28-32) to the assembled[3] chiefs, chieftains, and queens, the *Rāṇakas*, the nobles, the royal councillors, the Chief Priest, the Minister for Justice, the Minister for Peace and War, the Commander-in-Chief, the Keeper of the Seal, the *Antaraṅga*, the *Bṛihaduparika*, the Superintendent of Accounts, the Chamberlain, the *Mahābhōgika*, the *Mahāpīlupati*, the *Mahāgaṇastha*, the *Daussādhikas*, the Superintendents of Police, those in charge of ships, troops, elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like, overseers of forests, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Daṇḍanāyakas*, officers in charge of districts (*vishayapati*), etc., and all other servants of His Majesty named in the list of officials[4] and not here mentioned—

(L. 33) to persons belonging to the Chaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭa class, to the people in general, cultivators, Brāhmaṇas, and the chief Brāhmaṇas[5]—

(Ll. 34-37) (*His Majesty as aforesaid*) sends greeting as is fit and notification and command:—Be it noted by you that (*two parcels of land, as follows*) :—(1) in the *chaturaka* **Vaṭumbī** which forms part of the *āvṛitti* **Vāśchaśa** (?) situated in the *bhukti* **Pauṇḍravarddhana**, land bounded on the *east* by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**, on the *south* by **Jaladāṇḍi**, on the *west* and likewise the *north* by **Sujanadī**(?)—[the land] thus defined by four boundaries, together with the part-lands **Kavillī**, **Chuñchalī**, **Gāṇḍōlī** and **Dēhipā** ;

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[1] See above, p. 7, n. 9.

[2] *Sāgara* may have a double reference to (1) the sea, from which Śrī emerged at the churning of the ocean, (2) the four *sāgaras* or encyclopædias composed by Vallālasēna (*Adbhuta*°, *Dāna*°, *Pratishṭhā*° and *Āchāra-sāgara*), —although Lakshmaṇasēna was part-author of the first only. [According to my reading this portion should be translated as : who has obtained the sovereignty of Gauḍa by churning the boundless ocean of battles with the Mandara (*mountain*) in the shape of his own arm....See p. 7, notes 11, 12.—Ed.]

[3] It is not to be supposed that any of the officials and others to whom the rescript is addressed were in fact assembled. The list appears to cover four categories—

(*a*) the court or personal entourage of the King,

(*b*) the great Ministers of State, usually marked by the prefix *Mahā*-,

(*c*) officials not of the highest rank, probably intended to be specified in the plural (from *daussādhika* to *vishayapati*),

(*d*) petty officials and the general public.

[4] *Adhyaksha-prachāra* is the title of the chapter on officials in the *Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra*. There was no doubt a Sēna Civil List defining the various officers and their duties.

[5] Majumdar (*op. cit.* pp. 182-188) has an appendix on terms denoting official titles in Sēna inscriptions. He relies in the main on J. P. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State : Part 1, Inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period* (*Arch. Survey, New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI, 1911) : referring also to the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Csoma de Körös' ed. and transl., *A. S. B. Memoirs*, Vol. IV. No. 1, 1910, pp. 29-35) and other sources. The following among his references may be mentioned in particular..*Antaraṅga*, court-physician (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 43) ; *Uparikā* (*Bṛihaduparika*), viceroy (Vogel p. 123 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 113 ff., the Damodarpur plates) ; *Gaulmika* (Vogel p. 127 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 52 ; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 33) ; *Chaṭṭa*, head of a *parganā* (Vogel pp. 130-132 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, 296, 299 ; *ibid.*, XI, 19, 296, 299) ; *Chaurōddharaṇika* (Vogel p. 129) ; *Daṇḍapāśika* 'one who holds the rod and rope' (Vogel, p. 129) ; *Bhaṭṭa* (Vogel p. 132 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 18 ; and reference to *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 31) ; *Mahākshapaṭalika* (Vogel p. 133) ; *Mahāpīlupati* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, 43 ; *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 30) ; *Mahāpratīhāra* (Vogel p. 135 ; *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 190) ; *Mahābhōgika* or *Mahābhōgapati* (Vogel p. 130 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 253, note 6).

(Ll. 37-40) (2) in the *chaturaka*............, land bounded on the *east* by two *sūtras* of land and **Siṁhaḍāvillī** situate in................, also by the southern portion of **Kaimajagrāvāḍī**,[1] also by the water-exit situate in...................;
on the *south* by **Jaladāṇḍi**; on the *west* by **Khāvōlāpāṇḍi**; on the *north* by **Valēṅgavēnada**,[2] the land thus defined by four boundaries [and being] the demesne of..........**makēśa-dēva**,

(Ll. 40-43) (*these two parcels of land*) thus measured and defined each by its own boundaries above mentioned,......................comprising a *drōṇika* and one quarter *plus* 22 *yashṭis* ....by the 22 cubit (*measure*).................... ......producing 400 *kapardaka-purāṇas* annually, with the four part-fields.................... ...... being two parts of one estate, with undergrowth and saplings, water and dry ground, broken ground and barren ground, betel and cocoanut trees; saving the ten sins [?], exempt from all annoyances, without right of entry by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas, free from all dues, with grass, *yūti*, pasturage and boundaries:—

To the *Pāṭhaka* **Padmanābhadēva-śarman**, follower of a school of the **Kauthuma** branch of the Sāma-vēda, of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and the Aurva Chyavana Bhārgava Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna *pravaras*, son of Mahādēvadēva-śarman, grandson of Jayadēva-śarman and great-grandson of Buddhadēva(?)-śarman:—

(Ll. 48-50) on a holy day, in due form, with the water-rite, in the name of the holy one, the glorious lord Nārāyaṇa, to win merit for the *Mahādēvi*-.. **pādēvī** and the *Mahādēvī* **Kalyāṇadēvī**[3]:—

We renounce for so long as the Moon and Sun and Earth endure..................this land producing in all 400 (*kapardaka-purāṇas*,) and by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, having turned this into a title-deed on copper We hereby give it.

(Ll. 50-51) This is to be observed by you all without exception. By princes to come also this charter is to be maintained, from the fear of being cast into Hell if they should take away (*the land granted*) and from the high esteem of virtuous conduct if they maintain it. And in this connection there are verses enjoining (*such*) virtuous conduct: [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 57-58) The King, **Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara**[4], has made the *Gauḍa-mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Śaṅkaradhara**, chief of a hundred councillors, his agent.

(L. 59) His Majesty's[5] secretary.[6] The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika's*[7] secretary. The secretary for the royal documents[8] of His Majesty the King the illustrious **Madana-Śaṅkara**[9], **In the year 27 on day 6 of Kārttika.**

[1] [*Chēmaḍagrāvaṭi* ? See above p. 8 n. 11.—Ed.]

[2] [See above, p. 8 n. 16.—Ed.]

[3] [See above, p. 9 n. 3 and n. 4.—Ed.]

[4] *Ari-rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara* was the special title assumed by Lakshmaṇasēna. See, for example, the Edilpur copper-plate of Kēśavasēna, line 43.

[5] *Śrī* I take to be a symbol for royalty (the King) here.

[6] The abbreviation *ni* appears to correspond to the final syllable in *karaṇani* found in the last line of other Sēna plates, and to have some such meaning as is conveyed in the translation 'secretary'. [This abbreviation probably stands for *nibaddham*.—Ed.]

[7] Abbreviated here, *Mahāsāṁ*.

[8] *Sāṅga-samaya ni* is obscure. I take it to mean "secretary for completed contracts", registration officer. (I was inclined to read *sāṅga-sa*[*ṁ*.] *saptavi*, taking *saptavi* as a contraction for *saptaviṁśē*, and understanding *sāṅga-saṁvatsarē* to mean "in the completed year". But this is hardly justified.) [To me the reading appears to be *Sāhasamaya ni*.—Ed.]

[9] The reading *śrīmad=rāja ni* is doubtful; and *ni* following *Madana-Śaṅkara* is again doubtful. The royal secretary cannot be thrice mentioned (*Śrī ni* : *śrīmad=rāja ni* | *Śrī-Madana-Śaṅkara ni*). The translation given does not correspond with these doubtful readings, but may possibly convey the intended meaning.

No. 2.—RAJAHMUNDRY MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TELUGU CHODA ANNADEVA.

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These plates were originally discovered at **Annavaram** near Tuni in the East Godavari District; and they are at present deposited in the Municipal Museum at Rajahmundry[1]. The following description of the condition of the plates is given in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, Madras, for 1911-12 :

"There are at present only four plates, the first of which is written on the inner side while the rest are written on both sides. The plates are not held together by a ring, and it is perhaps for this reason that we find some of them missing from the set. They roughly measure 11¾″ by 5¼″, and bear a circular hole on the left margin which was evidently meant to receive the ring. From the numbering of the plates found on their inner faces, not far from the ring hole, it is gathered that the missing plates must be the 2nd, 5th, 6th and one or more after the 7th."[2]

The plates are engraved in the **Telugu** characters of the early 15th century, resembling the alphabet of the other inscriptions particularly of the Reḍḍi kings of the period, and call for no special remarks. As the letters are deeply cut the inscription offers no difficulty in decipherment.

Orthography : The cerebral *ḷa* is frequently used in the place of the dental *la, e.g. nikhiḷa* (I, *l.* 1), *akhiḷa* (*l.* 3,), *kamaḷa* (*l.* 3,) ; *khēḷanti* (IV, *l.* 38), *taḷēshu* (*l.* 37), etc. *Śa* is occasionally substituted for *sa* as in *Śiṅga* (III, *l.* 10), *Śiṅgaya* (VII, *l.* 8), etc. The *anusvāra* is invariably employed for the nasal ; occasionally the letter following the *anusvāra* is needlessly doubled as in *prasaṁnnā* in I, *l.* 5 ; the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled in certain places, *e.g.*, *upasargga* (IV, *l.* 38), *jāgartti*, (III, *l.* 26), *mūrtti* (III, *l.* 23), etc. The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections have been indicated either in the body of the text or in the foot-notes accompanying it.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text so far available, which is entirely in verse, consists of 68 complete verses and parts of two others. Of these, 47, including the two fragments, are in the *Vasantatilakā*, 17 in the *Āryā*, 4 in the *Upajāti*, 1 in the *Drutavilambita*, and 1 in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metres.

The four plates bear the numbers 1, 3, 4 and 7. On the assumption that they all belong to one set of plates conveying a single gift, it has been gathered that the missing plates of the collection are the 2nd, 5th and 6th and also, one or more after the 7th, since the subject-matter in this last-mentioned plate is not complete[3]. But there are some difficulties militating against such an assumption. The verses on plates marked 1 and 7 are numbered while those on the plates marked 3 and 4 are not likewise numbered. Further, we have no clue in the plate marked 1 or in the other marked 7 to connect them, so far as their subject-matter is concerned, with the rest, *i.e.*, those numbered 3 and 4, which are however continuous and interconnected. From this we get the first

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 172. [The plates are now reported to be missing.—Ed.]

[2] Part ii, pp. 79-80. Mr. V. Apparao, who contributed an article on these plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.), observes that '*the rims of these plates are slightly raised*'. Moreover, he gives the measurements of the plates differently. They measure, according to him, 11½″ by 5″. The inclusion by him of the 7th plate among the missing is probably due to his failure to notice that the last of the set bears the number 7.

[3] [See below p. 48 n. 5.—Ed.]

impression that these four plates do not belong to one single set but are odd plates of different grants which have been accidentally found together. They may belong to more than one set, probably three, if we take the view that the plate marked 1 belongs to one set, those marked 3 and 4 to another and the one with No. 7 to a third[1].

However, this may not be the case and it is likely that they are all of one single set. Two factors are common to the plates. They are written in the same characters and style and contain the same variety of metres employed for the verses contained in them. The failure of the engraver to number the verses on the plates III and IV has probably to be attributed to his negligence, a tendency which has manifested itself even on the first plate. In the first plate, the first seven verses are correctly numbered; but the eighth verse bears the number 21, and the ninth has no number at all. This clearly indicates that the engraver has already abandoned the practice of numbering the verses. That may account for the absence of numerical figures to indicate the number of verses on plates III and IV. The seventh plate does not, however, admit of this explanation. As stated above, the verses on this plate are numbered; it opens with the 29th and closes with the 52nd verse. Why does the engraver revert again to the practice of numbering the verses, having abandoned it once before? A more important point which has to be taken notice of in this connection is the incompatibility of the figures attached to the verses with the number of the plate. It may be stated here that all the plates in this collection, contain 14 lines of writing except the last which has 15 lines on each of its two faces. Now, the first plate which is inscribed on only one side contains 9 verses. Taking roughly this to be the number of verses on each face of the remaining five plates, *viz.*, II, III, IV, V and VI, they should have contained 90 verses on the whole. This, together with the 9 verses on the first plate, would come to 99 verses; and the seventh should have begun with the 100th verse and not the 29th. We have to assume that either the engraver for some unknown reason reverted to the plan of numbering the verses commencing again a fresh series somewhere about the middle of the inscription; or the plate under consideration belongs to a different set altogether. Neither of these alternatives is entirely free from difficulties. On the one hand, it is hard to believe that an engraver who had deliberately abandoned the scheme of enumeration had developed a fresh interest in it; and on the other the incompatibility of the number of the plate (*viz.*, 7) with the numbers of the verses therein (*viz.*, 29 to 52), still remains unexplained, even though we take the plate as belonging to another set for the sake of argument.

In conclusion we may leave the matter open for decision later on when the missing plates happen to be discovered, and, for the present, treat all the plates as belonging to one set since this does not lead to any complications.

Contents: The nine verses in the first plate are devoted to the invocation of several gods of the Hindu pantheon. The first three verses contain the praises of Sarasvatī; verse 4 is devoted to the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, verse 5 to Gaṇēśa, verse 6 to the Sun and the Moon, verse 7 to Durgā Mahishāsura-mardinī, verse 8 to Kshētrapāla, and verse 9 to Śiva. The 36 unnumbered verses in plates III and IV describe the **genealogy** of the donor and the achievements of himself and his ancestors.

There was a king (his name is lost) who married **Annemāmbā**; and to them was born a king called **Ēṛuva Bhīma**. He married **Prōlāmbikā**; and their son was **Dāma** who married

[1] In support of this view, it may be stated that the first plate which measures 11·75" by 4·8" differs in its dimensions from the rest, each of which measures 11·9" by 5·3". These measurements are obtained from the impressions in my possession as the original which is unfortunately lost is no longer available.

Lakshmī. They begot **Sōma,** the husband of **Sūrāṁbikā,** and from them was born **Gaṁgādhara,** the husband of **Irugāṁbikā,** who bore the title of *Arigaṁḍaragaṁḍa* (a hero to hostile heroes). Gaṁgādhara and Irugāṁbikā had a son, **Kāmarāja,** who, on account of his great devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva came to be popularly known as **Bhaktirāja.** Even in his youth Bhaktirāja won a victory over the heroes, **Boggara** and other Yavana (Muhammadan) chiefs, in the neighbourhood of the town of **Gulapūṁḍi** ; in the eastern direction, after winning a victory over the **Gajapati** in battle at **Pañchadhāra,** he installed the **Koppula** chief on his throne. He also subdued king **Siṁga** near the town of **Bharaṇipāḍu** in a battle ; vanquished with considerable prowess **Daburu-Khānu** and others with their *rākshasa* forces near **Pedakoṁḍapurī** ; and, defeated, as if in mere sport, king Annavōta in the vicinity of the city of **Sūravara.** Bhaktīśvara married **Annemāmbā,** and founded a city called **Kalyāṇa** which became famous as **Kāmapurī,** the crest-jewel of the **Āndhra** country. The sound of the bells indicating the hours when worship was offered to god Śiva from the sunrise onwards entered the minds of the people walking along the streets of the city through the path of their ears and destroyed their sins. The learned men of the city became involved in discussion about the values of things by looking at musk and other valuable commodities exhibited for sale in the streets of the city.

Bhaktīśvara begot a son, the great **Annadēva** who surpassed Jayaṁta in beauty, and Mṛigāṁka (Moon) in brilliance, and who was as liberal as the tree of wish (*pārijāta*) in the distribution of gifts. Annadēva reduced, by the prowess of his arm, the hostile kings to the position of harlots.[1] Having gone to the help of the king of the **Turushkas** (the Muhammadans), he overcame with the sole help of his sword, the **Karnāṭa** army at **Sagara** ; and like Śiva capturing the Tripurī he took **Jaggavāga** and (two ?) other cities from his enemies. Annadēva of the Chōḍa-kula fostered gods and Brāhmans with care, and having become endowed with all kinds of wealth (*aiśvarya*) by their favour, he was greatly devoted to the worship of god Viśvanātha.

Annadēva married **Irugāmbikā,** a sister of king **Piṁnnuṁḍi,** and a daughter of **Chakravarti** of the solar family and had by her a son called **Vīrabhadra.** Annadēva defeated on the borders of **Attili** all the southern kings who were hostile to him, and offered protection to 10,000 of the enemy's forces who took refuge within the walls of that city. For the purpose of protecting his friend, he performed a heroic sacrifice with Pinayuṇḍi-rāja as *adhvaryu* on the sacrificial altar of **Kāṁkaraparttі** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī), making the **Kannaḍa** and other enemies the sacrificial victims. Being desirous only of fame, he offered protection to the family of **Kāṭaya-Vēma,** who bowed to his feet. While Annadēva was ruling the earth, people lived without trouble, sporting happily in the sugarcane fields and areca palm groves. The wealthy city of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, the crest-jewel of his country, was a resort of the merchants from all quarters.

King Annadēva worshipped Śiva six times a day waving innumerable lights at the lotus-feet of the god ; he presented a thousand cows to the deity, and strictly observed the rule of feeding the Brāhmans daily. He built a beautiful gilded mansion of seven storeys ornamented with the gilded images of damsels bearing golden fan, fly-whisk, flag and an umbrella with pearl tassels. He fed everyday sumptuously Śaiva-Brāhmaṇas, ascetics and *yōgins* ; made a gift called *Gōsahasra* to Brāhmans in the presence of the god Vīrabhadra of **Paṭṭesa** ; and performed the *dāna* called *Saptasāgara* to quench their thirst, as it were. Having surpassed Paraśurāma by

[1] The significance of '*vēśy-āṁganāyita-virōdhi-dharātalēndrō*' is not quite clear. [The idea seems to be that these kings were made to attend on various persons, probably at the Royal court, as the harlots have to entertain men without any choice on their part.—Ed.]

giving lands to Brāhmans along with the gift called the *Suvarṇa-Mēru*, Annadēva resembled Raghunāyaka. He caused the shrine of Vīrabhadra, the lord of **Gōmukhagiri**, and the pinnacle of the temple of Bhīmēśvara of **Drāksharāma**, the crest-jewel of the Āndhra country who had been worshipped by the former Chōḍa monarchs of his family, to be overlaid with gold. He also granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of **Kāśī**, the patron-deity of his family, and founded for the habitation of Brāhmans, a village called (after him) Uttama-Gaṇḍa-**Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavaram** in **Visaṛi-nāṇḍu** at the confluence of the rivers **Gaṁgā** and **Piṁnasānī**. Annadēva also gave to Brāhmans (*Mahājanas*) an *agrahāra* called **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṁgā near the western boundary of **Pallūri-Śailavaram**, and performed the marriages of several Brāhman couples.

The last or the seventh plate contains the names of donees who received *vṛittis* in a village, the name of which is lost. Of these, the following twenty-two received the *vṛittis* directly from the king, the donor :

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	No. of shares received.
1	Siṁgaya	Kūchanārya . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
2	Rāmachaṁdra . . .	Kōvūri Rāma . .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
3	Bhāskara . . .	Nṛihari	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	Kāchibhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
5	Aubhaḷēṁdra . . .	Gūḍaparti Vallabha . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
6	Varadaya	Viddhaya	Ātrēya	1
7	Gaṁgādharēṁdra . .	Śrīrām-Ādima (Peda) Siṁgaya.	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
8	Siṁgana	Gauraya	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
9	Purushōttama . . .	Āditya	Harita	1
10	Tallaya	Chiṁṇipi Kūchaya . .	Harita	1
11	Viśvēśvara . . .	Aṁnama . . .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
12	Aṁnama	Gōpāḷabbhaṭṭa . .	Harita	1
13	Annaya	Muṁjapi Gaṁgādhara .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
14	Lakshmaṇa . . .	Vallabha . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
15	Sādappula (Sādu Appala ?) .	Vallabha . . .	Kauṁḍinya . . .	1
16	Duṁḍigaḍa Nāga . .	Nāgaya	Kāśyapa . . .	1
17	Mallikārjuna . . .	Rājukoṁḍa Mallaya .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
18	Maḍugūri Lakkana . .	....	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
19	Śrīkṛishṇa	Kōlalapalḷi Ādima (Peda) Siṁgaya.	Kāśyapa . . .	1
20	Śrīrāma	Kaṁdukūri Aubhaḷa .	Harita	1
21	Ananta	Śrīkṛishṇamayya . .	Śrīvatsa . . .	1
22	Aubhaḷa	Dēvaya	Bhāradvāja . . .	1

One of the twenty-two donees, (No. 1) Siṁgaya, son of Kūchanārya of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, is said to have been a friend of the king (*avanipati-mitraṁ*), probably the donor of the *agrahāra*. Besides the twenty-two donees enumerated above, there were two others who did not receive their shares directly from the original donor but from the other donees. The *Mahājanas*, *i.e.*, the Brāhmans who received shares in the *agrahāra*, granted one *vritti* to Janārdana, son of Sarvadēva of the Kauṁḍinya-*gōtra*, and another to the god Kēdāra-Mahēśvara who was set up with devotion by Mādhava, son of Kaljara Kommarāja.

The inscription is **important** as it furnishes valuable **information about the history of the Ēṛuva branch of the Telugu Chōḍa family**. A few more records of the family including the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja,[1] have been published ; but the historical information that could be gleaned from them is so meagre that little more than the names of the princes of a few generations is known. But the present grant gives a fairly full account of the part played by the members of the family in the affairs of their respective ages. Seven generations of the family, as noticed already, are described in this grant and the names mentioned in it agree, with some variations, with those furnished in the Madras Museum Plates of Bhaktirāja. The genealogical lists given in these two records are subjoined hereunder for the purpose of comparison :—

The Madras Museum Plates.

Karikāla
⋮
Nalla-Bhīma
|
Dāma *m.* Lakshmī
|
Sōma *m.* Sūrāmbikā
|
Gaṁgādhara *m.* Irugāmbā, *d.* of Kāmabhūpa of the Lunar race and a sister of Vēmga-bhūpati.
|
Bhaktirāja

Present Plates.

........= Annemāmbā
|
Ēṛuva-Bhīma *m.* Prōlāmbikā
|
Dāma *m.* Lakshmī
|
Sōma *m.* Sūrāmbikā
|
Gaṁgādhara *m.* Irugāṁbikā
|
Kāmarāja or Bhaktirāja *m.* Annemāṁbā
|
Annadēva *m.* Irugāṁbikā
|
Vīrabhadra

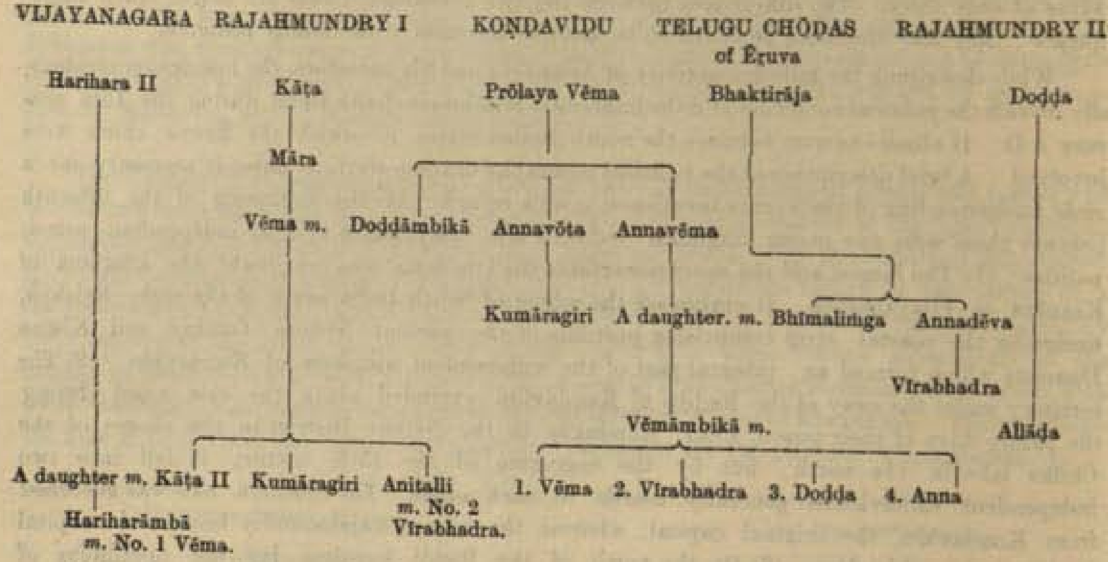
Five generations of the Ēṛuva Chiefs are mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, while the present charter, however, enumerates seven generations. The name of the father of Ēṛuva-Bhīma and the husband of Annemāmbā is not known, as it is lost with the second plate. Besides, it also includes Annadēva and Vīrabhadra, a son and grandson respectively of Bhaktirāja, not mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates, thus making up a pedigree of seven generations. Though the names of the remaining members of the family are common to both the charters, there are certain variations which must be noticed. Nalla-Bhīma of the Madras Museum Plates is spoken of in the present charter as Ēṛuva-Bhīma. The difference is not material. Bhīma is the actual name of the prince and the terms 'Nalla' and 'Ēṛuva' appear to have been prefixed to it to indicate the complexion of his body and the principality over which he held sway respectively. Again the name Bhaktirāja is said to be a sobriquet, acquired by the prince on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Siva, his real name being Kāmarāja. Lastly the present charter

[1] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 128 ff.

mentions the wives of all the chiefs of the family excepting Annadēva's son Vīrabhadra who was probably unmarried at the time, whereas the Madras Museum Plates refer to the names of the wives of only three. The differences between the two genealogical lists are not of much consequence; they may therefore be taken to be genuine accounts of the family pedigree.

While describing the military activity of Annadēva and his ancestors, the inscription incidentally reveals the political condition and the inter-state relations in South India during the 15th century A.D. It alludes to wars between the South Indian states in which the Ēruva chiefs were involved. A brief description of the political geography of these warring states is necessary for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this record. At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were five major kingdoms besides a few independent or semi-independent principalities: (1) The largest and the most powerful of the kingdoms was no doubt the kingdom of Karnāṭa or Vijayanagara. It embraced the whole of South India south of the river Kṛishṇā, excluding the coastal strip comprising portions of the present Nellore, Guntur and Kistna Districts which formed an integral part of the independent kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. (2) The territory under the sway of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu extended along the east coast during the palmy days of their power, from Kandukūr in the Nellore District to the shores of the Chilka lake in the north; but by the beginning of the 15th century it fell into two independent subdivisions generally hostile to each other. The southern half was governed from Koṇḍavīḍu, the original capital, whereas the city of Rajahmundry became the capital of the northern kingdom. (3) On the north of the Reḍḍi kingdom lay the dominions of the Gajapatis of Orissa, who, on account of their ancient connection with Southern Kaliṅga (Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the East Godavari Districts), were vitally interested in the affairs of the Reḍḍi kingdom. (4) To the west of the Reḍḍi, the south-west of the Gajapati, and the north of the Vijayanagara territories lay the Velama kingdom of Teliṅgāṇa with the ancient city of Warangal as its capital, and the forts of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa as its main strongholds. Despite the encroachments of the Bahmanī Sultans who had succeeded in annexing a considerable slice of the kingdom including the fort of Gōlkoṇḍa, the Velamas still held sway over an extensive dominion comprising Nalgoṇḍa, Mahbūbnagar, Warangal, Medak, Adilābād, and Karīmnagar Districts of the present Hyderabad state. (5) On the west of Teliṅgāṇa and the north of Karṇāṭa extended the territory of the Bahmanī Sultans comprising the whole of the south-western Deccan from Gōlkoṇḍa in Teliṅgāṇa to the shores of the Arabian sea in the west. Within these major kingdoms, especially in the dominions subjected to the authority of the Reḍḍis, there flourished several small principalities whose loyalty and submissiveness were conditioned by the capacity of the paramount power to exact obedience. Three such principalities deserve notice in this connection: (1) Ēṛuva, a small principality on the borders of the Nellore, Kurnool and Guntur Districts of the Madras Presidency, was the seat of one of the numerous branches of the Telugu Chōḍa family, of which Annadēva, the donor of the present grant, and his father Bhaktīśvara were distinguished members. (2) Kōrukoṇḍa, a hill-fort in the Gōdāvarī valley at a distance of about nine miles to the north of Rajahmundry was the capital of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs who ruled over a small territory comprising the districts of Pāṇāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, and Cheṅgara. (3) The coastal strip from the banks of the Gautamī to Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District was originally under the Koppula chiefs who had Piṭhāpuram in the East Godavari District, as their capital, but with the advent of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs, their authority in the Gōdāvarī valley came to an end; and they were obliged to retire eastwards into the hilly region in the western part of the present Vizagapatam District, where they appear to have been ruling at the time of Bhaktirāja's victory at Pañchadhāra.

As the ruling families of several of the states mentioned above were connected by marriage alliances which influenced the course of events described in the present record, a chart showing their inter-relationship is given below :—



Of the Ēruva chiefs mentioned in this charter, only three *viz.*, Ēruva-Bhīma, Bhaktirāja and Annadēva, deserve any notice here.

1. **Ēruva Bhīma** has been identified with a certain Mailama-Bhīma, a chief of unknown origin, whose military exploits are recounted in a few Telugu *Chāṭu* verses,[1] but this identification is not beyond question. It is pointed out that the mother of Mailama-Bhīma, as indicated by the name itself, was Mailama, whereas it is definitely stated in the present inscription that the name of Ēruva Bhīma's mother was Annemāmbā. These two persons, therefore, could not have been identical[2]. Apart from the literary reference, there is an epigraph assignable to the middle of the 13th century at Tāḷḷa-Proddutūr in the Cuddapah District which gives some definite information about the activities of Ēruva-Bhīma.[3] This epigraph which consists of a single verse in the *Utpalamālā* metre, states that Vīsara-nāṇḍu, Chakraghoṭṭa, Manniya, Vaḍḍe Tekkali, Manthena, Vēṅgi, Kaḷiṅga and other countries were ruined by an invasion of Ēruva-Bhīma. The circumstances in which he had undertaken this expedition are not known. It may be remembered that Bhīma was but the chief of a small principality, and with his limited resources he could not have by himself embarked on a prolonged military campaign, and successfully penetrated to Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. He must have had a powerful ally, whom he might have actually assisted in subjugating the places mentioned in the Tāḷḷa-Proddutūr epigraph. To discover who this ally was, the age in which Bhīma himself lived must be ascertained at first. Bhaktirāja, the fifth in descent from Bhīma, made a gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu or Kaḍavakolanu on Monday the 7th November A.D. 1356 to a bachelor called Viśvanātha at Śrīśaila.[4]

[1] V. Prabhakara Sastri—*Chāṭupadya-maṇimañjarī*, ii, p. 58.

[2] T. N. Ramachandran—*J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 132. V. Apparao believes that Mailama-Bhīma was also known as Ēruva-Bhīma. How this could have been possible, he does not, however, explain (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6).

[3] No. 308 of 1935-6 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; published in *Bhāratī* Vol. XV, p. 158.

[4] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 334.

Taking this year to be the first year of his reign and allowing a duration of 25 years for each generation, we get 1356—(4×25)=A.D. 1256 as the approximate date of the commencement of Bhīma's reign. The whole of the Telugu country including the principality of Ēruva acknowledged the supremacy of the Kākatīyas at this period. As a matter of fact the officers of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati were engaged in reducing Vēṅgi and Kaḷiṅga[1]; and it is not unlikely that they might have subdued portions of the Central Provinces including Chakraghoṭṭa. Therefore it is not improbable that Bhīma, who from all accounts appears to have been a distinguished warrior, followed the Kākatīya armies and contributed much to their success.

2. **Bhaktirāja** also was a great warrior. The present inscription gives a full account of his achievements. He is said to have waged war successfully with several chiefs.

i. While he was still a youth, Bhaktirāja defeated Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in a battle in the neighbourhood of Gulapūṇḍi.

ii. He defeated in the east the Gajapati near Pañchadhāra, and installed the Koppula chief on his throne.

iii. Near the city of Bharaṇipāḍu, he defeated the famous warrior Siṅga.

iv. In the vicinity of Pedakoṁḍapurī he overthrew the demoniac armies of Daburu-Khānu and others.

v. He overcame Annavōta in a battle near the town of Sūravara.

These achievements of Bhaktirāja must be assigned to a period subsequent to A.D. 1356, the year in which he granted the village Kaḍavakolanu to the Śaiva ascetic Viśvēśvara of Śrīparvata; for, in the charter recording this grant, though his valour is praised in general terms, no specific mention is made of any enemy whom he had overthrown in battle. It is unlikely that the author of the *praśasti* would have failed to mention his victories, had he any to his credit at that time. Moreover, the earliest known record of his son and successor Annadēva is dated in Śaka 1310, Vibhava, *i.e.*, A.D. 1388-89.[2] Bhaktirāja's reign may be taken to have terminated some time before that year. He probably ascended the throne in A.D. 1356 itself; and it is not probable that he could have won any notable victory so early in his reign.

i. *Victory over Boggara* :—According to the present Rajahmundry Museum Plates, **his victory over the Muhammadans under Boggara** and others was won while he was yet a youth. This clearly indicates that he was a young man at the time of his accession to his ancestral throne, and harmonizes well with the comparatively long period suggested for his reign by the inscriptions mentioned above. Boggara is a Sanskrit corruption of Bughra, a name common enough among the Mussalmans of the 14th century A. D. It is not possible, however, to identify the bearer of this name in the present context. Nor is it possible to fix the locality where the encounter took place. Gulapūṇḍi is no doubt the same as Gollapūḍi; but as several villages in the Telugu country go by that name, no definite conclusions can be reached about its identity.[3] It may, however, be remembered in this connection that this was Bhaktirāja's first victory, won by him while he was still a youth. As he was a scion of the Ēruva family and as his only known inscription records the gift of a village to a religious teacher residing at Śrīparvata, it may be reasonably assumed that Gulapūṇḍi where he defeated Bughra Khān was situated somewhere in the southern Telugu country.

[1] *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 3, ii. p. 16, Upparapalli Inscription of the reign of Gaṇapatidēva.—*Cf.* M. Somaśēkhara Śarma, Kākatīyas and Kaḷiṅga, *Kaḷiṅga-Sañchika*, p. 381.

[2] No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] A village called Gollapūḍi is found in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District; another in the Bezwada taluk and a third in the Nuzvid division of the Kistna District.

ii. *Victory over the Gajapati king:*—Bhaktirāja's second **victory** was won **over the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra** in the Vizagapatam District. As this victory is said to have led to the installation of the Koppula chief on his throne, it is reasonable to infer that the Koppula chief, whose territory extended up to Siṁhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District, was expelled from his country by the Gajapati and that Bhaktirāja assisted the dispossessed chief to win back his dominions. It may be pointed out here that the Koppula chiefs were ousted, as mentioned already, from the Gōdāvarī Valley by Mañchikoṇḍa Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers (*Madras Epigraphical Report* 1911-12, Part II, para. 68, and above, Vol. XIV, p. 96) and the attack of the Gajapati on their dominions appears to have been somehow connected with the invasion of the Mañchikoṇḍa chiefs. The Gajapati seems to have attacked the Koppulas either in concert with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka or on his own account, taking advantage of the confusion caused in their dominions by the Mañchikoṇḍa invasion. The Gajapati whom Bhaktirāja defeated at Pañchadhāra must have been Vīra-Bhānudēva (? A.D. 1350 to 1378), son and successor of Narasiṁha III; and the Koppula chief on whose behalf he waged war upon the Gajapati was probably Kāpaya II or one of his cousins.[1] Bhaktirāja, it may be recollected, was the ruler of a minor principality in the southern Telugu country; and his strength and resources must have been limited. The circumstances under which he managed not only to wage war successfully on the Gajapati, the powerful king of Kaḷiṅga, but also to restore, in the teeth of his opposition, the Koppula chief to his ancestral dominions are not even hinted at.

To understand the political situation under which these events came to pass, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the history of the east coast of the Telugu country during the years that immediately succeeded the fall of the Kākatiya monarchy. The Muslim rule, if it had ever been effectively established, lasted only a short while. The actual administration of the country remained in the hands of the Hindus. The country was partitioned among a host of petty kings, seventy-five in number, according to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli dated A.D. 1423[2]; and they, having united together under the leadership

[1] The Dōnepūṇḍi grant of Nāmaya-Nāyaka of A.D. 1338 (above, Vol. IV, p. 356) and the Simhāchalam inscription of his son Prōla II, dated A.D. 1388 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 822) which give the genealogical account of the Koppula family yield the following pedigree:

Kāpa of the Koppula family
|
Prōlaya I
|
Nāmaya
(A.D. 1337 to 1379, above, Vol. IV, p. 356; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 924).
|
Prōlaya II
(? A.D. 1388).

The date of the latter inscription is unfortunately partially effaced. The last two figures preserved in the chronogram; '*khēndu*' *i.e.*, '10' (*ibid.*, l. 9) enable us to restore the date completely. It is said that Prōla II, the donor of the inscription under consideration, was the son of Nāmaya, grandson of Prōla I and great-grandson of Kāpaya. Nāmaya mentioned in this record is identical with the donor of the Dōnepūṇḍi grant dated Ś. 1259. He also figures as the donor of another epigraph at Siṁhāchalam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 924) dated Ś. 1291. His son Prōlaya could not have been living in Ś. 1210. Since the latest of Nāmaya's inscriptions is dated in Ś. 1291, the first two figures of the date of Prōlaya II in the inscription must be 13. It is therefore obvious that the date of the inscription in question is Ś. 1310 (=A.D.1388).

Besides the chiefs mentioned in the above pedigree, Koppula-Pōli Nāyaṇḍu, evidently an earlier member of the family who flourished about A.D. 1269 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 765), and a certain Koppula Kāpaya-Nāyaka (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 821) who lived about A.D. 1360 are referred to in the inscriptions. Their position in the family pedigree cannot be ascertained at present.

[2] *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 107.

of a certain Prōlaya-Nāyaka, expelled the Muhammadans and re-established the Hindu independence. Prōlaya was succeeded by Kāpaya, and after the demise of the latter the petty chiefs asserted their independence; but soon the stronger subdued their weaker neighbours and laid the foundations of powerful kingdoms. One of these was the Reḍḍi chief Prōlaya-Vēma, the ruler of Addanki, in the southern fringe of the present Guntur District. He welded together the small states in the coastal region to the south of the Krishṇā into a strong kingdom, and extended his territory further by bringing the whole of the east coast as far as the frontier of Orissa under his sway. His victories on the east coast are detailed in a copper-plate charter dated in A.D. 1336, where, among other things, it is said that he crushed the honour of Kaḷiṅgarāya, burnt the abode of Oḍḍiyarāya and confounded the Rāya of Janturnāḍu, sported in the waters of Kuṇḍi-prabhā (the Guṇḍlakamma), Sabyajā (the Krishṇā) and Gautamī (the Gōdāvarī), and that he granted many *agrahāras* to the Brāhmans, and established *satras* (feeding houses) in the country lying on both the banks of as well as in between the rivers Brahmakuṇḍī (the Guṇḍlakamma), Krishṇavēṇī, Gōdāvarī and Mahānadī[1]. It is obvious that Vēma's military activity extended over the whole east coast from the river Guṇḍlakamma in the south to Cuttack on the banks of the Mahānadī in the north. He does not, however, appear to have retained all his northern conquests; and his authority in the north of the Gōdāvarī did not perhaps long outlast the period of conquest, for the Gajapati seems to have soon reasserted his power and recovered the country as far as the Gōdāvarī, as is covertly alluded to in the charter under consideration. Moreover, an epigraph at Pañchadhārala in the Vizagapatam District dated A.D. 1403, suggests that Chōḍa II, the grandfather of the Kōna-Haihaya chief Chōḍa III, who must have lived about the middle of the 14th century A.D., was an ally, if not actually a subordinate of the Gajapati[2]. Chōḍa II probably ousted the Koppula family from its hereditary possessions with the help of the Gajapati; and the dispossessed member turned for help to Annavōta, who, by this time, had succeeded his father Vēma on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. As a matter of fact, Annavōta's presence in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at a striking distance from the southern frontier of Kaḷiṅga about this time is testified to by an inscription at Drākshārāma of A.D. 1357.[3] Moreover, in one of Annavēma's early records dated A.D. 1371 it is stated that Annavōta overthrew his enemies from the Krishṇā to the Gōdāvarī, thence as far as the Vindhyas.[4] There is thus sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that Annavōta had marched with his army against the Gajapati about A.D. 1357 to drive him back and restore the Koppula chief to his throne; and Bhaktirāja, who must have been a subordinate of Annavōta at that time, had accompanied him and distinguished himself in the campaign. If what is said above is not unreasonable, it may be stated that the battle of Pañchadhāra mentioned in this charter appears to have been a decisive engagement, which finally brought the campaign to a close.

iii. *Victory at Bharaṇipāḍu* :—Bhaktirāja is said to have **vanquished** a king called **Siṅga** in the vicinity of the city of Bharaṇipāḍu[5]. This king still remains unidentified. There were at

[1] No. 5 of 1919-20, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 267 ff.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 657.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1387.

[4] *Āndhrapatrika* (*Annual Number* 1922, p. 168).

Jitvā śrīy-Anapōta-bhūtalapatir=vīrān=arātīn balād=
ā Krishṇā-taṭinī-taṭād=bhuvanam=apy=ā Gautamī-srōtasaḥ |
ā Vindhyād=iti yat=kavīndra-vachanaṁ yasy=āpadāna-stutau
pratyabdaṁ pratipaksha-dēśa-jayinas=tat=pūrvapakshāyitam ||

[5] In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Southern Circle) for 1911-12, Part ii, p. 80, it is said that Bhaktirāja killed a king called Siṅga close to the town of Bharaṇipāḍu. This is not quite accurate as the text of the inscription has *vyanaishīt* meaning only 'vanquished'.

this time two kings of this name. One of them was the Velama ruler of Rāchakoṇḍa in the present Nalgonda District of the Nizam's State, who was assassinated at the siege of Jallipalli in Śaka 1283, Śārvari, (A.D. 1361-62) by Tambaḷa Bommajiyya[1]; the other was a brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka, the ruler of Kōrukoṇḍa in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry. According to the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A.D. 1358-59, Mummaḍi-Nāyaka who conquered 'the countries of Pānāra, Kōna, Kuravāṭa, Cheṅgara and others lying on either bank of the river Gōdāvarī, allowed his younger brother Siṅgaya' to govern the principality of Kōṭyapurī.[2] Now, the king Siṅga whom Bhaktirāja vanquished must have been one of these two chiefs. It may be noted that most of Bhaktirāja's activities were confined to the valley of the Gōdāvarī, and he does not appear to have had any connection with Teliṅgāṇa where Siṅga of Rāchakoṇḍa was ruling. Moreover, the *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi*[3] which enumerates the enemies of the Velama king does not mention Bhaktirāja among his foes. Therefore, it is unlikely that he should have come into conflict with Bhaktirāja. There is, on the other hand, much presumptive evidence for believing that Siṅga mentioned in the present charter is identical with Siṅga, one of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka's younger brothers. It may be noted that Mummaḍi who conquered the territory on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī entrusted the government of Kōṭyapurī and Tāḍipāka to his younger brothers Siṅga and Ganna respectively. Kōṭyapurī[4] is identical with Koṭṭhām in the Tuni division and Tāḍipāka with Tāṭipāka in the Razole taluk of the East Godavari District. This territory originally belonged to the Koppula chiefs. According to the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of A.D. 1338, Koppula Nāmaya-Nāyaka was ruling at that time 'the *Āndhrakhaṁḍa-maṇḍala*' 'extending from the banks of the Gautamī river (*i.e.*, the Gōdāvarī) to Kaliṅga' with the city of Piṭhāpurī as his capital.[5] Now, in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka dated A.D. 1358, it is stated, as noted already, that he conquered the country on both the banks of the Gōdāvarī. It follows from this that Mummaḍi-Nāyaka wrested this territory from Nāmaya-Nāyaka between A.D. 1338 and 1358. As Mummaḍi married a niece of the famous Āndhra-Suratrāṇa Kāpaya-Nāyaka, a fact which is particularly mentioned in the records of Mummaḍi and his brothers,[6] it is not unlikely that he should have received the help of his powerful relative in effecting the conquest. If Bhaktirāja, as stated in the present grant, had restored the Koppula chief to his kingdom, he could not have accomplished the task without coming into conflict with Mummaḍi-Nāyaka and his brothers. Therefore the Siṅga who sustained a defeat at Bharaṇipāḍu at the hands of Bhaktirāja has to be identified with Siṅga, the younger brother of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka of the Kōrukoṇḍa family.

iv. *The victory at Pedakoṇḍa* :—The town Pedakoṇḍa, where Bhaktirāja won a **victory over** the Muhammadans under **Daburu-Khānu**, is identical with Pedakoṇḍa in the Bhadrachalam taluk of the East Godavari District. The original form of Daburu-Khānu which is but a Telugu corruption of the name of the chief, cannot be definitely restored, as it may stand for Dabīr Khān or Zafar Khān. In any case, his identity cannot be established with certainty, though it may be surmised that he must have been connected with one of the Muslim sovereigns who invaded Tilang at this time.

[1] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, p. 23.

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 96.

[3] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, pp. 17-18.

[4] K. Rama Sastri and T. A. Gopinatha Rao have suggested different identifications for Kōṭyapurī. The former identifies it with Kōṭipalli on the Vṛiddha-Gautamī (above, Vol. XIII, p. 261); and the latter with a place called Kōṭi in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 89).

[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 371.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 272; Vol. XIV, p. 95.

The Delhi Sultan, Fīrūz Tughluq made an attack upon Jājnagar in 761 A.H. (October-November, A.D. 1360); he marched upon the city of Banārasi (Cuttack), the capital of the Gajapati. On the approach of Fīrūz, the Gajapati, Vīra-Bhānudēva II, crossed the Mahānadī and retreated towards Tilang. The Sultan pursued him for a day, but giving up the pursuit busied himself in the neighbourhood.[1] Though the Sultan himself abandoned the pursuit, he might have entrusted the task to Zafar Khān, the pretender to the throne of Lakhnauti, who appears to have accompanied him during the expedition. It is not unlikely that this Muslim chief should have advanced as far as the Gōdāvarī where he might have been opposed at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja and repulsed. This is one possibility. The other is that Bhaktirāja might have come into conflict with the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan, and won a victory over them near Pedakoṇḍa. The Bahmanī armies invaded Tilang during the period of Bhaktirāja's rule on two occasions, once during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan and then again in the time of his son and successor Muḥammad Shāh I. As the second invasion did not proceed beyond Fīlampaṭan or Vēlampaṭan, a place which is said to have been at a distance of eight days' journey from Kalyan,[2] the army could not have reached Pedakoṇḍa on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Ghats. But the invasion which was led by 'Alā-ud-dīn himself in person in A.D. 1357, appears to have swept over the whole of Tilang. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of the invasion in his *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.

> "After spending some time in pleasure in his capital, he (the Sultan) was again desirous of conquering the country of Tilang.........For nearly a year he travelled through the country of Teliṅgāna, and having taken possession of the district of Bhonāgīr, he overthrew the idol-temples and instead of them built mosques and public schools."[3]

Sayyid 'Ali's account is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of Pillalamaṛṛi near Warangal which may belong to A.D. 1357 records that the temple of Erukēśvaradēva which was destroyed by Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn was rebuilt by a certain Eṛapōtu Leṁka, a servant of Kāpaya-Nāyaka, the lord of the Āndhra country.[4] The invasion did not stop with Bhōnāgīr but spread south-eastwards towards the sea, and reached Dharaṇikōṭa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. An epigraph in the temple of Amarēśvara at Amarāvati in the Guntur District dated 22nd July A.D. 1361, describes how Kētaya Vēma, an officer of king Anavōta of Koṇḍavīḍu, repulsed the Muslim cavalry and re-installed the image of Amarēśvara, which had evidently been destroyed by the invaders.[5] Kētaya was assisted in the battle by Malla, one of king Anavōta's paternal uncles. In an unpublished copper-plate charter of Śivaliṅga Reḍḍi, a descendant of Malla, dated A.D. 1413, it is said that Malla defeated 'Alā-ud-dīn and other Turushka warriors.[6] Therefore, the Bahmanī invasion was checked by the Reḍḍis at Dharaṇikōṭa and turned back. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn's activities in other parts of Tilang are not known, he appears to have reduced the country from Bhōnāgīr to the banks of the river Gōdāvarī to subjection. 'His dominions', according to Sayyid 'Ali, 'extended from the east side of Daulatābād to Bhōnāgīr and the river Gōdāvarī both north and south sides—to

[1] The *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (G. O. S. LXIII), pp. 135-36.

[2] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 303.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 152.

[4] *Teliṅgāna Inscriptions*, p. 163.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 226.

[6] *Local Records*, Vol. III, p. 469.

Vēmādhipasy=āvarajō='pi Malla-
Bhūvallabhō='sau jagan-obba-gaṇḍaḥ I
Allāvadīn-ādi-Turushka-mallān
samullasad=bhalla-gaṇān vijitya ||

the river Ganga'.[1] An officer who probably bore the name of Dabīr or Zafar Khān and who was in the service of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn might have attempted to cross the Ghats through the valley of the Gōdāvarī and found his path barred at Pedakoṇḍa by Bhaktirāja, who having inflicted a defeat on his forces, had compelled him to retreat.

v. *Victory at Sūravaram* :—The last military achievement attributed to Bhaktirāja in these plates is a **victory** which he is said to have won over a certain king called **Annavōta** at Sūravaram. The identity of this king cannot be definitely established, as there were two contemporaries of Bhaktirāja who bore this name. One of them was the Reḍḍi ruler, Anavōta, the son of Prōlaya Vēma, who has been already mentioned in an earlier context. The other was Anavōta, the son of Rāvu Siṅga, the king of Rāchakoṇḍa in Tilang. Which of these two was the king who sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja on the battlefield of Sūravaram cannot be determined at present with certainty.[2] We may, however, attempt to solve the problem by ascertaining the location of Sūravaram, the site of the battle, which may perhaps throw some light on the subject. The place, however, cannot be identified definitely. Several villages of the name of Sūravaram or Sūrapuram are mentioned in the *Postal Directory* and the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*.

Village.	Taluk or Division.	District.
1. Sūravaram	Chicacole	Ganjam.
2. Sūravaram	Palakonda	Vizagapatam.
3. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam . . .	E. Godavari.
4. Sūravaram	Bhadrachalam . . .	E. Godavari.
5. Sūravaram-Annavaram . . .	Tuni	E. Godavari.
6. Sūravaram	Nuzvid	Kistna.
7. Sūrapuram	Nidadavole	W. Godavari.

Assuming that all these villages were in existence during the period under consideration, it is difficult to discover which of these was actually the site of the battle. Of these, Sūravaram in the Chicacole taluk of the Ganjam District may be excluded from the present discussion, as it lay outside the Reḍḍi dominions. All the other villages must have been included in the Reḍḍi kingdom, as they are situated in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. It is interesting to note

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 132. The description of the boundaries given here is rather vague; and the translation agrees with the original text closely. In the published Persian text, the passage describing the boundaries runs as follows :

بالجمله سلطان را درین مدت اکثر بلاد و قلاع ملک دکن در قبضه اقتدار و ضبط بندگان درگاه
گیتی پناه در آمد - چنانچه از جانب شرق دولت آباد تا بهونگیر و آب گوداوری جانب شمال و جانب
جنوب تا آب گنگ . . . بود -

(*Tarikh-i-Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, p. 28). It is rather difficult to understand how the Gōdāvarī could have formed the boundary of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn's territory both on the north and the south. The idea which the author wanted to convey was probably that 'Alā-ud-dīn's dominions extended from Bhōnāgīr to the Gōdāvarī and also from Gōdāvarī to (Pen) Gaṅgā.

[2] Mr. T. N. Ramachandran asserts that the identity of Anavōta, who was defeated at Sūravaram, 'becomes clear from the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma dated Śaka 1300' (*J. O. R.*, 1931, p. 133.). It is true that the inscription in question mentions the Reḍḍi king Anavōta, but does not offer any clue which may lead to the identification of Bhaktirāja's enemy. The Vānapalli plates, as a matter of fact, have no bearing on the present problem.

that no village of the name of Sūravaram is found in Tilang, as far as it can be ascertained from the available records. Nor is there any evidence to show that Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa had ever led an expedition to the coastal region. Taking all these facts into consideration, the probability appears to be that the person who suffered defeat at Sūravaram was not Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, but the Reḍḍi ruler of Koṇḍavīḍu of that name. Another fact which lends support to this view must be noticed in this connection. During the latter part of the reign of Anavōta there was a widespread rebellion against his authority in the northern part of his kingdom, and he lost control over the territory beyond the Kṛishṇā.[1] Though the incidents of this rebellion are not yet fully known, the total absence of the Reḍḍi inscriptions between A.D. 1363 and 1371 seems to indicate that the power of the Reḍḍis suffered an eclipse. The attack on Dharaṇikōṭa by Māda, the younger brother of Anavōta of Rāchakoṇḍa, and the defeat of Anavōta-Reḍḍi in battle and his flight must also be assigned to this period.[2] Taking advantage of the troubles that had beset his overlord, Bhaktirāja appears to have joined the rebels, and asserted his independence. Anavōta appears to have made an attempt to put down the rebellion and reassert his authority. The rebel forces, however, proved too much for his strength and he sustained defeat at the hands of Bhaktirāja.

Two more facts are mentioned in the present inscription about Bhaktirāja. (1) He laid the foundations of a new city which he called after his own name **Kāmapurī**; and it seems to have been made **the capital of his principality**. The situation of Kāmapurī is not definitely known, as no village of that name is found at present in the east coast of the Telugu country. There are, however, two villages bearing the name of Kāmavaram which is generally believed to be a corruption of Kāmapuram. One of them is now a deserted village in the Ellavaram division of the East Godavari District; and the other is situated in the Vizianagaram taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Besides these villages there is a Kāmavarapupāḍu in the Ellavaram division, and a Kāmavarapukōṭa, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. Mr. V. Apparao believes that the latter is identical with the town founded by Bhaktirāja.[3] (2) He also **married Annemāmbā** by whom he had a son called Annadēva. Bhaktirāja had according to Niśśaṅku Kommana, a contemporary writer, another son called Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga,[4] of whom nothing is said in this inscription. This has probably to be attributed to the want of cordiality between the brothers, the causes of which will be explained presently.

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[1] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59. This record (No. 20 of 1915) which was set up at Śrīśailam in A.D. 1377 by an officer of Koṇḍavīḍu refers to certain events which seem to have taken place before Anavēma's accession. It is said that Anavēma destroyed a number of forts both on land and in the water (*sthala-durga* and *jala-durga*) in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. This region was, according to Erṟā Preggaḍa's *Harivaṁśa* under the sway of Prōlaya Vēma (*Harivaṁśa*, part ii, 2 : 1 ; 4 : 1) ; and it was included in the dominions subjected to the authority of Anavōta until A.D. 1357, as shown by the Drākshārāmam epigraph cited above. There would have been no occasion for Anavēma to conquer, much less to destroy the *sthala-durgas* and *jala-durgas* in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, had there been no rebellion in this region. Anavēma's authority was recognized in the Gōdāvarī valley from the very beginning of his reign, as shown by his inscriptions (above, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff. ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 785 ; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 115 ; above, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff. ; No. 446 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection). Therefore, the rebellion referred to above must have broken out before Anavēma's accession. Probably Anavēma himself was benefited by the rebellion ; for, in the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above, Anavēma is said to have been the lord chosen by the damsel of sovereignty in a *svayamvara* (*rājya-ramaṇī-svayamvara-labdha-nāyaka*). This is a covert statement which alludes to the illegal assumption of sovereignty by Anavēma, setting aside his nephew Kumāragiri, the rightful heir to the throne. Anavōta probably died unexpectedly while the rebels were still at large ; and taking advantage of the prevailing confusion in the kingdom, Anavēma seized the throne ignoring the claims of his young nephew.

[2] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, vv. 80, 81.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

[4] Niśśaṅku Kommana : *Śivalīlāvilāsam*. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 241 (see note 1 on p. 29 below).

How long Bhaktirāja continued to rule his principality after the events described above is not quite clear. According to an epigraph summarised by the Mackenzie Surveyors, his son and successor Annadēva was crowned in the city of R(K?)āmavaram on Āśvija, śu. 10, of the year Parābhava corresponding to Śaka 1259.[1] The date is unfortunately irregular. The Śaka and the cyclic years do not agree. The cyclic year Parābhava does not coincide with Śaka 1259 but with Śaka 1289. As the Śaka year given in the record yields a date far too early for the coronation of Annadēva, it must be rejected as inaccurate. If, on the other hand, the cyclic year is taken to be correct, Annadēva's coronation may be said to have taken place in A.D. 1366. Much however cannot be built on the basis of the information furnished by this inaccurately dated record especially as the original is not available for our examination. The earliest genuine record of Annadēva is a short epigraph dated Śaka 1310, Vibhava (A.D. 1388); and it registers the gift of Kāñchanapalle to the temple of Śiva at Tripurāntakam in the Markapur taluk of the Kurnool District.[2] He seems to have passed under a cloud during the next sixteen years; and when at the end of this period he emerges into light again, he is found ruling with full titles of sovereignty in the neighbourhood of Drākshārāmam.[3] There is reason to believe that he was in exile, for, in the first place, the provenance of the inscriptions of Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi who ascended the throne in or about A.D. 1382 clearly shows that the lower Gōdāvarī valley wherein lay the family estates of Annadēva was included in the Reḍḍi kingdom.[4] The Komāragirivaram grant dated A.D. 1408-09 clearly states that Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi bestowed on Kāṭaya-Vēma the Eastern kingdom with Rājamahēndranagara as its headquarters.[5] It is obvious that the lower Gōdāvarī valley was under the control of Kumāragiri at the time of his death which took place in or about A.D. 1404. Moreover, in the Anaparti grant dated A.D. 1390, it is said that the east coast up to Siṁhādri (*i.e.*, Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam District) acknowledged Kumāragiri's rule; and that he, being desirous of bequeathing to his young son, Anavōta II, a larger kingdom than he possessed, planned the conquest of fresh territories extending to the east of that hill.[6] Secondly Vēdagiri I, the Velama king of Dēvarakoṇḍa in Telingāṇa (Nalgonda District of the Hyderabad State), a contemporary of Kumāragiri, is said to have offered protection to Annadēva.[7] It follows from these facts that Annadēva was living abroad owing to the occupation of his territories by the Reḍḍi kings.

The circumstances which led to the displacement of Annadēva may now be envisaged briefly. Anavēma who seized the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu on the death of his elder brother, planned an expedition against the rebels in the deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, and brought them soon under control. According to the Śrīśailam epigraph cited above, Anavēma "demolished the *jala-durga* of Divi (Kistna District) and captured all the *jala-durgas* at the confluence of the Gautamī (*i.e.*, Gōdāvarī) and the sea, broke open the *sthala-durgas* of Rājamahēndra, Niravadyanagara (Nidadavole in the West Godavari District) and others; and planted pillars proclaiming his glory at the foot of the Siṁhāchalam and the Vindhyas".[8] Anavēma seems to have made use of force as well as diplomacy in re-establishing his authority. He crippled the strength of the Telugu Chōḍas who were a formidable obstacle in his path, by creating dissensions among the members

[1] *Mac. Mss.* 15-4-4, pp. 231 ff. The epigraph in question is said to have been engraved on a slab lying outside the postern (*diḍḍi gummam*) gate of the fort of Rajahmundry. Its present whereabouts are not known.

[2] No. 254 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[3] No. 421 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 7, 155; above, Vol. IV, pp. 328-9.

[5] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 210.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

[7] The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, 122.

[8] No. 20 of 1915; *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1915, part ii, para. 59.

of the family. Bhaktirāja was probably dead by this time; and differences seem to have arisen between his sons regarding succession. Taking advantage of this, Anavēma entered into an alliance with his son Bhīma or Bhīmaliṅga, and secured his support and loyalty permanently by bestowing on him the hand of his daughter in marriage.[1] Annadēva must have felt helpless against this combination, and sought refuge in his ancestral estate of Ēruva, where he seems to have kept up a precarious existence up to 1388 A.D. The expansion of the Vijayanagara kingdom towards the east seems to have ousted him even from this place of refuge, and he became a wanderer seeking his fortunes in the courts of the Deccan. This accounts for the inveterate hostility which he displayed in later life towards the Reḍḍis and their allies, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara.

3. **The first achievement of Annadēva** that is described in these plates is the assistance which he rendered to the Turushka king in **defeating the king of the Karṇāṭa at Sagara**. This statement clearly indicates that Annadēva entered into an alliance with the Bahmanī Sultan. The Karṇāṭa army that is mentioned in the inscription is the army of Vijayanagara; and Sagara is a city of that name on the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā in the Gulburga District of the Nizam's Dominions. It stood on the frontier between Gulburga and Vijayanagara, and constantly figured in the wars between the two kingdoms. It follows from this that the Turushka king who was engaged in fighting with the Karṇāṭaka army was the Bahmanī Sultan. Now between A.D. 1388, the date of Annadēva's Tripurāntakam record, and A.D. 1416 when he appears to have died,[2]

[1] The marriage of Bhīmaliṁga with the daughter of king Anavēma is referred to by contemporary Telugu writers. According to Niśśaṁku Kommana, Allāḍa married Vēmāṁbikā, the daughter of Bhīmaliṁga who was the son of Chōḷa-Bhakti-kshitīśvara :—

Ma : Bharita-śrīnidhi-yam-mahīramaṇuḍ=oppeṅ=Jōḷa-Bhakti-kshitī-
svara-sūnuṁḍ-agu Bhīmaliṁga-manujēśa-śrēshṭhu sat-putri bhā-
svara-kāruṇya-daśā-jan=āvana-vidhā-saṁdhātri Vēmāṁbikan
variyiñchen=bati-bhakti-gaurava-dṛiḍha-vyāpāra-nity-āmbikan ||

(*Śivalīlāvilāsam*, canto 1.) Śrīnātha states that Vēmāṁbikā was a grand-daughter (*i.e.*, daughter's daughter) of king Anavēma of Koṇḍavīḍu :—

Ma : Anavēma-kshitipālu-pautri-yagu-Vēmāmbā-Mahādēvikin
ghanuḍ=ayy-Allaya-bhūmi-pālunaku saṁgrāma-sthalī-gāṁḍīvul
tanayul=Vēma-vibhuṇḍu Vīra-vasudh-ādhyakshuṇḍu Doḍḍa-prabhuṁ-
ḍunun=Annayyayu bāhu-vikrama-kaḷ-āṭōpa-pratāp-ōddhatul || (*Kāśīkhaṇḍamu*, canto 1, v. 32).

It is obvious that Vēmāmbā's parents were Bhīmaliṁga, the son of Chōḷa Bhaktīśvara and an unnamed daughter of king Anavēma.

Chōḷa Bhaktīśvara — Anavēma
Bhīmaliṁga *m.* daughter
Vēmāmbikā *m.* Doḍḍaya Alla

[2] An epigraph (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113) at Palivela dated January A.D. 1417 states that Doḍḍama-Reḍḍi Allāḍa destroyed the family of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy completely and restored the kingdom to his children. These were Kāṭaya-Vēma's son Kumāragiri who succeeded him on the throne of Rajahmundry, and daughter Anitalli who married Vīrabhadrā-Reḍḍi, the second son of Allāḍa (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. II, p. 108). Now, the present grant makes it quite clear that Annadēva was fighting with Kāṭaya-Vēma's family about A.D. 1416. So far as we are aware, the only enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma who having displaced the latter's children occupied their kingdom was Annadēva. Therefore, the enemy of Kāṭaya-Vēma whom Allāḍa-Reḍḍi destroyed with the whole of his family before January A.D. 1417 in order to restore Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their paternal kingdom must have been none other than Annadēva. Any doubt that may still linger in our minds is completely set at rest by the poet Śrīnātha who flourished at the court of Vēma and Vīrabhadra, sons of Allāḍa-Reḍḍi. He states that Allāḍa destroyed the overweening pride of Vīrabhadra and Annadēva of the Solar family :

Bhānumat-kula-Vīrabhadr-Ānnadēv-ādi-garva-saṁrambhaṁbu-gāku chēsi (*Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62).

It is therefore certain that Allāḍa-Reḍḍi came into conflict with Annadēva-Chōḍa and his son Vīrabhadra and killed them before January 1417 A.D.

there was one major conflict between the Bahmanī Sultan and the king of Vijayanagara in which the city of Sagara played an important part. Fīrūz Khān and Aḥmad Khān, the nephews of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, rose up in revolt in 800 A.H. (A.D. 1397) against the latter's son Shams-ud-dīn in Sagar. Though defeated in war and reconciled ostensibly to the Sultan, who again received them into favour, they did not give up their designs upon the throne, and treacherously seized it on the 14th February, A.D. 1397.[1] Fīrūz Khān ascended the throne and assumed the title of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī. The Hindu chiefs who held estates from the Bahmanī Sultan in the neighbourhood of Sagar revolted immediately as a protest against Fīrūz Shāh's usurpation. Though the Bahmanī historians do not explicitly mention this rebellion, they refer to an invasion of Dēvarāya of Vijayanagara and the suppression of the Hindu rebels at Sagar by Fīrūz Shāh. According to Firishta, Dēvarāya invaded the territories of the Raichūr Doab in 801 A.H. with the object of capturing the forts of Mudkal and Raichūr, but Fīrūz Shāh moved towards Sagar to frustrate his attempt. " After this ", says he, " he put to death a Zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory ".[2] Sayyid 'Ālī more definitely alludes to a rebellion of the Hindu chiefs. According to him, Fīrūz Shāh declared a *jihād* on Vijayanagara in 802 A.H. (A.D. 1399) and " marched towards Sagar. When the chiefs of that district heard of the Sultan's approach, they tendered their submission, and paid the revenue of the country into the royal treasury, and so remained secure from attack by the army."[3] It is evident that about A.D. 1398-99 there was a Hindu rebellion in the district of Sagar against the Bahmanī Sultan; and the rebels actually took possession of the fort. Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad declares that the first action of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, after his accession to the throne, was an attack upon the fort of Sagar where some rebels who had taken possession of it had defied his authority.[4] But the Sultan declared war upon the king of Vijayanagara, even before he marched to put down the rebels. Very probably the rebels secured help from the king of Vijayanagara, and placed the stronghold of Sagar in his hands; otherwise, there could have been no battle at Sagar, as stated in this inscription between the forces of the Bahmanī Sultan and the Karṇāṭaka army. Another fact which seems to throw some light on this problem may be mentioned here. In the *Tāḷadīpikā* of Sāḷuva Gōpa-Tippa, one of the *tāḷas* is called ' *Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ* ', *i.e.*, ' he who first broke into the fort of Sagar '. This is, indeed, a curious name for a *tāḷa*; but Tippa states in explanation of the name that the *dēśya-tāḷas*, forty-one in number, were named by him after his titles.[5] Therefore, Sāḷuva Gōpa-Tippa had the title of ' *Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ* '. Much is not known of Tippa's military activities, and the Sāḷuva inscriptions so far as they are known do not allude to the capture of Sagara by Tippa or his immediate ancestors. Probably like the names of other *tāḷas*, ' *Śamburāyasthāpakaḥ* ', ' *Dakshiṇasuratrāṇavipāṭaḥ* ', the ' *Sagaradurggādivipāṭaḥ* ' was also called after one of his ancestral titles. In that case, it alludes to the capture of Sagara (Sagar) by one of the early chiefs of the Sāḷuva family in the service of the king of Vijayanagara. As there is no other known earlier instance of a Vijayanagara attack on the fort, the title perhaps had its origin in the capture of Sagar about this time.

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[1] *Burhan-i-Ma'āṣir* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 185); Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 359-60.

[2] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 370.

[3] *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* (*Ind., Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 186).

[4] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), iii. p. 13.

و چون در قلعه سگر بعضی مردان متحصن شده بودند - آولاً بگو شمال ان گروه متوجه شد -

[5] Mysore Or. Mss. Library, No. 3809, 10th fol. f. I am obliged to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi for extracting for my use this portion from his own copy of the *Tāḷadīpikā*.

Annadēva evidently joined Fīrūz Shāh in his expedition against the fort of Sagar in A.D. 1398-9 and helped him to defeat the Karṇāṭakas and regain the fort. The help which he rendered to Fīrūz Shāh could not have been substantial. As a prince living in exile, he could not have had a large following. Fīrūz Shāh was an ambitious king. He had designs on Teliṅgāṇa and the rich deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. A pretender to the sovereignty of this region would be a pliable tool in his hands, and could be used to his advantage when occasion arose. Moreover, it was desirable to secure an ally who might embarrass the king of Vijayanagara on the east coast in the event of a war in which he might become involved. These considerations prompted Fīrūz Shāh to enter into an alliance with Annadēva and associate him in his war with the Karṇāṭakas.

The **second achievement** attributed to Annadēva is the **conquest of Jaggavāga,** and other enemy cities. Though at the present state of knowledge the identification of these cities and the enemies to whom they belonged is not possible, the capture of these cities seems to indicate Annadēva's return from Gulburga. An inscription in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāmam[1] clearly shows that Annadēva had not only returned to his native country before July 1404 A.D., but had managed to regain the power which he had lost some years earlier.[2] As Drākshārāmam is in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry which at this time served the Reḍḍis as the capital of their northern possessions, it is impossible that Annadēva could have gained a footing in this region without coming into conflict with them, specially with Kāṭaya-Vēma, who was then ruling over this part of the Reḍḍi kingdom.[3] The absence of Kāṭaya-Vēma's inscriptions during the early years of his reign (A.D. 1404-07) in Rajahmundry and its neighbourhood seems to suggest that very probably he had temporarily lost control over his capital immediately after the death of his brother-in-law and sovereign, Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi in A.D. 1403 though he appears to have recaptured it before A.D. 1408.[4] The titles, '*Rājādhirāja*,' and '*Pūrvasiṁhāsanādhīśvara*' which Annadēva assumed about this time[5] were probably meant to proclaim his own sovereignty and the triumph which he won over his Reḍḍi adversaries. The circumstances which facilitated Annadēva's return from Gulburga, and the re-establishment of his authority in the Gōdāvarī delta must be explained here, in order to present the facts enumerated in the inscription under consideration in their true perspective. Anavēma died probably in A.D. 1381 and his nephew Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. Kumāragiri's accession was not, however, peaceful and uncontested. The Tottaramūḍi plates which declare that his brother-in-law, 'the powerful Kāṭaya-Vēma placed him on the throne and protected him even as Śrīkṛishṇa protected Yudhishṭhira', allude covertly to some opposition which Kāṭaya-Vēma had to overcome before he placed Kumāragiri on the throne, and to the sovereign powers which he exercised on his behalf after his accession. It is evident that Kumāragiri left the onerous task of governing the kingdom to his powerful brother-in-law, and contented

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

[2] My reasons for thinking so are: (1) No trace of him is found before this date in the region of the Gōdāvarī; (2) Anavēma and Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi were in actual possession of this region from A.D. 1371 to 1403; and (3) the Velama king Peda-Vēdagiri is said to have offered protection to Annadēva '*Ala-Chōḍa-Bhaktīndru Anadēvarājunu bemp=āra-gāche*' (The *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvaḷi*, p. 122). The word *kāchu* implies some danger which threatened Annadēva; (4) Annadēva was, after all, a petty chief as yet unknown to fame. It is not likely that his greatness reached the Bahmanī court and induced Fīrūz Shāh to court alliance with him. Judging in the light of these facts, it appears to me that Annadēva who was at Dēvarakonda joined the Velamas who were the friends of Fīrūz Shāh and helped the latter to take Sagar.

[3] *Mac. Mss.*, 15. 4. 4, p. 233.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 213.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

himself with the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.[1] When his only son, Prince Vīrannavōta, died a premature death some time after A.D. 1390, Kumāragiri, who was left without any heir except his distant cousins, resolved to reward his brother-in-law for the valuable services rendered by him. Therefore, he conferred on Kāṭaya-Vēma the eastern territories with Rajahmundry as its capital, and left the remaining part of the kingdom to one of his cousins who might be successful in seizing his throne. Accordingly, on his death, the Reḍḍi territories which had hitherto remained under the authority of a single monarch were divided into two kingdoms, practically hostile to each other. Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who succeeded him on the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu, did not naturally acquiesce in the division of the kingdom effected by Kumāragiri and was inclined to question the right of Kāṭaya-Vēma to rule at Rajahmundry.

Another factor which contributed to the removal of the obstacles from the path of Annadēva was the confusion that arose in the kingdom of Vijayanagara, consequent upon the illness which afflicted Harihara II in A.D. 1403. His three sons Bukka II, Virūpāksha I, and Dēvarāya I repaired from their respective provinces to the capital, and were each busy in concerting measures to seize the throne.[2] The death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil war which racked the kingdom for two years. Kāṭaya-Vēma who expected help from Vijayanagara, owing to his political and family alliance with Harihara II, could hope for little or no assistance from his ally under the circumstances.[3] It was at this juncture that Annadēva considered it expedient to return to his native country, and make an effort to recover his patrimony. There is reason to believe that his restoration was partly due to a Velama invasion of the Rajahmundry kingdom. Rāvu-Siṅga II, the ruler of Warangal and Rāchakoṇḍa, invaded, probably at the instance of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, the Gōdāvarī delta and overran the country as far as the frontiers of Orissa.[4] His cousin, Peda Vēdagiri, the chief of Dēvarakoṇḍa who formerly gave asylum to Annadēva, co-operated with him in the enterprise, and destroyed, according to the *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*, the fort of Beṇḍapūḍi (Tuni division of the East Godavari District) which belonged to Kāṭaya-Vēma.[5] These statements are corroborated by the evidence of a few inscriptions of Peda-Vēdagiri's officers at Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam, both of which were included in the dominions of Kāṭaya-Vēma.[6] One of these records registers the gift of 10 *gaṇḍa-māḍas* to the temple of Śrīkūrmam by Pina Māda-Nāyaḍu, son of Siṅgama-Nāyaḍu, a younger brother of Rēcherla Sūrā-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa in A.D. 1405.[7] The

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[1] *Līlā-grihān=kanaka-ratna-chayair=anēkān prāsādam=unnata-śikhair=Griharāja-saṁjñam |*
krīḍā-sarāṁsi cha vidhāya Vasantarāyaḥ kēḷī-radhānavi (?) sah=āramata priyābhiḥ || The Komaragirivaram Grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 209-10).

[2] *Local Records*, XXII, p. 166.

[3] The marriage between Kāṭaya-Vēma's son, Kāṭa-Prabhu, and Harihara's daughter is mentioned in the Vēmavaram grant (above, Vol. XIII, p. 242).

[4] *Sōm (Snēh ?)=ōllāsini Pārasīka-nripatau sandh-ānu-sāṁdhāya(na ?)kaiḥ*
kanyāratna-samarpaṇāt Gajapatau sambandha-gandhaspriśi |
Rēcherl-ānvaya-śārṅgiṇam narapatiṁ drashṭuṁ raṇē sāhasam
sambhāvyaṁ sa (na ?) hi Gautamī-parisara-kshudra-kshamābhrid-gaṇē ||
(Viśvēśvara, *Chamatkāra-chandrikā*—Madras Government Or. Mss. Lib., R. No. 2679, p. 114).

[5] See Introduction to Kāṭaya-Vēma's Commentary on Kāḷidāsa's *Śākuntalam*.

[6] Kāṭaya-Vēma conquered the country between Simhāchalam and the Vindhyas between A.D. 1385 and 1390. This is brought out by the following passage in the Anaparti grant :
Tasmāt=Siṁhādri-paryanta-prāchya ēva mahīśvarāḥ |
Jētavyās=tan=mahīpālān=adhunā jaya-līlayā ||
Tatō Vindhyādri-Siṁhādri-madhyavarti-mahīśvarān |
Jitvā tad-dēśa-durgēshu niyujya sv-ādhikāriṇaḥ || *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 204 (vv. 27 and 35).

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1242.

identity of the Sūrā-Nāyaḍu mentioned in this record is disclosed by another at Simhāchalam dated A.D. 1407.[1] He was the Pradhāni or the Minister of (Peda) Vēdagiri-Nāyaḍu of Dēvarakoṇḍa. It follows from this that the Velamas who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry about A.D. 1404 remained in the eastern districts for three or four years. As Annadēva was a *protégé* of Peda-Vēdagiri, and as the Velama invasion roughly coincided with Annadēva's return to his native country, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Velama invasion was undertaken to reinstate the latter in his ancestral estates.

What happened in the Gōdāvarī delta in the years that immediately followed Annadēva's return is not known. A study of the Reḍḍi inscriptions of this period, however, leads to the conclusion that the successors of Kumāragiri had completely lost control over the coastal region between the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī. Whereas the inscriptions of Kumāragiri are found in this region as in the other parts of the Reḍḍi kingdom, no inscription of his successors—neither of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma nor of Kāṭaya-Vēma,—has been so far discovered. The inscriptions of the early years of Kāṭaya-Vēma's reign are not found anywhere to the west of Piṭhāpuram and Peddāpuram; and none of Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma is found on the north of the Kṛishṇā. A part of this region, if not the whole of it, probably passed into the hands of Annadēva.

Kāṭaya-Vēma was thus hemmed in between two enemies during these years. On the east were the Velamas in the neighbourhood of Simhāchalam, and on the west was Annadēva in the neighbourhood of his capital. Kāṭaya-Vēma must have been driven out of his capital and maintained a precarious hold on the Piṭhāpuram-*cum*-Peddāpuram region, biding his time to dislodge his enemy. He perceived, at last, a chance of obtaining help from Vijayanagara. Dēvarāya I who emerged successfully out of a civil war ascended the throne in A.D. 1406; but he had to face a simultaneous attack delivered by two of his neighbours. Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma who could not reconcile himself to the loss of the districts of Addanki and Śrīśailam despatched an expedition into the Udayagiri-rājya and occupied a large part of the present Cuddapah District.[2] At the same time, Fīrūz Shāh attacked Vijayanagara from the north.[3] Dēvarāya, however, successfully withstood these attacks, and within the course of the next three or four years consolidated his position in the kingdom. It was at this time that Kāṭaya-Vēma set out for Vijayanagara and reached Ahōbalam in the Kurnool District about the end of A.D. 1410.[4] It is not known whether he actually proceeded to Vijayanagara to solicit help from Dēvarāya. Taking into consideration the serious situation in which Kāṭaya-Vēma was involved, it is difficult to believe that his visit to Ahōbalam in the interior of the Vijayanagara kingdom was not actuated by political motives. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies on the banks of the Gōdāvarī fighting against Annadēva during the succeeding years, as mentioned in the inscription under review, clearly shows that Vēma succeeded, whether he actually met Dēvarāya or not, in obtaining help.

Now this brief narrative of the political developments in the kingdom of Rajahmundry furnishes the clue for a clear understanding of the events mentioned in this inscription. Kāṭaya-Vēma seems to have abandoned the caution which characterised his early actions, some time after his return from Vijayanagara and embarked on a policy of aggression. Though he still maintained his hold on the eastern bank of the river, his enemy was in possession of the opposite bank.[5] It was necessary that he should control both the banks of the river to ensure the safety

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1100.

[2] *Local Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[3] Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 383.

[4] No. 84 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] Two epigraphs, one at Pōlavaram on the west bank of the Gōdāvarī (No. 1293 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) and another at Pālakōl in the Narsapur tāluk of the West Godavari District (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 145) dated A.D. 1408 and A.D. 1413 respectively show that Annadēva was the master of the western bank.

of his dominion, and free himself from the ever-present threat of attack. The conquest of the district of Attili (Taṇuku division, W. Godavari District) and the capture of that town and the fort by the southern kings referred to in the present inscription, point out clearly that Vēma launched an attack upon his enemy's territory.[1] The number and identity of the southern kings are not known, though it may be confidently asserted that the tributary princes and the nobles of Vijayanagara were certainly among them. Annadēva was not disposed to allow this affront to his authority to pass unavenged. Having quickly gathered together his friends and followers, he marched at their head to chastise the invaders. He came upon the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma's southern allies in the vicinity of Attili, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. A large body of the enemy's forces numbering 10,000 men who were stationed in the fort of Attili were compelled as a consequence of defeat to surrender to him.

While Annadēva was engaged in taking possession of the fort of Attili, one of his friends who is unfortunately not mentioned by name in the inscription, came into conflict with a contingent of the Vijayanagara (*Kannaḍa*) army at Kāṅkaraparti on the Gautamī (*i.e.* the Gōdāvarī). Confronted with a superior force, he was unable to cope with the situation, and stood in grave peril of destruction. Intelligence of the sad plight of his friend having reached Annadēva, he hastened with his troops to rescue his friend. As soon as he arrived at Kāṅkaraparti, he lost no time in engaging himself in action. Led by his brother-in-law, Pina-Uṇḍirāja, his army fell upon the Karṇāṭakas and hacked them to pieces. It was an overwhelming disaster to Kāṭaya-Vēma's side, his allies were nearly annihilated and his family had to surrender to his enemy, abjectly begging him to spare their lives.

Two points demand explanation here. (*a*) It is said that Annadēva rescued some friend who was assailed by the Karṇāṭakas at Kāṁkaraparti. The inscription gives no help to establish his identity. A passage from *Burhān-i-Ma'āSir*, however, seems to throw some light on the problem. Describing the events during the last years of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, Sayyid ' Ali states that the Sultan led an army into Telingāṇa and subjugated the country as far as Rajahmundry.

" The Sultan ", says he, " being determined to conquer Telingāṇa proceeded in that direction till having got near Rajahmundry he conquered many forts and districts of that country, and having taken the whole of that territory he consigned it to the agents of government, and then set out for his capital ".[2] Sayyid ' Ali does not give the date of this expedition ; but he mentions a number of events which had taken place before and after the dispatch of the expedition. However, a comparison with Ferishta's account of these events, may enable us to determine

[1] Though the identity of the southern kings is not disclosed in the inscription, it is not difficult to conjecture who they were. In the south, more strictly south-west, of Annadēva's dominions were the kingdoms of Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara. It is not likely that they should have joined together to attack Annadēva ; for, in the first place, the relations between Koṇḍaviḍu and Vijayanagara were anything but friendly at this time ; and secondly Pedakōmaṭi-Vēma, the king of Koṇḍaviḍu, who was hostile to Kāṭaya-Vēma would not have helped him or his family by making an attack upon Annadēva. The king of Vijayanagara was related to Kāṭaya-Vēma, as pointed out already, by marriage alliance. At Sagar the former encountered at first Annadēva as an ally of the Bahmanī Sultan ; and then according to the present record he was fighting with the latter at Kāṁkaraparti on the Gōdāvarī as an opponent. Moreover, according to Śrīnātha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62 (above Vol. XIII, p. 241), the king of Karṇāṭa was an ally of Allāḍa who restored Kāṭaya-Vēma's children to their kingdom. Taking into consideration all these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the southern kings referred to in the present record was the king of Karṇāṭaka and that he came there with his forces to help Kāṭaya-Vēma and his family.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 187.

roughly the time when the expedition was undertaken. The facts mentioned by both the historians are given in the following schedule, for the purposes of comparison :

Sayyid 'Ali	*Ferishta.*
(1) Fīrūz Shāh's second war with Vijayanagara ; and his capture of Bhānūr and Musalkal.	*Nil.*
(2) One year after this, he invaded Māhūr and made peace with the Rāya.	The Sultan invaded Gondvana *i.e.* Māhūr in 815 A.H.
(3) Hushyār and Bēdār rose to prominence	*Nil.*
(4) Death of Khwāja-i-Jahān, the prime minister of the Sultan .	*Nil.*
(5) The invasion of Telingāṇa as far as Rajahmundry, and the conquest of the country	*Nil.*
(6) The siege of Pāngal	The siege of Nalgoṇḍa-Pāngal in 820 A.H.

It is obvious that Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry took place between 815 A.H. and 820 A.H.

Another fact which seems to have some bearing on the subject must be taken into consideration here. Notwithstanding the uniform success which attended his arms, and the comparative ease with which he subjugated the country, Fīrūz Shāh is said to have returned to his capital without making an attempt to capture Rajahmundry, although he marched victoriously to the neighbourhood of the city. The reason for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity to capture the city is not quite apparent. Rajahmundry was an important stronghold in the lower valley of the Gōdāvarī, and it was the seat of a flourishing Hindu kingdom. The temptation to plunder the city, if not actually to take possession of it, must have been too strong for an orthodox and ambitious Muhammadan king like Fīrūz Shāh to overcome. Therefore, the return of the Sultan without even making an attempt to invest the city must be attributed to some obstacle which compelled him to turn back and hasten homewards.

A few incidental remarks thrown out by the Muslim historians, while describing the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa by Fīrūz Shāh in the middle of 820 A. H. (August, A.D. 1417), seem to suggest that the Sultan was compelled to return by the arrival of a fresh Vijayanagara army in the east. Firishta states that in the middle of the year 820 A. H., the Sultan made an attack on Pāngal commonly known as Nalkoṇḍa in his day, a fort which stood at a distance of eighty farsangs or two hundred and forty miles from Ādōni on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā.[1] The authenticity

[1] Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 389-90. There are two forts named Pāngal in Telingāṇa. One of them stands, at a distance of about seventy miles to the east of Ādōni, in the Mahbubnagar District of Hyderabad State. This could not have been the Pāngal besieged by Fīrūz Shāh, as the distance between this fort and Ādōni is seventy miles and not two hundred and forty as stated by Firishta.

There is another Pāngal, adjoining the town of Nalkoṇḍa, the headquarters of the District of the same name in Hyderabad. In fact, Pāngal and Nalkoṇḍa are so near each other that they may be regarded as two different suburbs, as it were, of the same town. Moreover, the distance between this fort and Ādōni roughly agrees with that given by Firishta.

The name Bilcoṇḍa which is found both in Briggs' translation and the published Persian text (Naval Kishore Press) of Firishta is a corruption of Nalkoṇḍa, due to a scribal error commonly met with in Persian mss., lithographs, etc. Some scribe, either due to negligence or ignorance, shifted the dot indicating the phonetic value of the initial letter '*noon*' (ن) from the top to the bottom, and changed it into '*be*' (ب). Consequently, Nalkoṇḍa (نلکونده) was transformed into Bilkoṇḍa (بلکونده). In one of the mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the name of the fort is spelt as Malkoṇḍa :—

و در اواسط سال مذکور قاصد تسخیر پانگل که درین وقت به ملکونده شهرت دارد از قلعه ادونی تاانجا هشتاد فرسنگ
است شده بانصوب لشکر کشید .

—Cat. of Arab. and Persian mss. in the Library of R. A. S. B. No. D 57 fol. 332A.

of Firishta's account is corroborated by the evidence of two inscriptions both dated July, A.D. 1417, at Vēdādri in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna District. They refer to the occupation of Vōḍapalli-Vazīrābād and Śrīraṅgarājukoṇḍa (Vēdādri) on the banks of the Kṛishṇā in the eastern country by Sarakhn Maluka Jainādi Voḍaya (Sharq ? Malik Ziān-ud-dīn), an younger brother of Masnad-i-'Aly Habīb Nizām-ul-Mulk, one of the favourite ministers of Sultan Fīrūz Shāh[1]. As Vōḍapalli-Vazīrābād, where Malik Ziān-ud-dīn was ruling in A.D. 1417, is situated at the junction of the Musi with the Kṛishṇā at a distance of about thirty miles in the south-east of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, there is no scope for any doubt about the identity of the fort invested by the Sultan. The causes of this attack are not fully explained by the Muslim historians. From Firishta's account it would appear that it was an act of unprovoked aggression. "Without regarding his relationship to the Rāy of Beejanuggur", says he, "he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years."[2] Sayyid 'Ali asserts, on the contrary, that the Sultan was compelled to march against Vijayanagara, though he does not mention the circumstances which rendered the invasion obligatory.[3] Khāfī Khān, however, states that Fīrūz Shāh's march upon Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa was due to an invasion of his territories by the king of Vijayanagara. "At this time (*i.e.* after 818 A. H.)", says he, "the intelligence of the advance of Rāy of Bījānagar with numerous forces on the territories of Islam arrived. Sultan Fīrūz Shāh having gathered his troops marched in that direction personally to oppose him with the army and the materials of war."[4] If the evidence of Sayyid 'Ali and Khāfī Khān could be relied upon, Fīrūz Shāh appears to have marched to the eastern Telingāṇa to ward off an attack of the king of Vijayanagara on his dominions in that region. Fīrūz Shāh was an ally, and, according to the Muhammadan historians, the overlord, of the Velamas whose territory extended from Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rājukoṇḍa in the south to the Gōdāvarī in the north. Though this region did not properly form part of the Sultan's kingdom, it may be termed the territory of Islam (*bilād-i-Islām*), as its rulers, the Velamas, paid tribute and owed probably allegiance to him. It is not known when the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, which stands close to their principal capital Rājukoṇḍa, fell into the hands of the king of Vijayanagara. Probably Dēvarāya I seized it in the absence of the Velama forces, when they accompanied the Sultan during his expedition to the Gōdāvarī valley. The reduction of this fort, and the consequent submission of the dependent territory must have brought under the control of Dēvarāya an important strategic position which commanded the route along which his armies had to pass on their way to the east coast. If, on the other hand, the fort of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa had been in the possession of the king of Vijayanagara even earlier, the Bahmanī territory which he invaded at this time must have extended further eastwards into the coastal region which was recently conquered by the Sultan. In any case, the Vijayanagara attack on the possessions of Fīrūz Shāh in the east must have threatened the Sultan's rear, and compelled him to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry abandoning his designs of further conquest.

However, the date of this invasion is not known. Khāfī Khān places it sometime after 818 A. H. (A.D. 1415-16).[5] As the Vijayanagara invasion immediately preceded Fīrūz Shāh's

[1] Nos. 306 and 307 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. Sayyid 'Ali gives a brief account of Nizām-ul-Mulk and his colleague and friend 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āSir*. "At this time (about 815 A. H.) two slaves named Hushyār and Bēdār who, by royal favours and rank, were distinguished above all courtiers, had various dignities conferred on them, and most of the important affairs of government and army were conducted according to their judgment and opinion. Bēdār was given the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and Hushyār that of 'Ain-ul-Mulk". (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII., p. 187).

[2] Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 390.

[3] *Burhan-i-Ma'āSir* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 188).

[4] *Muntakhab-ul-Labab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, p. 63.
درین آوان خبر حرکت رائے بیجانگر بالشکر بے کران طرف بلاد اسلام رسید - سلطان فیروز شاه
مقابل او لشکر کشیده خود را مع فوج و مصالح محاربه به ان * سمت رسانید -

[5] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Bib. Ind.), iii, pp. 62-3.

attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa in 820 A. H., it seems to have taken place probably in the previous year. Sayyid 'Ali, it may be remembered, describes Fīrūz Shāh's invasion of Telingāṇa immediately before his attack on Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa, suggesting thereby that one preceded the other. Taking all these facts into consideration it seems reasonable to assign Fīrūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Rajahmundry to the year 819 A. H. (1416-17 A.D.).[1] Now, this appears to be the time when Annadēva was waging war on Kāṭaya-Vēma and his allies in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry.[2] As Fīrūz Shāh was an old friend and ally of Annadēva, it is not unlikely that he came to assist the latter at his invitation. Since Fīrūz Shāh is said to have got near Rajahmundry and turned back without proceeding against the city, he was probably 'the friend' whom Annadēva rescued from the Karṇāṭakas on the battlefield of Kāṁkaraparti.

(*b*) The other problem which stands in need of elucidation is the manner of Kāṭaya-Vēma's disappearance from the scene of his activities. Nothing is said about him in the present inscription though it speaks of the surrender of his family to Annadēva. It is certain that Vēma did not fall into the hands of Annadēva. Neither is it likely that he perished in a battle with Annadēva, nor being defeated by him could have taken to flight leaving his family at the tender mercies of his enemy; for, in either case, Annadēva would not have failed to include these facts in the list of his achievements given in the present charter. Therefore, the only reasonable alternative is to assume that Kāṭaya-Vēma died elsewhere under circumstances which are not known at present. Though nothing can be said definitely about the manner of his death, it is certain that the event itself had taken place between March and August 1416 A.D.; for, in the first place, he was still ruling at Rajahmundry according to an epigraph at Drākshārāmam dated March A.D. 1416.[3] But another epigraph at Palivela dated in the month of January A.D. 1417 alludes to his death and the destruction of Kāṭaya-Vēma's enemy, evidently Annadēva, at the hands of Allāḍa;[4] and a third epigraph dated August A.D. 1416 refers to the establishment of the power of Allāḍa in the kingdom.[5] It follows from this that Kāṭaya-Vēma's death took place between March and August A.D. 1416. As Fīrūz Shāh led his troops as far as Rajahmundry in A.D. 1416, it is not unreasonable to believe that Vēma might have perished in the invasion while attempting to check the advance of the Muslim army.[6]

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[1] Sayyid 'Ali places Fīrūz Shāh's expedition to Rajahmundry before his attack on Pāngal (Nalkoṇḍa). Firishta assigns the commencement of the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa to 820 A. H. Khāfī Khān places the Vijayanagara invasion of Bahmanī dominions in the east (which in my opinion compelled Fīrūz Shāh to retreat from the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry) sometime after 818 A. H.

Assuming that the position taken up by me is correct, Fīrūz Shāh must have been in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry at the time of the Vijayanagara invasion. If the Vijayanagara invasion took place after 818 A.H. and the siege of Pāngal-Nalkoṇḍa commenced in 820 A. H., Fīrūz Shāh's Rajahmundry expedition which, as I understand the situation, took place between these two dates, may be reasonably assigned to 819 A. H.

[2] Kāṭaya-Vēma was in Ahōbalam at the end of A.D. 1410. Hostilities between him and Annadēva must have commenced sometime after his return to his capital; it is not possible to determine the exact duration which elapsed between Vēma's return and the commencement of hostilities.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 330.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V., No. 113; see note 2 on p. 29 above.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 133.

[6] Tradition preserved in the family records and the *praśasti* of the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs (*Mack. Mss.* 15. 4. 3, pp. 112-13) alludes to a battle in which a scion of the family, called Gajarow Tippa, defeated the army of Kāṭaya-Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu, a village in the Ellore taluk of West Godavari District. Moreover, the family *praśasti* embodies a *biruda, viz., Kāṭaya-Vēmuni-tala-goṇḍa-gaṇḍa* (the hero who took the head of Kāṭaya-Vēma) which points to Vēma's death at the hands of Gajarow Tippa or some other member of his family, probably at Guṇḍukolanu itself. If this tradition could be relied upon, Vēma appears to have died in a battle with the Velamas, to which community the Koppunūḷḷa family belonged. Taking into consideration the time of Vēma's death as well as the friendly relations that subsisted between the Velamas and Fīrūz Shah, the Koppunūḷḷa chiefs seem to have accompanied Fīrūz Shāh's army during the Telingāṇa invasion and killed Vēma at Guṇḍukolanu. In that case, the engagement at Guṇḍukolanu must have preceded that of Attili.

4. Besides the achievements of Annadēva and his father enumerated above, the plates under edition give also an account of their **religious beliefs** and pious benefactions. Annadēva and his father were both staunch Śaivas. Though the latter was originally named Kāmarāja by his parents, he acquired, on account of his excessive devotion (*bhakti*) to the god Śiva, the sobriquet Bhaktirāja, by which he was commonly known to his contemporaries (III, l. 8). Kāmapuri, his capital, appears to have been a strong Śaiva centre. The allusion to the sound of the bells echoing in the streets of the city from early dawn onwards suggests that the inhabitants were given more or less exclusively to the worship of the god of the place who was Śiva (III, ll. 18-19). Though the present charter does not mention any of Bhaktirāja's deeds of charity, information gleaned from other sources represents him as a patron of Śaiva divines and institutions. The Madras Museum Plates register his gift of the village of Kaṇḍavakolanu, probably identical with Kaḍavakolanu a small station on the M. S. M., N. E. line in the Guntur District, to the great ascetic Viśvēśvara or Viśvanātha of Śrīparvata.[1] And the Telugu poet Śrīnātha speaks of his grant of two villages Cheruvāḍa and Ātukūru to the shrine of god Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila.[2]

Annadēva seems to have inherited his love of the Śaiva creed from his father. He was a *Paramamāhēśvara*[3] and most of his inscriptions record his benefactions to Śaiva shrines. Annadēva was accustomed to offer worship to Śiva six times a day, beginning with sun-rise (IV, l. 40) ; he added a *gōpura* of seven storeys (*sāpta-bhauma*) to the temple of Śiva probably at Mummaḍi-Prōlavaram (IV, ll. 43-44) ; gilded the temple of Vīrabhadra at Paṭṭesa and the *vimāna* of the shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma (IV, ll. 50-52) ; and granted several villages to god Viśvēśvara of Kāśī, the deity of his family.

Though Annadēva was an ardent devotee of Śiva, he was not a follower of the fanatical Vīra-Śaiva sect which gained the enthusiastic support of a large number of people in his time. He was, as evidenced by the term *Paramamāhēśvara*, a member of the Pāśupata community[4], the members of which notwithstanding their bias to Śiva, did not approve of the Vīra-Śaiva tenets denouncing the Vēdas and the social system based on them. That accounts for the praise bestowed upon such deities as Vāṇī and Hari in the opening verses of this charter, and the liberal munificence of Annadēva to Brāhmans. Annadēva, in observance of a vow, as it were, fed daily a large number of Brāhmans—Śaiva as well as non-Śaiva, ascetics and *yōgins* (IV, ll. 40-41 ; ll. 45-46). He gave also to Brāhmans a thousand cows in the vicinity of the temple of Vīrabhadra at Paṭṭesa on the bank of the Gautamī, and supplemented it with the gifts, *Saptasāgara* and *Hiraṇya-mēru* (IV, ll. 47-49).[5] In addition to these, he granted them two villages, **Uttama-gaṇḍa—Chōḍ-Annadēvavaram** in the district of Visiṟi situated at the junction of the Pinnasāni and the Gaṁgā, and **Annadēvavaram** on the bank of the Gaṁgā to the west of Pallūri-Śailavaram. These benefactions show that Annadēva's deeds of charity to temples and Brāhmans were as numerous as his victories on the field of battle.

[1] *J. O. R.*, Vol. V, p. 142.

[2] *Śivarātri-māhātmyamu*, I : 16.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 1347.

[4] See Bhandarkar : *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 119. [The title *Paramamāhēśvara* would only show that he was a Śaiva, and not necessarily of the Pāśupata sect.—Ed.]

[5] The *Saptasāgara* is the fourteenth *mahādāna* in the list of the sixteen *mahādānas* described by Hēmādri. The ritual connected with the performance of this *dāna* may be briefly described thus : Brāhmans must be invited on an auspicious day and requested to perform the *puṇyāhavāchana* or purificatory ceremony. In a *maṇḍapa* which is specially erected for the purpose, the images of some deities must be installed on a *vēdi* or platform. This must be followed by the performance of *vṛiddhiśrāddha*, or the *śrāddha* for ensuring prosperity.

5. *Annadēva's family:* Bhaktirāja had, as stated in an earlier context, two sons, Annadēva and Bhīma-Liṅga. The latter married a daughter of king Annavēma, and got by her a daughter called Vēmāmbā; and she espoused Allāḍa and gave birth to four sons, Vēma, Vīrabhadra, Doḍḍa and Anna.

Annadēva married Irugāmbikā, the daughter of Chakravarti of the Solar race, and a sister of Pina-Uṇḍirāja who helped him to win the victory over the Karṇāṭakas at Kāṁkaṟaparti (III, l. 28, IV, ll. 29, 33-34). Pina-Uṇḍirāja and his father Chakravarti were probably related to Peda-Uṇḍirāja of the Solar race who granted the village of Rāvulaparti to Brāhmans in Śaka 1304[1], though the exact connection between the two families is not definitely known. Annadēva had by Irugāmbā, a son called Vīrabhadra (IV, l. 30). Though no information is furnished by the present Plates about Vīrabhadra's activities, a line in Śrīnāṭha's *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam* suggests that he helped his father in fighting against his enemies and was consequently slain by Allāḍa.[2]

6. The **date** on which the Rajahmundry Museum Plates were issued is not known, owing to the loss of some plates belonging to the set. Nevertheless it is not impossible to discover the probable date when the gift was made. As the inscription describes the submission of Vēma's family to Annadēva, the gift must have been made after the occurrence of this event. We have already stated that Kāṭaya-Vēma died about the middle of A.D. 1416, and that his family submitted to Annadēva about the end of the same year. Now it is stated in an epigraph at Palivela dated 17th January A.D. 1417 that Doḍḍaya Alla, after the death of Kāṭaya-Vēma, destroyed 'the family of the latter's enemy' completely.[3] The enemy referred to in this inscription, as pointed by Mr. V. Apparao in his article on the Rajahmundry Plates, was Annadēva.[4] The defeat, if not the destruction, of Annadēva and his son Vīrabhadra is alluded to by the poet Śrīnātha in the introduction to his *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*.[5] It follows from this that Annadēva did not long survive his victory. Therefore, the Rajahmundry Plates which he issued after Kāṭaya-Vēma's death must be assigned **to the end of A.D. 1416.**

Seven golden *kuṇḍas* (vessels) 21″ × 21″ or 10″ × 10″ in dimensions (height and width) and weighing from 7 to 1,000 *palas*, according to the means of the donor, must be secured. They should be placed first on sesamum and then on the skin of an antelope. Next, each of the seven pots should be filled with salt, milk, ghee, molasses, curds, sugar and water respectively to symbolise the seven oceans of the Hindu mythology: and the images in gold respectively of Brahman, Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Indra, Lakshmī and Pārvatī, and gems and grains of different varieties must be added to them. Twenty-five Brāhmans (8 *Ṛitviks*, 8 *dvārapālakas*, 8 *japa-Brāhmaṇas* and 1 *guru*) have to be engaged, and *hōmas* for all the gods installed in the *maṇḍapa* must be performed. When the *hōma* for Varuṇa is completed, the *yajamāna* has to bathe and go around the *vēdi* three times chanting *mantras*. On the second day the *hōma* has to be performed a thousand times; and finally the *kuṇḍas* must be given away as a gift to the Brāhmans. (Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Bibl. Ind.), Ch. 5, pp. 337-339).

The *Suvarṇamēru* comes under *Mērudānas*. The representation of the Mēru mountain can be made in any kind of metal or grain. In case it is made of grain, it is called the *Dhānya-Mēru*. If it is *suvarṇa* or gold Mēru, the representation must have three ridges weighing three *palas*. When the representation of the Mēru is ready, worship is offered to it in the prescribed manner. And then on occasions like eclipses, it is presented as a gift to a Brāhman invited for the purpose. This *dāna* is given to propitiate the god Varāha, (Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.)

[1] *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1918, Part ii, p. 173.

[2] *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 113.

[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

[5] *Bhīmēśvara-purāṇam*, 1 : 62.

7. The names of several territorial divisions, rivers, towns and villages are mentioned in this inscription.

I. Territorial divisions :—

(1) Attili-sīma ; (2) Visaṛi-nāḍu.

II. Rivers :—

(1) The Gaṁgā, (2) the Gautamī, (3) the Piṁnasāni.

III. Towns :—

(1) Attili, (2) Jaggavāga, (3) Kāmapurī, (4) Kāśī, (5) Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra, (6) Sagara, (7) Sūravarapaṭṭaṇa.

IV. Villages :—

(1) Bharaṇipāḍu, (2) Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavara, (3) Drākshārāma, (4) Gulapūṁḍi, (5) Kāṁkaṛaparti, (6) Pallūri-Śailavara, (7) Pañchadhāra, (8) Paṭṭesa, (9) Pedakoṇḍa.

In addition to these, the name of a hill called the Gōmukhagiri with a temple dedicated to Gōmukhagirīśvara, evidently named after the hill on which the shrine was built, is also mentioned.

Some of these towns and villages have been already identified in the course of the preceding discussion. The rest are taken up here for consideration.

Attili-sīma was so called after Attili, which was evidently the headquarters of the district. Attili is at present situated in the south-west of the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. It stands at the junction of two roads on a canal named after it. The boundaries of the Attili-sīma are not known ; and it is not possible, in the absence of the necessary data, to demarcate even roughly the area included in the district.

The situation of **Visaṛi-nāṇḍu** is not so easily ascertained. Visaṛi-nāṇḍu figures in an epigraph belonging to the middle of the 13th century among the countries conquered by Ēṛuva-Bhīma, one of Annadēva's ancestors.[1] As Annadēvavaram, the object of the present grant included in this district, is said to have been situated at the junction of the Pinnasāni and the Gaṁgā (another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī), it is certain that Visaṛi-nāṇḍu extended along the bank of the Gōdāvarī ; and as no tributary of the Gōdāvarī is known at present by the name of the Pinnasāni, and as no village of Chōḍ-Ānnadēvavaram or Annadēvavaram can be located on the bank of the river, the position of Visaṛi-nāṇḍu cannot be defined exactly at present.

Of the **rivers** mentioned in the plates, **Gaṁgā**, as explained already, is another name by which the Gōdāvarī is frequently referred to in inscriptions as well as in literature. The poet Śrīnātha who was a contemporary of Annadēva states that the river Gaṁgā flowed touching the western wall of the city of Rajahmundry.[2] The **Gautamī** is also another well-known name of the Gōdāvarī. As Paṭṭesa, famous for its shrine of Vīrabhadra, is said to be on the bank of the river, it should be identified with the Akhaṇḍa-Gautamī, *i.e.*, the Gautamī before it divides itself into the seven branches known collectively by the name of Sapta-Gōdāvaram. The identity of the Pinnasāni, which must have been a small stream flowing into the Gōdāvarī, is, as stated already, not known.

8. Of the **towns** mentioned in the record, **Attili, Kāmapurī, Sagara and Sūravaram** have been identified already. Nothing is known about Jaggavāga ; Kāśī is, of course, the famous city of Benares. The situation of Mummaḍi-Prōlavāra of which a glowing account is given in the present inscription cannot be ascertained definitely. Mr. V. Apparao identifies it with 'Muramaṇḍa-Pōlavaram (probably the same as Murumaṇḍa in the Rajahmundry taluk of the East Godavari District)'.[3]

[1] No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection ; *Bhārati*, Vol. XV, p. 158.

[2] *Kāśīkhaṇḍam*, I : 58.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

9. Of the **villages** mentioned in the charter **Gulapūṇḍi, Pañchadhāra** and **Pedakoṇḍa** have already been taken into consideration. Some of the remaining villages can be easily identified. **Drākshārāma** which is celebrated for its famous Śiva temple is still a place of some importance. It stands on the north bank of the Iñjaram canal in the Ramachandrapuram taluk of the East Godavari District. **Kāṁkaṛaparti** is identical with the modern village of Kākaraparru, on the west bank of the Gōdāvarī. It is at present included in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari District. **Paṭṭesam** stands on a picturesque island in the Gōdāvarī and is at present included in the Rajahmundry taluk. On a craggy hill, which was known in the days of Annadēva as the Gōmukhagiri, are the temples of Gōmukhagirīśvara and Vīrabhadra, whither large numbers of pilgrims still flock to attend the annual festival in the month of February.

The situation of the remaining three villages is not known. No village bearing the name of Bharaṇipāḍu seems to be in existence at present. There is, however, a village of the name of Bhariṇikam in the Anakapalle taluk of the Vizagapatam District. As Bhaktirāja was active in this region fighting with the Gajapati at Pañchadhāra, it is not impossible that Bharaṇipāḍu where he defeated king Singa should have been identical with Bhariṇikam.

While engaged in editing these plates, I received considerable assistance from several scholars. Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishnarao kindly furnished me, at my request, with a set of impressions of these plates, taken afresh from the originals in the Rajahmundry Museum. The Epigraphist to the Government of India secured from the same scholar, for my use, the impressions of the Anaparti plates of Kumāragiri-Reḍḍi which are in his possession. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy (Madras), checked my transcript and helped me to determine the correct reading of the text in certain places. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi and Dr. V. Raghavan rendered invaluable help in the correction and interpretation of the text. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Messrs. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar and N. Lakhsminarayan Rao revised the manuscripts of the introductory portion of this article and offered me several useful suggestions. I am grateful to these scholars and offer them my heart-felt thanks for their generous and ungrudging help.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 श्रोङ्कारवत्त्रिखिळ[1]वाग्विभवस्य स्रष्टेराद्या शरत्तुहिनदीधितिचंद्रिकाभा [।*] सर्वेश्वरादिसक-
ळामरवं-
2 दनिय्या[2] वाणी वराभयकरा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ॥ 1[॥*] सा भारती निखिळवेद-
पुराणरूपवाग्वादिनी क-
3 मळसंभवमुख्यवंद्या [।*] हंसावदातवपुरागममौक्तिकस्त्रग्व्या चिन्मात्रमूर्त्तिरवतादखिळ-
4 प्रपंचं(चम्) । [।2॥*] आनंदमूर्त्तिरखिळांतरमार्गवृत्तिरंभोरुहैकवनसंचरणोल्लसंती ।
आस्वादितेंदुवि-
5 गळन्मधुरामृतार्द्रा सा योगिवंद्यविभवा भवतात् प्रसं(स)न्ना ।[।*] 3[॥*] दंताग्रकोटि-
दरदष्टधराधरस्य यस्यां-[3]

[1] Regarding the use of *ḷa* for *la* attention is drawn to the remarks on orthography on p. 14. As such use is too frequent in the text no correction is made.

[2] Read °वन्दनीया.

[3] The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

6 गर्के निखिलवारिधय: प्रट्टधा:[1] । स्वेदांबुबिंदुवदुदंचितसत्व(त्त्व)वृत्तेराभांत्यसौ किरितनुर्हरि-

7 रस्तु भूत्यै ॥4[2]।[।*] यस्य त्रिलोकजननी जननी भवानी यस्येश्वर:[3]स्त्रिजगतां जनको गिरीश: [।*] यस्य स्मृतिर्निखिल[वि]-

8 घ्नतमोविवस्वान् सोयं करींद्रवदनो जयतात्कुमार: ।[।*] 5।[।*] हेमाद्रि[4]गर्भविपुलैकपुरोपकंठप्रा-

9 कारभूतमक्षितावधिपर्वताग्रे । विश्वं प्रबोधयितुमुच्चलितो[5] प्रदीपौ देवाश्रयेव जयता-

10 मिह पुष्पवंतौ [।*] 6 ।[।*] यां [सं]स्तुवंत्ति(ति) गिरिजां प्रकृतिं च मायां लक्ष्मीं गिरं सकलसृष्टिनिदानरूपां(पाम्) । दु-

11 र्गां प्रचुड[6]महिषासुरमर्द्दनी सा भर्गैकस्त्र विभवा भवतात्प्रसन्ना ।[।*]7।[।*] क्रीडन्मुदा श्रति[7]पुटांचिततिग्म-

12 भानुचूडावतंसपदलंभितचंद्रबिंब: । उद्दामशृंगरवपूरितपद्मजांड: चेचेश्वरो दिशतु स-

13 र्वशुभानि नित्यं(त्यम्) ।[।*] 21। [8][।*] गंगातरंगतनुशीकरतारकान्ति(भि:) संसेव्यमानहिमरश्मिकक(ला)किरीटं(टम्) । सर्वांगकांतम-

14 णिमादिगुणोल्लसंतमाराधयामि मनसा शिवमष्टमूर्त्तिं(र्त्तिम्) ।[।9॥*] षध्यासितु: श्वशुरमंदिरप

Second Plate (lost).

Third Plate; First Side.

1 लामरकामिनीभि: । युवांगणा(णे) निरुतवीरवरो(र)स्य कांता विष्णोरिवाब्धितनयाभवदन्नमांबा ॥

2 जातस्तयोरभवदे(ऐ)वभीमभूपस्त्रैलोक्यगीतविमलात्मयश:प्रताप: [।*] प्रोलांबिकाप-

3 तिरनेककलाप्रवीणो भूलोककल्पतरुरिंदुरिवाच्चिपेय: ॥ लक्ष्मीपत(ति)स्तदनु दामनृपालचं-

4 द्रो जातस्तयोर्जगति विश्व(श्रु)तधर्ममूर्त्ति: । सूरांबिकापतिरभूदय सोमभूप: क्षीरांबुधे-

5 रिव ततो जगतामुपास्य: ।[।*] गंगाधरोजन(नि) तयोरिरुगांबिकाया: प्राणेश्वर: प्रथितमान-

[1] Read प्रवृद्धा:

[2] The Telugu numeral figure 1 denoting the number of the plate, is inscribed just above the line.

[3] Read यस्येश्वरस्त्रि°

[4] Read हेमाद्रि°

[5] Read °मुज्ज्वलितौ.

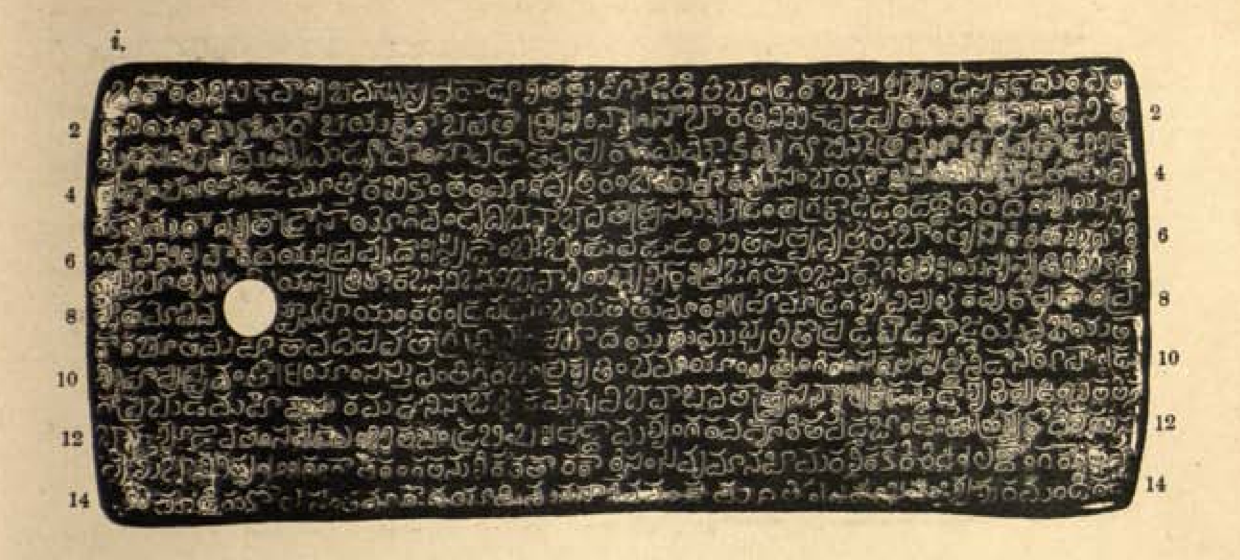
[6] Read प्रचण्ड°

[7] Read श्रुति°

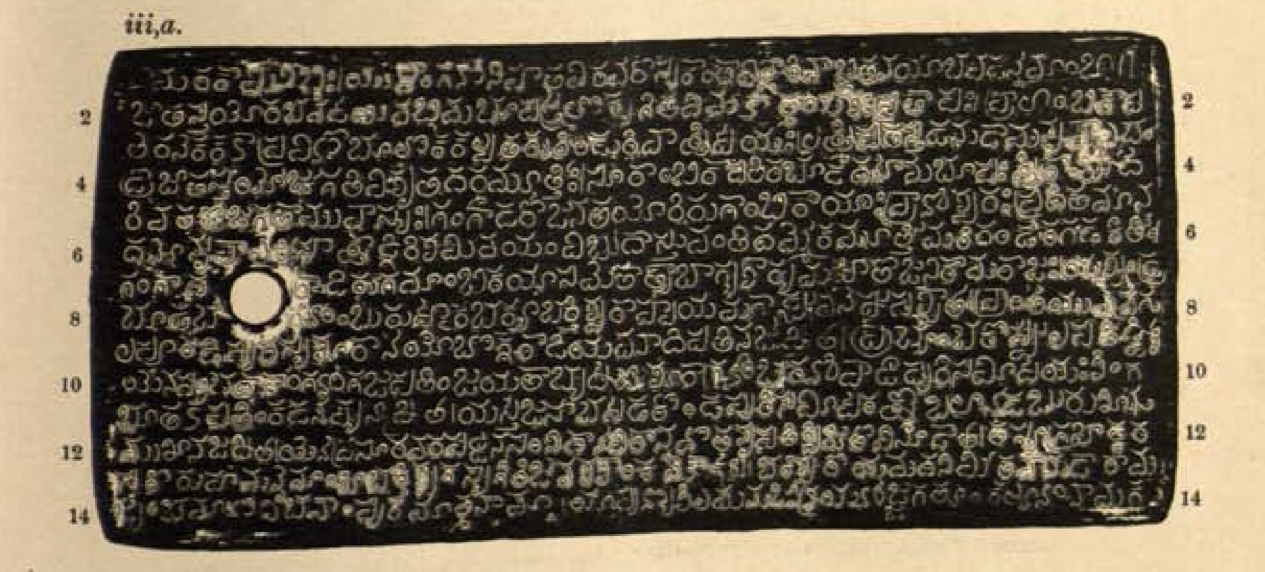
[8] The numeral 21 is wrongly introduced for 8 here.

RAJAHMUNDRY MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TELUGU CHODA ANNADEVA.–(I).

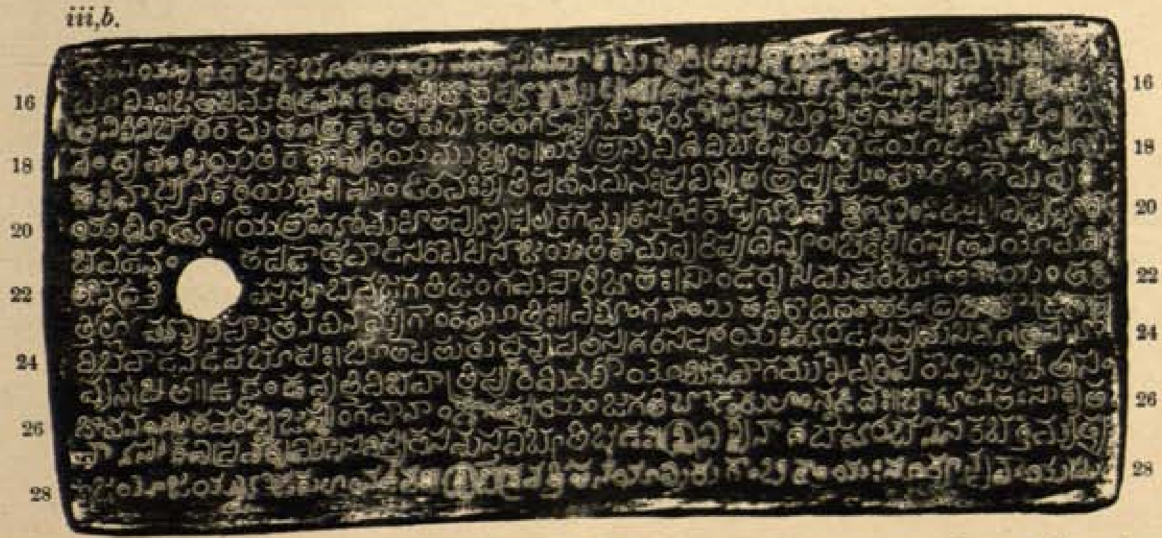
i.



iii,a.



iii,b.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 1990 E'39-275.

iv,a.

iv,b.

vii,a.

6 धनो नृपाल: । साचाद्विरीशमिव यं विबुधा[:*] स्तुवंति धर्म्मैकमूर्त्तिमरिगंडरगंड-
कीर्तिं(र्तिम्) ।[।*]

7 गंगाधरादिरुगमाविकया समिताक्सौभाग्यशौर्य्यमहितोजनि कामराज: । यश्चंद्र-

8 चूडचरणांबुरुहैकभक्त्या भक्तीश्वराह्वयमगाद्भुवनेषु पश्चात् ।[।*] प्रांते युवैव गु-

9 लपूंडिपुरस्य शूरान् यो बोम्मरादियवनाधिपतीनजैषीत् । प्राच्यां च कोप्पुल-
पतिर्द्दिशि

10 येन पंचधारांगणे गजपतिं जयताभ्यषेचि ॥ शूराग्रणि(णी)र्भरणिपाटिपुरोसमीपे यः
शिं(शिं)ग-

11 भूतरूपतिं कद[नं] व्यनैषीत् । यस्तेजसा च पेड(द)कोंडपुरीसमीपे रचीववान्
दवुरुखानु-

12 मुखानज(जै)षीत् ।[।*] येनैव सूरवरपट्टनसंनिधाने वीराग्रवीतन्नृपतिर्विजितो विनो-
दात् । तस्याग्रहीत् कर-

13 सरोरुहमश्वमांशा भक्तीश्वग(र)स्य गिरिजेव शशांकमौले: ॥ भक्तीश्वरीयमथ निर्मित-
वानुदाराम्-

14 जृं(ज्रृं)भमाणविभवां पुरमात्मनाम्ना । या पुण्यशीलमनुजाश्रयणे ज्ग(ज)गत्यां कल्याण-
नामक-

Third Plate; Second Side.

15 मनिष्य[1]तरापराभूत् ॥ आंध्रावतंसमिह कामपुरी प्रसिद्धा विस्तारिसर्व्वविभवा
सुकृतैक-

16 भूमि: । [जि]त्वामरेंद्रनगरीं चपितात्मपुण्यामुजृं(ज्जृं)भते सततसंचरदंन(दन्त)दाना ॥
हर्म्येषु य-

17 च निशि निर्भरकामतंत्रकांताकुचांतरगकुंकुमृगनाभिरेणौ । नित्यं चरन्मितगुरप्यभज-
त्कळंकिभा-

18 वं भ्रू(भ्रु)वं जयति कामपुरीयमुर्व्यां(र्व्याम्) ॥ यत्रानुवीथि विचरन्नरुणोदयादिवेकास्तु
सुचि-

19 तन्निवार्चनकर्मयत्न: । घंटारव: श्रुति[2]पथेन मन: प्रविश्य तत्राप्यचं हरति कामपुरो-

[1] Read °नीय-°

[2] Read श्रुति-°

20 यमोद्या ॥ यत्रांगणे महितपुण्यफलैकगम्ये कस्तूरिकाद्यगणिताघं[1]गणं निरीक्ष्य । विद्वज्जनो-

21 भवदनंतपदाव्लं[2]वादो सर्वोपि सा जयति कामपुरी पृथिव्यां ।[।*] भक्तीश्वरस्य तनयो महि-

22 तीन्नदेव[3]स्तस्याभवज्जगति जंगमपारिजातः [।*] सौंदर्यसीमपरिभूतजयंतकी-

23 र्त्तिर्लावण्यनिह्नुतनवीनमृगांकमूर्त्तिः ॥ वेश्यांगनायितविरोधिधरातलेंद्रो बाहुप्रताप-

24 विभवादनदेवभूपः । भूत्वा तुरुष्कनृपतेस्समरे सहायः कर्नाटसैन्यमसिमात्रसखो

25 व्यनैषीत् ॥ उद्दंडवृत्तिविभवाचिपुरीमिवेशो यो जम्मवागमुखवैरिप(पु)राण्यजैषीत् । सं-

26 जीवनं सुरवरद्विजपुंगवानां जागर्त्त्ययं जगति चोडकुलान्नदि(दे)वः ॥ भार्य्यान(र्य्या न्न)तः सुकृत-

27 वान् सुरविप्रवर्य्यविश्रामविस्तृतसमस्तविभूतिभेदः । श्रीविश्वनाथचरणार्चनसक(क्त)भक्तिमूर्त्यं-[4]

28 जयो जयतु[5] चोडकुलांन(लान्न)देवः ॥ श्रीचक्रवर्त्तितनयामिरुगांबिकां यः सूर्यान्वयस-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

29 कृतैकफलं सुशीलां(लाम्) ॥ (।) पिंनुंडिभूपसहजां ललनाललामभाग्योन्नतामुदवह-[न्निरि]जामिवेश: ॥

30 श्रीवीरभद्रनृपतिर्भुवनैकवीरो यस्यात्मजत्वमगमद्गविम(वं)शदीपः । सोयं विनिर्जित-समस्तवि-

31 रोधिभूपो जागर्त्ति चोडकुलमंडनमंन(मन्न)देवः ॥ येनैव भूविदितमत्तिलिसीम्नि सर्वान्विजित्य दक्षि-

32 णादिगीश्वरवैरिभूपान् । तत्पट्टनावरणमध्यगताय नम्नाम्नस्न(म्नांर)चिता दशसहस्रमिता विपचा: [॥*]

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[1] Read °गणितार्घं°

[2] Read °पदार्थं°

[3] The Telugu numeral figure 3 indicating the number of the plate is inscribed between the letters *dē* and *va*.

[4] The *anusvāra* is inscribed at the beginning of the next line.

[5] The syllable *tu* is written below the line.

33 षध्वर्युंभूतपिनर्युंडिनृपेण येन श्रीगौतमो निकटकांकᳶपर्त्तिवेद्यां । आलभ्य कंन-
(कन्न)डमुखा[रि]-

34 पशूनकारि वीराध्वरो निजसुहृत्परिरक्षणायै(य) ॥ पादांवुजप्रणतकाटयवेमवंश:[1] कीर्त्ति-
कवल्ल-

35 लतया समरक्षि येन । सोयं विभाति शरणागतभूपरक्षादीक्षागुरुर्जयति चोडकु-

36 लांन(लान्न)देव: ॥ यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीमनदेवभूपे सर्वोपसर्ग्गरहिता मनुजास्स-
दैव । पूगीक्षुकान-

37 नतक्केषु मुदा रमंते निल्वे(त्यो)त्सवो विजयतेयमुदारतेजा: ॥ यद्देश एव विततेक्षुवने
सुपक्वशाल्या-

38 दिसस्यभरिते सहकारसांद्रे । सर्वोपसर्ग्गरहिते सुकृतैकगर्मै(र्म्ये) खेलंति नूनममरा
मनुजावता-

39 रा: ॥ यद्देशमौक्तिमणिसुम्मुडिप्रोलवारं नानादिगागतमहावणिजां निवासं(सम्) ।
शंखाद्यनेकनिधि-

40 नित्यनिवासभूमिं स्मृत्वा भियेव धनदोभजदीशसख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥ यद्बालपूजितसदाशिव-
पादपद्मो नित्यां-

41 न(त्यान्न)दाननियमार्च्चितभूमिदेव: । गोराजकीतनसमर्पितगोसहस्रो विभ्राजते विमलवंश-
भवोंन(वोन्न)दे-

42 व: ॥ नित्यं गिरीशचरणावरुणोदयादिवेल(ला)सु षट्स्वपि सुदायुतसंख्यदीपै: ।
नीराजयन्विम-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

43 लचोडकुलांन(लान्न)देवो जागर्त्ति राजपरमेश्वर एष भूम्यां(म्याम्) ॥ चामीकरध्वज-
नचामरकेतुमुक्ताच्छ-

44 [त्रां]कहेमललनांकितसप्तभौमं(मम्) । सौवर्णमिंदुमुकुटाय सम[र्प्य] कां[तां(तं) सौधं]
समुन्न-

45 सति चोडकुलांन(लान्न)देव: ॥ माधुर्यमुख्यरसपद्यविलासिसृष्टनित्यांन(त्यान्न)दानविभवापह-
तक्षु[धा]र्ति । [शै]-

[1] The letter va in vaṁśaḥ is written above the line.

46 वद्विजेंद्रजटियोगिकुलं प्रहृष्टं यत्पट्टने विजयतामयमंन(मत्र)देव: ॥ श्रीगौतमीनिकट-

47 पट्टेसवीरभद्रप्रांते इजेंद्रनिकराय गवां सहस्रं(स्रम्) । दत्वा(त्त्वा)थ तत्तुषमसौ मथितुं किळादाचो-

48 डांन(डात्र)देवनृपतिर्ज्जलधिं(धीं)व सम्र ॥ येनाखिळामपि धरां स सुराद्रिमुख्यामु-
त्तमकांचनमयां(यीं)

49 ददता द्विजेभ्य: । भूमावद: पटु जित: किळ जामदग्न्यचोडांन(डात्र)देवरघुनायक एव भाति ॥

50 येनैव[1] गोमुखगिरीश्वरवीरभद्रदेवालयो मच्छितहेममय: क्ततोभूत् । श्रीकाशिकाधि-

51 पतये कुलदेवतायै ग्रामाश्च विरूपतय[2] समदायि येन ॥ सौवर्णमात्मकुलशेखरचोड-
वंद्य[द्रा]-

52 चादिरामपुरभीमयसौधशृंगं(गम्) । श्रीब्रह्मलोमकुटरत्नमकारि येन चोडांन(डात्र)देव-
धरणीतळनाय[केन] ॥

53 येयं लसद्विसठिठिनांटिसमाख्यदेशे चोडांन(डात्र)देववरसुत्तमगंडपूर्वं(र्वम्) । गंगातटे
भुवनविश्रुत-[3]

54 पिंन(पित्र)सानिसंगेंन(गेऽत्र)देवनृपतिर्द्विजसादकर्षीत्[4] ॥ पन्नूरिशैलवरपश्चिमसीम्नि गंगा-
तीरिंन(रेऽत्र)देववरना-

55 ववहा[5]ग्रहार: । पुण्येन येन समदायि महाजनेभ्यश्चोडांन(डात्र)देवधरणीपतिरेष भाति ॥
येनो-

56 भयान्वयविनिर्मळविप्रवर्या विद्यीन(द्योत्र)ता विधिवदुद्वहनं प्रणीता: । सूर्यान्वयत्र(वा)य-
तिल[केन च]

Fifth and Sixth Plates missing.

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

1 भारद्वाजकुलार्णवपूर्णसुथा(धा)रश्मिरवनिपतिर्मित्रं [।*] श्रीकूचनार्य्यतनय: शिं(सिं)गयना-

2 मा द्विजेन्द्र इह भागी ॥29॥ [कौं]डिन्य[6]गोत्राब्धिसुधामयूख: कोवूरिरामात्मज-
रामचंद्र: । चा-

3 चारवा[7]गामतत्व(त्त्व)दर्शी भागीह मृत्युंजयपादभक्त: ॥30॥ कौंडिन्यगोत्रांबुजसूर्य्यति-

[1] The Telugu numeral figure 4 denoting the number of the plate preceded by a vertical stroke is inscribed here between the letters *va* and *gō*.

[2] Read विरूपतये.

[3] Read °विश्रुत.°

[4] Read द्विजसादकार्षीत्.

[5] Read °नामसहा.°

[6] Read कौण्डिन्य.°

[7] Read चाचारवानागम.°

4 जा[:] श्रीभास्कर[:] श्रीनृहरेस्तनूजः । सांगागमे संचितकीर्त्तिरत्र भागी सदाचा-
रवतां वरेण्यः ।[।*]31।

5 श्री[का]चिभट्टतनयः काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णहिमरश्मिः । नारायणोत्र भागी ज्योतिः-
शास्त्रैकमर्म-

6 तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञः [।*]।32।[।*] श्रीगूडपर्त्तिवल्लभतनयः श्रीयौभर्केंद्रनामात्र । भागी
काश्यपगोत्रः पुण्यस्सन्मा-

7 र्गचंद्रमा विद्वान् ॥33॥ आत्रेयगोत्रतिलको वि[ड]यनामद्विजातिवरसूनुः । यजुरर्ण-
वचन्द्रयशा

8 वरदयनामात्र भागवान्विप्रः [।*]।34।[।*] श्रीरामादिमशिं(सिं)गयतन[यो] गंगाधरं-
द्रविप्रेंद्रः [।*]

9 कौंडिन्यगोत्रपात्रं भागी यजुषां निधानमिह पुण्यः [।*]।35।[।*] श्रीगौरयविप्रेश्वर-[1]
तनय[:] श्री-

10 [सिं]गनाह्वयो विद्वान् । भारद्वाजकुलांबुजभानुयशा भागवानत्र ॥36॥ आदित्यावनि-
देवप्रि-

11 यतनयो हरितवंशपद्मार्कः । याजुषमणिरत्नाकरतेजाः पुरुषौ(षो)त्तमोत्र लब्धांशः
[।*]।37।[।*]

12 चिंगिपिकूचयभूसुरनंदनो हरितवंशमहार्णवचंद्रमाः । सकलशास्त्रय(र)हस्यविदं-

13 शवानिह हि तल्लयनाम सुधीश्वरः [।*]।38।[।*] कौंडिन्यवंशार्णवचंद्रमूर्त्ति[:*]
श्रीयंन(यन्न)मच्चासु-

14 रनंदनोत्र [।*] विश्वेश्वरो याजुषभाग्यदेवं लब्धांशवानत्र सतां वरेण्यः [।*]।39।[।*]
गोपालभट्ट[ात्म]ज एष

15 पुण्यः श्रीयंन(यन्न)माख्यो हरितान्ववायः । ज्योतिर्विदग्रेसरकीर्त्तिरत्र लब्धांशवानागमपार-
दृश्वा [।*]।40॥

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

16 मुंजपिगंगाधरवरतनय[:*] कांडि[2]न्यवंशवार्ध्धौं(र्धौं)दुः [।*] अन्नय[नामा भागी यजु]षां
निधिरत्र सं-

17 मताचारः [।*]।41।[।*] श्रीभारद्वाजान्वयवल्लभधरणीसुरात्मजः पुण्यः । लक्ष्मणनामा
विप्रो वेदविद्[द](विद)-

[1] The letter *ra* is inscribed below the line just under *ka* and *ta*.
[2] Read कौण्डिन्य.

18 त्रांशवान्वय: [।*]।42।[।*] सादप्पुलविबुधवरो वल्लभहृदयाब्जभानुमान्पुण्य: । कांडि[1]न्य-
वंशतिल-

19 को भागी वेदैकमूर्त्तिरिह साधु: [।*]।43।[।*] श्रीमल्लागर्यविद्वत्तनयो निगमैक-
मूर्त्तिरिह भागी । दुंडि-

20 गडनागनामा काश्यपगोत्राब्धिपूर्णिमाचंद्र: [।*]।44।[।*] श्रीराजुकौंडमल्लयतनय[:*]
श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनाख्या-

21 न: । काश्यपगोत्रपवित्रो भागी निखिलागमैकतत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञ: [।*]।45।[।*] मंडुगूरि[2] लक्ष्म-
नाख्यो मान्यो विदुषां समस्तशा-

22 स्त्रज्ञ: । भारद्वाजकुलार्णवचंद्रो भागीह वेदतत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञ: [।*]।46।[।*] कोल्लपल्लिपुरा-
दिमशिं(सिं)गयतनयो य-

23 जुर्निधि: पुण्य: । श्रीकृष्णद्विजनामा काश्यपगोत्र(त्रो) गृहीतभागोत्र [।*]।47।[।*]
श्रीकंदुकूरियोभक्तन-

24 य[:*] श्रीरामनामात्र भागी [।*] याजुषमणिगणजलधिरह(र्ह)रितान्वयावतंसयशा:
[।*]।48।[।*] श्रीकृष्णम-

25 य्यतनया[3] यजुराकरबुद्धिरमितगुणकांति: । श्रीमाननंतनामा भागी श्रीवत्सवंशवार्धींदु:
[।*]।49।[।*]

26 श्रीभारद्वाजकुलो देवयधरणीसुरात्मज: पुण्य: । श्रीभक्तनामा भागी यजुरध्ययनैकशुद्ध-
बुद्धिरि-

27 ह [।*]।50।[।*] श्रीसर्वदेवतनयाय जनार्दनाय कांडिन्य[4]गोत्रतिलकाय महाजनेंद्रा: ।
ते सर्व एव स-

28 मुदीरितशासनाय स्वीयैकभागसदृशं व्यतरन्विशांशं(शम्) [।*]।51।[।*] भक्त्या कल्ल-
ऊकौम्मराजतनयेनात्र

29 प्रतिष्ट(ष्ठा)पितश्रीकेदारमहेश्वराय महसे श्रीमाधवेन द्विजा: । सर्वे ते स्थिरभागमे-
कमदुराचंद्रार्कमा-

30 [तारकं][5] . . . . [श्रासा]दित् भोगभाग्यसुषमा[स्वै]र्याय कौतूहलात् [॥52॥*]

[1] Read कौंडिन्य.°

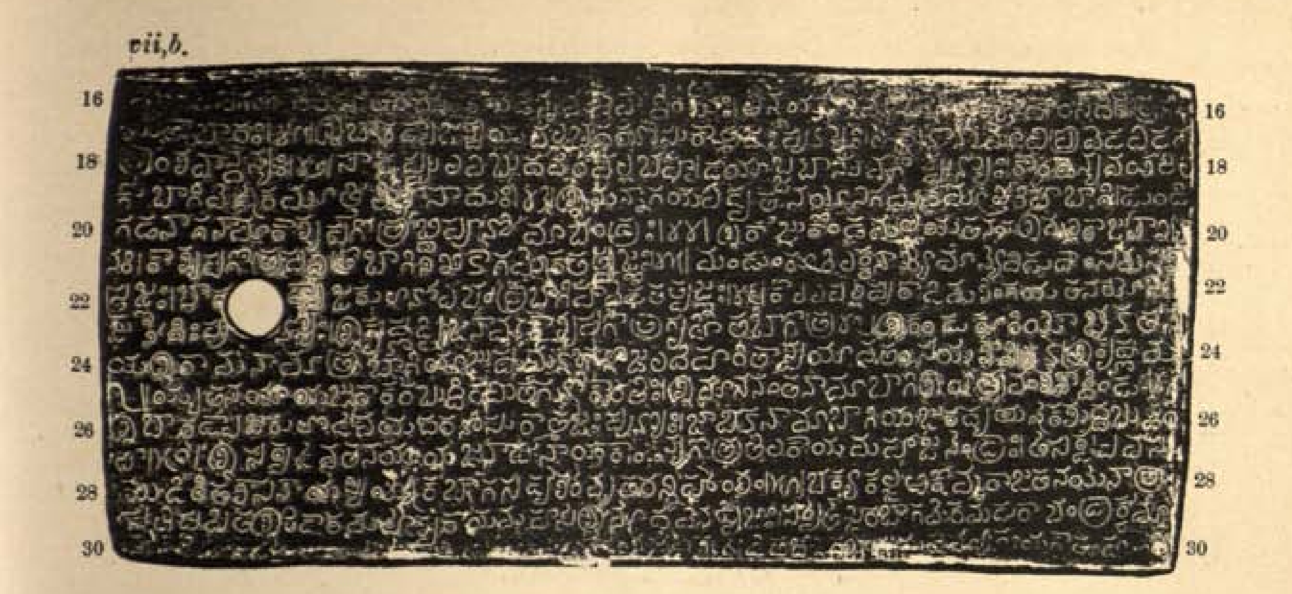
[2] Read मडुगूरि.°

[3] Read °तनयौ. The Telugu numeral figure 7 denoting the number of the plate is inscribed at the beginning of the line.

[4] Read कौंडिन्य.°

[5] [I would read the portion as : -ā-chandr-ārkkam=ārkkāṁśaj-ōrvvīśvar-(śēn=?) ōdita-ōga-bhāgya etc.—N. L. R.]

vii,b.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 1990 E'39-275.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 3.—RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASATUNGA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Nagpur.

Rājim is a well-known holy place, 28 miles south by east of Raipur, the head-quarters of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahānadī at the junction of the Pairi with that river. A fair is held there for a fortnight from the full-moon day of Māgha in honour of the god Rājīvalōchana. The principal temples at Rājim are those of Rājīvalōchana, Rāmachandra and Kulēśvara. They have been described in detail by Mr. Beglar and General Cunningham in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 148-56 and Vol. XVII, pp. 6-20, respectively. Mr. Cousens[1] and Mr. Longhurst[2] who visited the place in 1903 and 1907 have also written notes on them in their respective Progress Reports.

As early as 1825 Mr. Richard Jenkins, who was Resident at Nagpur, drew attention to three inscriptions at Rājim, of which he sent eye-copies and facsimiles to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal[3]. One of these was the copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva, which has since been edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. The remaining two were stone inscriptions, one of which, *viz.*, that of Jagapāla, was later on edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 135 ff. The third inscription has, however, remained unpublished so far. Jenkins had sent a copy and a facsimile of this record also to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but as 'it was too much mutilated to be decipherable with any degree of satisfaction[4]', no transcript of it was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV which contained transcripts, imperfect of course, of the other two. The inscription was, for the first time, very briefly noticed by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1903-04, p. 48. He drew attention to the names of the princes Andapānala[5] Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāṭ and Vilāsatuṅga and of the *Sūtradhāra* Durgahastin and stated that the inscription recorded the erection of a temple of Vishṇu. He, further, assigned the record to about the middle of the 8th century A. D. This account was followed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*[6], but he, for the first time, correctly read the name of the king Nala in line 6. Owing presumably to its mutilated condition, the inscription has so far received little attention[7], but as it is the only stone record of the Nala dynasty found in the Central Provinces, I edit it here from the original stone, Cunningham's facsimile[8] and inked estampages taken under my supervision.

Like the aforementioned inscription of Jagapāla, the present record is incised on a slab of stone which is built into the left hand wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājīvalōchana. The record contains 22 lines and at present covers a space 3′ 8″ broad and 1′ 4″ high. Some *aksharas* have, however, been lost on the right and left sides under the lime border.

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[1] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 24 ff.

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. E. C.* for 1907-08, p. 35.

[3] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 501 and 511.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have wrongly read *khyātō=ndapānala iti* instead of *khyātō nripō Nala iti* in line 6. These words were for the first time correctly read by R. B. Hiralal.

[6] First ed. (1916), p. 103; second ed. (1932), p. 112. Hiralal read the word Pāṇḍava in line 4, which, if correct, would connect this family with the Sōmavaṁśis. But I do not find it anywhere in this record.

[7] Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, while editing the Poḍāgaḍh inscription, remarked that that was 'the first stone record of the Nala dynasty' discovered till then (above, Vol. XXI, p. 155).

[8] *A. S. I.*, Vol. XVII, plate IX.

This was the state of things even in Cunningham's time, but since then the lime border has made further encroachments so that some *aksharas* on either side, which appear clear in his facsimile, have since become invisible. The writing has, again, suffered considerably in the middle and specially on the proper left. Besides, as several letters have now become choked up with oily dust, the inscription does not yield a satisfactory estampage. I have, therefore, mainly relied on Cunningham's facsimile which is quite clear though somewhat touched up by hand[1]. I have, however, checked some doubtful readings by a personal examination of the original record.

The **characters** are of the proto-Nāgarī type resembling those of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna[2]. The stroke of the medial *ā* is often placed on the top of letters see *pāda-* and *tasy-ābhū*—both in l. 6, and *śrī-hāri* in l. 15; *kh* has two forms, one in which the right limb contains a loop and the other in which it is without it, see *e. g.*, *duḥkha-*, l. 15 and *saukhy-*, l. 3; *j* is generally tripartite; in some places its upper bar is reduced to a wedge as at the top of other letters, but the central bar has not completely bent down, see *dvija-*, l. 3 and *vijay-*, l. 12; *p* is open at the top as in *vapushō* l. 5; *y* is throughout bipartite, see *śriyam=*, l. 4; in its subscript form the letter has an elongated rectangular shape as in the aforementioned Sirpur stone inscription; the right limb of *l* is not brought down as in the proper Nāgarī alphabet; *d* and *r* have developed serifs at their lower ends, while *h* is without a tail, see *vadanti* and *alpa-sāraṁ*, both in l. 14 and *vihitā* in l. 18; a final consonant is indicated by an encircling curve in *bhāvāt*, l. 14 and by a slanting stroke at the bottom as in *upārjanīyam*, l. 14. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed metrically throughout. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. The **orthography** exhibits the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of *v* for *b*, see *chandr-ārkka-* and *Vali-*, both in l. 5.

The inscription is one of a king, probably Vilāsatuṅga, of the Nala dynasty. The **object** of it is to record the construction, by the king, of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. It opens, as might be expected, with some verses invoking the blessings of that god. There are as many as five verses of this type, of which the first is almost completely lost. The fourth verse is in the form of a dialogue between Hari (Vishṇu) and Lakshmī, while the fifth describes the Dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu. Verse 6 which is partly defaced apparently glorifies a royal family[3] which by means of *double entendre* is compared with the sun. The next verse describes Nala as one who had surpassed the god of love by his splendid form and whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the bee-like crest-jewels of a crowd of hostile kings who submitted to him. This Nala is plainly the well-known legendary king of that name glorified in the *Mahābhārata*. The record next proceeds to describe, in verses 8 and 9, Pṛithvīrāja who, like the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā), was venerated by all people and was, like Māndhātṛi, created by God as He found the world tainted by the attack of the Kali age. Verses 10-12 are devoted to the glorification, equally conventional, of Pṛithvīrāja's son Virūparāja. Verse 14 mentions Vilāsatuṅga who was probably a son[4] of Virūparāja. The next three verses (15-17) were probably devoted to his praise, but they are very badly mutilated. It was pro-

[1] The facsimile is misleading in a few places. See for instance *agrē* in l. 16 and *purushēṇa* in l. 18, which cannot be read as such from the facsimile, but are clear in my estampage.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[3] Some word like *vaṁśaḥ* is lost at the end of line 5.

[4] No word specifying this relation occurs in the extant portion, but the word *vilāsinaḥ* in the ablative or genitive case in verse 14 probably refers to Virūparāja.

bably this king Vilāsatuṅga who erected the excellent and lofty temple of Vishṇu[1] which is described in verses 19-22. This is followed by the usual prayer to future rulers to preserve the religious monument and the hope that it would last for ever. The *praśasti*, as the inscription is called in verse 28, was composed probably by Durgagōla. It was incised by the artisan (*Sūtradhāra*) Durgahastin, son of Jalahastin.

The inscription is not dated[2], but on palaeographic grounds it was considered to be not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D. by Cunningham[3] and was referred to about the middle of the 8th century by D. R. Bhandarkar.[4] As stated before, its characters resemble those of the Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna at Sirpur. I have stated elsewhere[5] the evidence on which I place Tīvaradēva in *circa* A.D. 530-550 and his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The Nala kings mentioned in the present inscription seem to have established themselves in the Raipur District some time after Mahā-Śivagupta. It may, therefore, not be wrong to assign the present record to about A.D. 700.

Until recently the Nala dynasty was known only from references to them in the Aihoḷe inscription[6] of Pulakēśin II and some records[7] of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. In the former, Kīrtivarman I, the father of Pulakēśin, is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Dr. Fleet thought that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of Bellāry and Karnūl, because a copper-plate inscription from the Karnūl District records the grant, by Vikramāditya I of the Early Chālukya dynasty, of the village Ratnagiri in the Naḷavāḍi-*vishaya*, which according to Dr. Fleet, is identical with the modern Ratnāgiri in the Maḍakśirā *tālukā* of the Bellāry District.[8] The discovery of the Rithapur plates of Bhavadattavarman[9] showed that the Nalas had extended their sway, for a time at least, to the ancient Vidarbha. These plates are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those of the Vākāṭaka grants. They were issued from Nandivardhana which I have shown elsewhere[10] to have been the Vākāṭaka capital before the foundation of Pravarapura. The occupation of this important city in the heart of the Vākāṭaka territory points to the conclusion that the Nalas had invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and established themselves for a time in Vidarbha. This is again confirmed by the statement in the Bālāghāṭ plates that the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II raised his sunken family.[11] He seems to have driven out the Nalas from Vidarbha and to have even carried the war into the enemy's territory.

[1] Verse 20 shows that the king built the temple for the increase of the religious merit of his son who had died.

[2] Beglar thought that the inscription contained two dates—one 870 or 879 and the other seven hundred and odd, the units and tens being mutilated, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 152, but this is wholly incorrect. What Beglar supposed to be the figures 870 or 879 is only the word *utkīrṇṇā* in l. 22.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 7.

[4] *P. R. A. S. W. I.*, for 1903-04, p. 48.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 18 ff. and Vol. XXIII, p. 118.

[6] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

[7] See, for instance, the Kauṭhēṁ grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 15.

[8] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 363. The Naḷavāḍi-*vishaya* is also mentioned in the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 614. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 24 ff.

[9] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff. The king's name appears wrongly as Bhavattavarman in this inscription.

[10] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 210 ff.

[11] Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

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The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription[1] states that Bhavadattavarman's son restored the glory of his family and re-settled the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy. This enemy was probably none other than the Vākāṭaka Pṛithivishēṇa II.

The Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription points to the south-eastern portion of Mahākōsala, comprising the Bastar State and the adjoining Jeypore Agency, as the home of the Nalas. The *Purāṇas* also state that the Nalas ruled over Kōsalā[2] which must be taken to mean Dakshiṇa Kōsala or Mahākōsala. No predecessors of Bhavadatta were so far known, but recently in 1939 a hoard of gold coins of the Nala dynasty was discovered at the village Eḍeṅgā in the Koṇḍegāon *tahsil* of the Bastar State.[3] This hoard comprised coins of three kings, *viz.*, Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati. It seems that Varāha preceded Bhavadatta who was himself followed by Arthapati. From the Rithapur plates we know that Arthapati was a son of Bhavadattavarman.[4] He evidently succeeded Bhavadatta and ruled for a time in Vidarbha, but was ultimately driven out by Pṛithivishēṇa II. Skandavarman,[5] another son of Bhavadatta, is known from the Poḍāgaḍh inscription. He rehabilitated the fortune of his family as stated above.

As Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman were thus contemporaries of Narēndrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa II, they must have ruled in the south-eastern part of Mahākōsala in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Drug, Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which lay to the north of their territory, were held by the kings of the so-called Śarabhapura dynasty; for their inscriptions have been found at Āraṅg,[6] Khariar,[7] Raipur,[8] Sāraṅgarh[9] and Sirpur.[10] These kings at first ruled from Śarabhapura, but subsequently their capital was shifted to Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, about 35 miles north by east of Rājim in the Raipur District. This dynasty was overthrown by the Early Sōmavaṁśīs.[11] As I have shown elsewhere,[12] Udayana, the founder of this dynasty was ruling in Central India, for a stone inscription found at Kālañjar records his construction of a temple of Vishṇu evidently at Kālañjara. He or his sons seem to have invaded Mahākōsala probably during a campaign of their Maukhari suzerain Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman. Inscriptions of Udayana's grandson Īśānadēva and great-grandson Tīvaradēva

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[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

[2] Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

[3] For a detailed account of this hoard, see my article in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. I, pp. 29 ff.

[4] The editor of the Rithapur plates took Arthapati mentioned towards the close of the record as an epithet (meaning 'the lord of wealth') of Bhavadatta himself, but this is incorrect. See *loc. cit.* p. 33.

[5] The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5 of the Poḍāgaḍh inscription is partly mutilated. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman, but the subscript members of the ligatures *sk* and *nd* are not clear and it may be suggested, in view of the close similarity in the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of the period, that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading *Śrī-Arthavarmmaṇā* in place of *Śrī-Skanda-varmmaṇā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha or Arthavarman. I therefore take this prince to be different from Arthapati.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 196 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff. and Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.

[10] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

[11] Hiralal was of opinion that the Sōmavaṁśīs preceded the kings of Śarabhapura, but this view is not correct, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 3.

[12] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.

have been found in the Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, which were previously under the rule of the kings of Śarabhapura. These Early Sōmavaṁśīs ruled from Śrīpura. It has been already stated that a copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva has been found at Rājim itself. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and record the king's grant of the village Pimparipadraka in the Pēṇṭhāma-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa. It has been doubted whether this inscription belongs to Rājim at all,[1] for neither of the two places mentioned in it was identified in the vicinity of Rājim. But such a doubt can no longer be entertained; for the village Pimparipadraka is evidently Piprōd which lies only 3 miles north-west of Rājim.[2] The Sōmavaṁśīs continued to rule in Chhattīsgarh for some generations after Tīvaradēva; for copper-plates and stone inscriptions of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna have been found at Mallār[3] in the Bilāspur District and at Sirpur and Āraṅg in the Raipur District.[4] It is not known how long their rule lasted in Chhattīsgarh, for the later records of the dynasty have been found far away to the east in the Sambalpur and Cuttack Districts of Orissa and the Pāṭnā and Sonepur States in the Eastern States Agency.[5] A stone inscription at Āraṅg mentions Raṇakēsarin who was probably a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta[6] and another at Sirpur names Śivanandi as a son of the same king,[7] but it is not known if either of them came to the throne. The present inscription shows that the Sōmavaṁśīs were ultimately ousted from Chhattīsgarh by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings.

The Aihoḷe inscription shows that the Nalas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kīrtivarman I some time in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. As stated before, this Chālukya king is called the night of destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. It seems, however, that the Nalas, like the Mauryas,[8] were not totally exterminated. Like other princes of Kōsala and Kaliṅga,[9] they must have submitted to Pulakēśin II also, but they found a favourable opportunity for expansion when the Chālukyan kingdom was overrun by the Pallavas at the end of Pulakēśin's reign. They invaded the country of their northern neighbours, the Sōmavaṁśīs, whom they drove to the east. The present inscription mentions three Nala princes, Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga. None of these names is known from any other record and their exact relation to the successors of Bhavadattavarman cannot be determined.

The history of Mahākōsala during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. is still shrouded by a thick veil of obscurity. We do not therefore know how long the rule of Nalas lasted in this territory. An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple at Pāli about 12 miles north of Ratanpur records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva. I have elsewhere[10] shown this Vikramāditya to be Vikramāditya I of the Bāṇa dynasty, who was a son of Malladēva. He was also

[1] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 25.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 116, n. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, pp. 49-50.

[5] See the tabular statement above, Vol. XI, pp. 198 ff.

[6] Hiralal has shown that Raṇakēsarin mentioned in the Āraṅg inscription was a brother of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna, above, Vol. XI, p. 185.

[7] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 49.

[8] The Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkaṇ till the reign of Pulakēśin II at least, see verses 20 and 21 of the Aihoḷe inscription.

[9] See verse 26 of the Aihoḷe inscription.

[10] *Proceedings of the Third Indian History Congress.*

called Jayamēru and Bāṇa-Vidyādhara[1] and flourished from *circa* A.D. 870 to 895. No other inscription of the Bāṇas has been discovered anywhere else in the Central Provinces. Hence we cannot say if they had extended their sway to the Raipur District in the south-west. In any case the rule of the Nalas must have ended towards the close of the 9th century when the Kalachuri Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala, the son of Kōkalla I, conquered the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala[2].

We have seen above that the present inscription records the construction of a temple of Vishṇu. The temple where the inscribed slab is set up at present is also dedicated to Vishṇu under the name of Rājīvalōchana (lotus-eyed). The image worshipped in it is made of black stone and is a common representation of Vishṇu with the usual symbols of the mace, the discus, the conch and the lotus. As Cunningham has shown[3], the temple is built on a peculiar plan, its most striking features being the shape of the *maṇḍapa* which is oblong instead of square and the sculptures on the pilasters which are large single figures, like those on Buddhist stūpa railings, instead of clusters of small figures as is usual in Brahmanical temples. This plan is evidently old and so the inscription is *primâ facie* in its original position. Cunningham referred the construction of the temple to the 5th century A.D. on the supposition that the copper-plate inscription of Tīvaradēva refers to it. This, of course, is incorrect; for the plates merely record the gift of a village to a Brāhmaṇa and have no connection with the temple. Cousens drew attention to the fact that in plan the Rājīvalōchana temple at Rājim is a copy of the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur[4]. Of the latter temple he found only the *garbhagṛiha* standing, while the *maṇḍapa* was in ruins. Relying on the statement of some people of Sirpur[5] that several pillars and other sculptures had been taken from there to Rājim, Cousens suggested that the pillars, pilasters, door-frames and some sculptures used in the Rājīvalōchana temple were brought from Sirpur and that the ruined temple of Lakshmaṇa was rifled for the purpose. He thought that the slab containing the present inscription also possibly came from the Lakshmaṇa temple and recorded its erection[6]. As stated before, when Cousens visited Sirpur the *maṇḍapa* of the Lakshmaṇa temple was in ruins. He recommended its fallen debris to be removed. When this was done, a large inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta—Bālārjuna was disclosed in it. This record has since been edited by R. B. Hiralal in this journal[7]. It registers the construction of a temple of Vishṇu by Vāsaṭā, the mother of Mahā-Śivagupta. It is therefore plain that the present inscription could not have originally belonged to the Sirpur temple. Unfortunately it mentions no place-name which could have decided its original position indisputably. But it is inconceivable that a king who prays to future rulers for the preservation of his own religious monument would rifle a similar edifice of a past king to obtain ready made building materials[8]. It does not also seem likely that the Sirpur temple

[1] See Guḍimallam plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.

[2] See verse 23 of the Bilhari stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 256 and verse 12 of the Benares plates of Karṇa, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 306.

[3] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 9.

[4] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 24. For the plans of the two temples, see *A. S. I. R.* Vol. XVII, plates V and XV with corrections in the latter pointed out by Cousens, *loc. cit.* Though the temple at Sirpur is now called the temple of Lakshmaṇa, it was originally dedicated to Vishṇu, see below.

[5] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 41.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

[7] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[8] It is noteworthy in this connection that the present record describes in verse 22 the trouble and expense that one has to incur in erecting a unique temple.

had fallen in ruins before the Rājīvalōchana temple was constructed; for the interval between the dates of the two records of the Sōmavaṁśī and Nala kings is not more than a century at the most.

We do not know what was the capital of these later Nala kings, but it is not unlikely that like the Sōmavaṁśis, they retained Sirpur as the seat of government. In that case they must have employed the artisans of that place to construct their temple at Rājim. And it should cause no surprise if the artisans adopted a plan with which they were familiar. This is probably the reason why there is such a close agreement between the plans of the two temples at Rājim and Sirpur. The tower of the Rājīvalōchana temple which, unlike that of the Lakshmaṇa temple, is in the Dravidian style,[1] must have been rebuilt in later times when the original one had fallen down.[2]

TEXT.[3]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 2, 5, 20, 21 *Sragdharā*; vv. 3, 4, 8-12, 15, 22, 24-26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 6, 13 *Āryā*; v. 7 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 14, 17, 18, 23 *Upajāti*; vv. 16, 19 *Indravajrā*; vv. 27, 29 *Anushṭubh*; v. 28 *Praharshiṇī*.]

1 . . . . . . [4][।*] — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡
— —, — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — चरित्रः ।
प्राप्तश्चीणानुप ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —, — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — [॥१॥*] — — — — ◡ — —
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —, — — —

2 — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — [मारि]च[त्रं(क्रम)] । नि[र्म्म]थ्य
[चोरसिन्धुं] व्यदधद[5][म]र[तां] सम्प्रहृष्टः सुराणाम्प्रासश्रीर्य्यः स दिश्याच्छ्रियमनुप-
हतामायुरप्यूर्ज्जि[तेपन् [6]?] ।[।२॥*] रथ्ये धावनमेलहृ(न ?)प्रविकसन्नीलो[त्पल*]
— ◡ —,[7] — हृद्यानुप[मां ◡ — ◡ ◡

[1] It should however be noted that the use of decorative horse-shoe arches is common to the towers of both the temples.

[2] Mr. Longhurst thinks that 'the architecture of the temples at Rājim is clumsy, lacks correct proportion and is painfully modern'. Was the tower of the Rājīvalōchana temple as well as its *maṇḍapa* reconstructed by Jagapāla in the 12th century A.D.? It is to be noted, however, that his inscription built into a wall of the *maṇḍapa* records in line 14 the construction of a *prāsāda* (temple) in honour of Rāma, though it opens with an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa. Perhaps he did not make any distinction between the two. Even now the image in the temple is popularly believed to be that of Rāmachandra. Cousens, however, suggested that the slab was brought over from another temple at Rājim, *viz.*, that of Rāmachandra and set up in this one to lend importance to it. See *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903-04, p. 26.

[3] From Plate IX, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, the original stone and inked estampages.

[4] The record may have opened with an obeisance to Vishṇu.

[5] The correct grammatical form would be *syadadhād=*.

[6] The context requires a reading like *apy=ūrjjitaṁ vaḥ*.

[7] Restore *śyāmalāṁ*.

3 [वराह ?] — ◡ सौख्योचिताम् । प्रोत्फुल्ला[म्बु(म्बु)]रुहस्थितद्विजव[रां] वि(बि)-
भ्रच्छ्रियं सारसीं सन्तापप्रश्न(शम)चम: स जगत: [शश्वत्सु]खायास्तु व: ॥[३॥*]
कस्त्वं देवि हरि: स्तनस्थपसर क्रोडीकृत: कचया — — — निपुणा मुख-
[प्र] ◡ ◡

4 — — श्रतिं सा चमा । हि(ते ?) वाग्भिर्न्न [तु] कर्म्मणा प्रकटितं
धि[ग्मा ?]च का [मे] रति: सत्यन्न: श्रियमित्यपास्तरभसां श्लिष्यन्प्रभु: पातु
व: ॥[४॥*] शौर्य्यच्छैलेन्द्रशृङ्गप्रपतनरभसा[दु]द्यदम्भोधिवीचि[व्या]सङ्गा — [सद्दे]-
लोच्छलदति ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — —

5 ◡ घोरम् । उच्चैर्य्योगीन्द्रलीलाविरचितवपुषो व्यस्तचन्द्रार्क्कतारं यस्याभूद्विम्बमध्यात्प्रय
इव स व(ब)लिर्योनिहन्ता हरि[र्व्व:] ॥[५॥*] जयति प्रथितमहीध्र[तु]ङ्गशिरो-
निहितनिजपाद: । [निल्यो]दितप्रतापो(प:) [पूर्ण्णा ?]दित्यो . . . .[1] [॥६॥*]

6 [श्रा*]सीद्विलासिनिजरूपजितस्मरोपि शान्तात्मनाम्भुवि सदा स्पृहणीयवृत्त: । ख्यातो
नृपो नल इति प्रणतारिचक्रचूडामणिभ्रमरचुम्वि(म्बि)तपादपद्म: ॥[७॥*]
तस्याभून्नि[ज*] — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — भूभृतो विन्ध्यस्ये[व*]
न[ग][स्य*]

7 — ◡ ◡ ◡ [रदृ ?]ष्टातिकान्तोन्नते: । पृथ्वीराज इति क्रमोपचयिनीं वि(बि)भ्र-
च्छ्रियं निर्म्मलां सेव्य: सर्व्वजनस्य पापविगमाद्गेवाप्रवाहोपम: ॥[८॥*] — — —
व जुगुप्सित: [स]म[गुणै: ?] — — ◡ — — ◡ —, — — — ◡ ◡ —
◡ — ◡ ◡ व[धै]र्यैतस्य यो धि ◡ — ।

8 [नि*]श्चिन्त्यातिकलिप्रपातमलिनामालोक्य लोकस्थितिं धात्रा सर्व्वगुणै: कृत:
चितिपति[र्म्मा] —[ह] — — ◡ म:[2] ॥[९॥*] तस्योच्चै[र्व्वपुषि ?]ग्वरव्यति-
[करव्यासात्म]कार्यो ◡ —, [मि]त्राणां ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡
— — ◡ — । [वि*]ख्यातो हिमवानिवा ◡ ◡

9 ◡ द: पुत्र: पतिर्भूभृतां धत्ते नाम विरूपराज इति यो दिग्वन्दिवृन्द[स्तुतम्
॥१०॥*] [रू*]पेणाप्रतिम: [शु]तेन च पां[3] सत्यान्वितस्त्या ◡ —,[4] [शौर्य्ये ?]
स्यायतन[श्चयं परमि]ति — — ◡ — — ◡ — । — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — [गु*]णैर्य्यस्योच्चै[र्म्मंतु] — ◡ —

[1] Some four *aksharas* like *dbhavō vaṁśaḥ* are lost here. It is curious to note that the name *Śrī-Pūraṇṇāditya* in characters of the 8th century A. D. occurs on two pillars of this temple at Rājim, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XVII, Plate X. [The *visarga-sandhi* in the preceding word *-pratāpō* does not justify the proposed reading *Pūraṇṇāditya* in the present instance.—B. C. C.]

[2] The last seven *aksharas* of this verse were probably *Māndhātri-rāj-ōpamaḥ*.

[3] The context requires a reading like *brutēna vimalaḥ*.

[4] Restore *s=tyāginām*.

10 ⌣ सकलं कीर्त्तिर्ज्जगद्भ्राम्यते ॥[११॥*] शत्रुघ्नोतिव(ब)लेन — ⌣ [मद*]नो
दर्[पें]ण कीर्त्त्या ⌣ —, — न्यारामतत्तु[व्वुं(ब्बुं)]धः पृथुरणे भीष्मः प्रतापेन
च । — — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —,
— — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — प्यः क्षतः ॥[१२॥*]
प्रति[प*]-

11 [र्वो*]दयभाजः सवितुरि — — द्गमोनुरागधरः । . . णपरा . . . .
[॥१३॥*] विलासिनस्तुङ्गत[मा] ⌣ — —, विलासतुङ्गः ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — — ।
⏑̱ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —, ⏑̱ — ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —
[॥१४॥*] — — [ख*][ड्ग]लताभिघात ⌣ ⌣

12 — [शङ्का]रिवृन्दाम्भुवं पश्येमात्र समोस्थनेन विजयाधो[शं ?] स्तु[वं ?]तेन्यतः ।
प — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — ⌣ ⌣ ⌣ — — — ⌣ — — ⌣ —, मन्ये धीरपि
— ⌣ — ⌣ [वसु ?]धा(धां) कालेन [ना] — ⌣ — [॥१५॥*] [म*]त्वा
स्वदे[हान्त]रिते[न] — —, — — ⌣ [वर्ण्णं]न्त्य[सु]धाखि[लानि*]

13 [स्र*]न्तस्तमुद्दिश्य विधान[दृ]ष्टदाना(न)क्रिया[भि]र्व्वनु सद्य एव ॥[१६॥*] ययो[च ?]
पि — ⌣ ⌣ भूतलो[के] पु[ना] ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ मेव [राज्ञा]म् । युगस्य य
— ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ — —, पूर्त्तम्प्र[पश्य*]न्ति परं स्मृतिज्ञाः ॥[१७॥*] ⏑̱
— ⌣ — — ⌣ ⌣ — ⌣ जे[भ्यः] चातुर्यशा[स्त्र ?] ⌣ ⌣ —

14 ⌣ भावात् [।*] धर्म्मस्य मूलं च यशो वदन्ति ⏑̱ — ⌣ [त*]स्मात्तदुपार्ज-
नीयम् ॥[१८॥*] मत्वा चलं जीवितमल्पसारं [बु(बु)द्धा] कचित्कीर्त्तनमेव
कायम् । कीर्त्तिः स्थिरा यस्य स [जी]वलोके तत्पुण्यमूर्त्तिश्चि[रजीव] एव
[॥१९॥*] — — — — ⌣ राज्ञा दशवदनभुजोत्क्षि[प्त]कै[लास*]-

15 [शृ*]ङ्गश्रीहारि [स्वे]न धाम्ना स्फुरदमलसुधा[नि]त्यन[व्ये ?]न्दुनेद[म्] । देवस्याशेष-
दुःखप्रभवभयनुदः कारितं स्थानमुच्चैर्व्विष्णोः पुण्याभिवृद्धौ [चि]दशजनसुखातिथ्य-
भाजः सुतस्य ॥[२०॥*] प्रातर्व्वा[र्व्वा]लार्क्करोचिर्व्यतिकरविलसच्चारुवामाधराभां
वि(बि)भ्राणं भूमिभाजां ⌣ ⌣[1]

[1] The *aksharas* lost here and at the beginning of the next line may have been *su-vibha*.

16 ⏑ [द]ममलं दृश्यते दृष्टिरस्याम् । यद्दूरादेव सिद्धैरपरमतिमहद्दूयणं भूरिधाम्नः
पुण्याधारं सुमेरोः शिखरमिव [प]तन्नोलगङ्गाप्रवाहम् ॥[२१॥*] अग्रे तावदुप-
प्रमाण[कर*]णं प्रख्यात — — ⏑ —, क्लेशप्राय[मिदं*] व्ययेन महता सम्भा-
रसम्पा[दनम् ।*]

17 तक्षिदेरल[मुल्लु ?]खस्य पुनरप्या[भो]गचिन्ता परा लोके सर्व्वललामकीर्त्तनकृतामा-
यास एवादितः ॥[२२॥*] कर्त्तुर्व्वैरं पालयिता मतो मे पा[त्यं] निरायासमपि-
⏑ — —। सर्व्वोतिलोभा ⏑ ⏑ — परं यत्नदर्शतां याति ⏑ — पि राज्ञां-
(ज्ञाम्) ॥[२३॥*] विध्वस्तैः प ⏑ —

18 ⏑ रेव च पराः पापात्मनां सम्पदः साधूनामपि पूर्व्वपुण्यविहिता दृश्यन्त
एवोज्व(ज्ज्व)लाः । तस्मादधर्म्मफलप्रपञ्चरचितं दृष्ट्वा विचि[त्रं] ⏑ —,[1] [त]त्तत्त्वं
पुरुषेण[2] येन गुणिना — — ⏑ वि[द्व][द्य*]ति ॥[२४॥*] मत्वैवं स्वशरीरकस्य
क्षतिभि[र्व्वि]द[द्वि][र*]-

19 [ष्य*]स्थिरं लेलालोक ⏑ — ⏑ — सुखमपि प्रत्यूहजालाहतम् । श्रुत्वा शक्र-
पुरस्सरा[श्च] विभवैः पुण्यात्मभिः सेविताः कार्य्यः कीर्त्त[न*]दानपालनविधौ
धर्म्मस्य यत्नः [परः ॥२५॥*] — — —[3] ⏑ विकासिनो मतिम[तां] भासन्ति[4]
भाचो(वा) ⏑ —,

20 — — — [यु ?]तदुग्धसि[क्थ ?]धवला — — [ति][5] वचः[स्थले] । यावद्गन्धवहो
वि — न्ति च जगत्तावत्प्रयत्नादिमाङ्कीर्त्तिम्पालयतः प्रिया [नर*]पतेर्न्यासाख्यया
स[ज्ज]नाः ॥[२६*॥] भृत्यो मित्त्रमप[त्यं] ⏑ [प्रभू*]त्तस्यैव भूपतेः । दुर्ग्ग-
गोल इति — ⏑̲,[6]

21 ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑̲ [॥२७॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [तो]न्यमार्गमा[र्ग]
विज्ञेया प्रविरचिता प्रशस्ति — —[7]। राज्ञे — ⏑ ⏑ वचना वि[जा]त-
भावा सद्वृत्तेत्यतिमहतादरेण मान्या ॥[२८॥*] जयतु[स्ति][सु*][ते]नेयं प्रशस्तिः
शिल्पशालि[ना] [।*]

22 उत्कीर्ण्णा सूत्रधारेण [साधुना] दुर्ग्गहस्तिना ॥[२९॥*]

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[1] Restore *jagat*.

[2] These *aksharas* are almost clear in the estampage.

[3] This and the next *pāda* must have begun with *yāvat*.

[4] This is incorrect for भासन्ते.

[5] Some word like *nidrāti* is expected here, but the first *akshara* appears like *ha*.

[6] Restore *prājñaḥ*.

[7] Restore *rekhā*.

No. 4.—VENKATAPUR INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA; SAKA 828.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., DHARWAR.

The inscription which is edited here for the first time was copied by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., in the field season of 1926-27 and included in the *List of the Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions copied during the year 1926-27* as No. 82. It is standing on the site of the ruined village **Veṅkaṭāpūr** in the Gadag taluk of the Dhārwār District, close to the temple of Veṅkaṭēśa which is a modern construction of within fifty years. The place was visited by me along with the Superintendent for Epigraphy, in 1933-34 and again in 1935-36 when the inscription was examined by me *in situ* and its photograph and fresh impressions were taken under my supervision. I edit the record below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar-like black stone which, being broad at the base, gradually tapers at the top and the inscribed portion measures 2′ 10″ in length and 11″ and 1′ 6″ in breadth at the top and bottom respectively. The top of the inscribed portion contains two sections one below the other. The first section bears the figure of a *liṅga* while the second has that of a cow and a sucking calf. The height of individual letters ranges between ¾″ and 1¼″.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets which developed in the Kannaḍa districts of the Bombay Presidency in the 10th century A.D. and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They exhibit round forms as against the antique, square and upright type that characterised the records of Amōghavarsha I[1] and his predecessors. They resemble the writing of the Soraṭūr inscription of Kṛishṇa II dated in Śaka 805[2] and as in that record, the *talekaṭṭu* of the letters is distinctly curved and crescent-like, in contrast with the horizontal straight lines found in the earlier inscriptions. Besides these observations generally applicable to the inscriptions of the early tenth century A.D. which marks the period of transition in the evolution of the Kannaḍa alphabet, the following points may be noted in the **palæography** of the present record :—(1) The initial vowel *i* (*irpatte*, l. 3) is of the archaic type and the initial vowel *e* is used in *Ereṇāga* (l. 16). (2) Among the consonants, only three principal test letters, *viz.*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, are used : *j* is of the later cursive form as in the Nandavāḍige inscription[3] of Śaka 822 (824), cf. *rājādhirāja* (ll. 7-8), *rājyābhi°* (l. 8), *Chandratēja* (l. 13), etc. The letter *b* is presented throughout in its later cursive form. The letter *l* is used in its cursive form without the inward miniature representation of the principal part of the old square character, but peculiarly enough, it has a *talekaṭṭu* on the right-hand curve which is not met with in any record of this early period : cf. *vallabha* (l. 7), *Beḷvolaṁ* (l. 9), *=okkaltanaṁ* (l. 17), etc. In only one case, this letter appears without the *talekaṭṭu*, *viz.*, *sale* (l. 9). (3) The record uses freely the special forms of *n*, *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *n* is used in *=onduttaraṁ* (l. 9), *n=āḷe* (l. 10), *Ereṇāga* (l. 16), etc.. The secondary form of *m* is used in *m=emba* (l. 3), *mahārāja* (l. 7), *mūnūrumam* (l. 10), etc. For the secondary form of *y*, see *°ttenṭaneya* (l. 3), *dasamiyuṁ* (l. 6), *vṛiddhiyondu* (l. 9), *Māyirmma* (l. 11), etc. *V* seems to have been written in its special cursive type in one case only, *viz.*, *per-ggāvuṇḍa* (l. 12). *Th* is unusually open at the left top which is curved inside to mark the aspiration : cf. *prithuvī* (l. 7). *D* cannot be distinguished from *ḍ* except in one case, *baḷḍarappoḍe* (l. 18). The aspirate *ph* is used with a cross stroke on the right curve in *phalaṁ* (l. 23). The Dravidian *ḷ* and *ṛ* are found in ll. 18, 19, 21 and 16 and 20 respectively.

[1] Mantravāḍi inscription : Śaka 787 (above, Vol. VII, p. 198, plate), Sirūr inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, p. 202), Nīlgund inscription : Śaka 788 (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 98, plate), Soraṭūr inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha, A.D. 869 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 176).

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 206 and plate.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 221, and plate in Vol. XI, p. 127.

In regard to **orthograghy,** the following may be noted. (1) An *anusvāra* preceding a consonant in the body of a word is very often changed into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs, cf. *=onduttara* (l. 9), *Mahāsirivanta* (l.10), etc. (2) Palatal *ś* is substituted by a dental *s*, cf. *Saka* . . . *sata* (ll. 1-2), *dasami* (l. 5), etc. The **language** is ancient Kannaḍa except the latter half of the imprecatory verse in Sanskrit beginning with *bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, in which, it may be noted, *sadā* is written wrongly for *tadā* (ll. 21-22). On the expression *onduttaraṁ*, attention may be drawn to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao's remarks above, Vol. XXI, p. 207. It may be added that a similar expression occurs in another record of Kṛishṇa II from the Mysore province dated in Śaka 835 (in words), Prajāpati, in the following passage : *Akālavarshadēvana vijayarājyam=onduttarōttaram=abhivriddhige saluttire*[1].

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Amōghavarsha** and records the gift of a garden with one thousand creepers at **Māvinuru,** with proprietary rights (*sāmya*), made to **Chandratēja-Bhaṭṭāra,** pupil of Mallikārjuna-Bhaṭṭāra, by **Bagega** when the latter was the *Perggāvuṇḍa* (senior *gāvuṇḍa*) of **Sirivura, Māyirmma** was administering **Muḷgunda-twelve** and **Mahāsirivanta** was governing **Beḷvola-three-hundred** division. It is stated that Mugina Kāḍamma, Ereṇāga, Kuppa and Māda were holding the rights of *okkaltana* (cultivation rights) in the village and that if they were to destroy this gift, they would incur the sin of destroying Vāraṇāsi, the seven crores of ascetics, a tank, a garden and a cow.

The **date** of the gift is given as : **Wednesday, the 10th day of the dark half of Kārtika in the cyclic year Prabhava** falling in the **Śaka year 828** (expired). The year Prabhava fell according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, in Śaka 829 (expired) while according to Sewell's *Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, it was Śaka 829 (current) *i.e.*, 828 (expired) by the Northern system. In this year *i.e.*, Śaka 828 (expired), the lunar month Śrāvaṇa was intercalated according to both the authorities and the details given in the record fell on Friday, November 14, A.D. 906 in which case, the weekday cited in the record would be a mistake. If Śrāvaṇa were not intercalated, the details would regularly correspond, for the lunar month Āśvina of the *Ephemeris*, to **A.D. 906, October 15, Wednesday.** But, for Prabhava, according to the Southern system (Śaka 829, expired), the date corresponded to A.D. 907, November 3, Tuesday;·73.

From the title Amōghavarsha borne by the king, the date and the alphabet of the record, it is evident that this inscription is a **Rāshṭrakūṭa** document. The *biruda* was assumed by more than one king of the family and the earliest of them was Nṛipatuṅga Amōghavarsha I to whose reign the present inscription will naturally have to be assigned. But this possibility is precluded by the date Śaka 828 which falls right towards the close of his son Kṛishṇa's reign, which, according to the Hirebidri inscription[2], began in Śaka 800, the latest known date for his father being Śaka 799, Phālguṇa, śu. 10 (March, A.D. 878)[3]. If it is not a mistake on the part of the copyist-scribe or the engraver, we have to presume that Kṛishṇa II also bore, like his father, the *biruda* Amōghavarsha

During the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Beḷvola-three-hundred was held by a succession of Governors *viz.*, Dēvaṇṇayya, in A.D. 866,[4] 869,[5] 872[6] and Śaka 793, Vijaya (=probably A.D. 873)[7] Maṅgatōraṇa in A.D. 893[8] and Mahāsirivanta in A.D. 901,[9] 907[10] and 918.[11] It is not certain

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sorab, 88.

[2] Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 100 of 1935-36.

[3] This is the date of completion of the *Jayadhavalaṭīkā* of Vīrasēna during the reign of Amōghavarsha I.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 98 ff.

[5] B. K. No. 140 of 1926-27.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 246 of 1928-29.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1926-27.

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 20 of 1926-27.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 60 of 1926-27.

[10] The Veṅkaṭāpūr inscription under publication (*ibid.*, No. 82 of 1926-27).

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 184 of 1932-33.

whether these officers were related to each other as father and son and inherited the governorship as an ancestral estate or were appointed there from time to time like the governors of a province in modern days. From the Hebbāḷ inscription of Śaka 896 (A.D. 975),[1] it is learnt that the district was presented to the Gaṅga king Būtuga II as *baḷivaḷi* (dowry) at the time of his marriage with the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Amōghavarsha III Baddega. It was subject to the Gaṅga power since then as can be gathered from the Rōṇ inscription[2] of A.D. 942 and the Kurtakōṭi inscription[3] of A.D. 946 where the Gaṅga prince is called the *bhāva* (brother-in-law) of Kṛishṇa III. The Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III and Būtuga II dated Śaka 872 (A. D. 949-50)[4] states, however, that Kṛishṇa III was pleased with the valour of Būtuga displayed in the killing of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya in the battle of Takkōlam and granted to him as reward the districts of Banavāse, Purigere, Beḷvola, Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu. This would show that Būtuga was dispossessed of his hold over the Beḷvola district in the interval between A.D. 946 and A.D. 949-55. But the circumstances under which this event must have happened are not apparent. It is not unlikely that his elder brother Rāchamalla called Rachyāmalla in the Deōlī plates[5] of Kṛishṇa III (A.D. 940) by ousting whom from Gaṅgavāḍi, Būtuga had been placed on the throne, attempted to regain his power and wrested from him a portion of the territory including Beḷvola some time after A.D. 946. Būtuga must have sought the assistance of his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa III and with his help killed Rāchamalla. This latter incident is mentioned in the subsidiary inscription on the top of the Ātakūr stone[6] dated Śaka 872 (A.D. 949-50) as an event of recent occurrence and so must have happened before the battle of Takkōlam so that Kṛishṇa III could present Būtuga the districts mentioned above. Perhaps on the death of Rāchamalla, the territory including Beḷvola was formally annexed by Kṛishṇa III as an overlord and victor, to the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom so that he could grant it to Būtuga in token of his services at the Takkōlam battle. Beḷvola was held by Mārasiṁha II in A.D. 970[7] and after the subversion of the family by the Western Chāḷukyas in about A.D. 975, it passed to the family of Kannapa and Śōbhanarasa the officers of the Western Chāḷukyas.[8]

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Beḷvola-three-hundred** is the well-known district comprising portions of the modern Gadag, Rōṇ and Navalgund taluks of the Dhārwār District. **Muḷgunda-twelve** was named after Muḷgund the modern village of that name in the Gadag taluk. **Māvinuru** where the gift was made I am not able to trace. This is perhaps identical with Māvinūru at which, according to the Konnūr inscription, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted to the Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkeya at Koḷanūra. Kielhorn, who edited the record, has identified this village with the modern Mannoor 8 miles east by south of Konnūr.[9]

TEXT.[10]

1 ◎ Svasti [||*] **Sa(Śa)ka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṁ-**
2 **vatsara-sa(śa)taṁgaḷ-eṇṭunūṛa**
3 **irppatteṇṭaneya[11] Prabhavam-**emba va-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 126 of 1926-27.
[3] B. K. No. 175 of 1926-27.
[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.
[5] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.
[6] Above, Vol. VI, p. 55.
[7] B. K. Nos. 21 and 149 of 1926-27.
[8] Above, Vol. VI, p. 28.
[9] See above, Vol. XX, pp. 65 f.
[10] From the ink-impression and original stone.
[11] The letter *ya* is engraved below the line in small character.

4 risham pravarttise [|*] tad-varshābhya-
5 ntara **Kārttikā(ka)-māsa bahuḷa dasa(śa)-**
6 **miyuṁ Budhavārad**-andu [Sva*]sty=**Amōgha-**
7 **varsha** pṛithuvī-vallabhaṁ mahārājādhi-
8 rāja paramēsva(śva)ra bhaṭṭārara rājyābhi-
9 vṛiddhiy=onduttaraṁ sale **Beḷvolaṁ mū-**
10 **nūṟumaṁ Mahāsirivantan**=āḷe **Mu-**
11 **ḷgundu(da) panneraḍumaṁ Māyirmman**=āḷe **Si-**
12 **rivurake Bagega** perggāvuṇḍam=āguttire
13 Mallika(kā)rjuna-Bhaṭṭārara śishyar=**Chandratēja-**
14 **Bhaṭṭārargge Māvinuroḷ** =Bagega[nu] koṭṭaṁ
15 sāvira(raṁ) baḷḷiya tōṇṭada sāmyaṁ Mugina
16 Kāḍammanuṁ Ereṇāganuṁ Kuppanuṁ Māda-
17 num=okkaltanaṁ geyye mattam=alliy=o-
18 kkal=ellam=ī(i)dan=aḷiye baḷdar=appoḍ=ella
19 Vāraṇāsiyumaṁn[1]=eḷkōṭi tapōdhanamu[maṁ]
20 kereyuman=ārāmeyumaṁ kavileyu-
21 man=aḷida pāpam=akku ◎ yasya ya-
22 sya yadā bhūmi(mis=)tasya tasya sadā (tadā)
23 [pha]laṁ ◎ maṁgaḷaṁ ◎

No. 5.—TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The two sets of copper-plates, which form the subject of the present paper, were found in course of some excavations near the temple of Dharmaliṅgēśvara at the village of **Sudava**[2] (or, Sudaba) situated in the eastern division of the Parlākimēḍi Estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. At the time of the discovery, the plates were deposited in a mud-pot. They were received for examination by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy from the Agent and Diwan to the Raja Bahadur of Parlākimēḍi. They have been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1920-21 (C. P. Nos. 1 and 2, page 93), and published for the first time by Pandit Satya Narayana Rajaguru of Parlākimēḍi[3]. I now re-edit the two records from two sets of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

A.—Plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava ; [Gaṅga] Year 184.

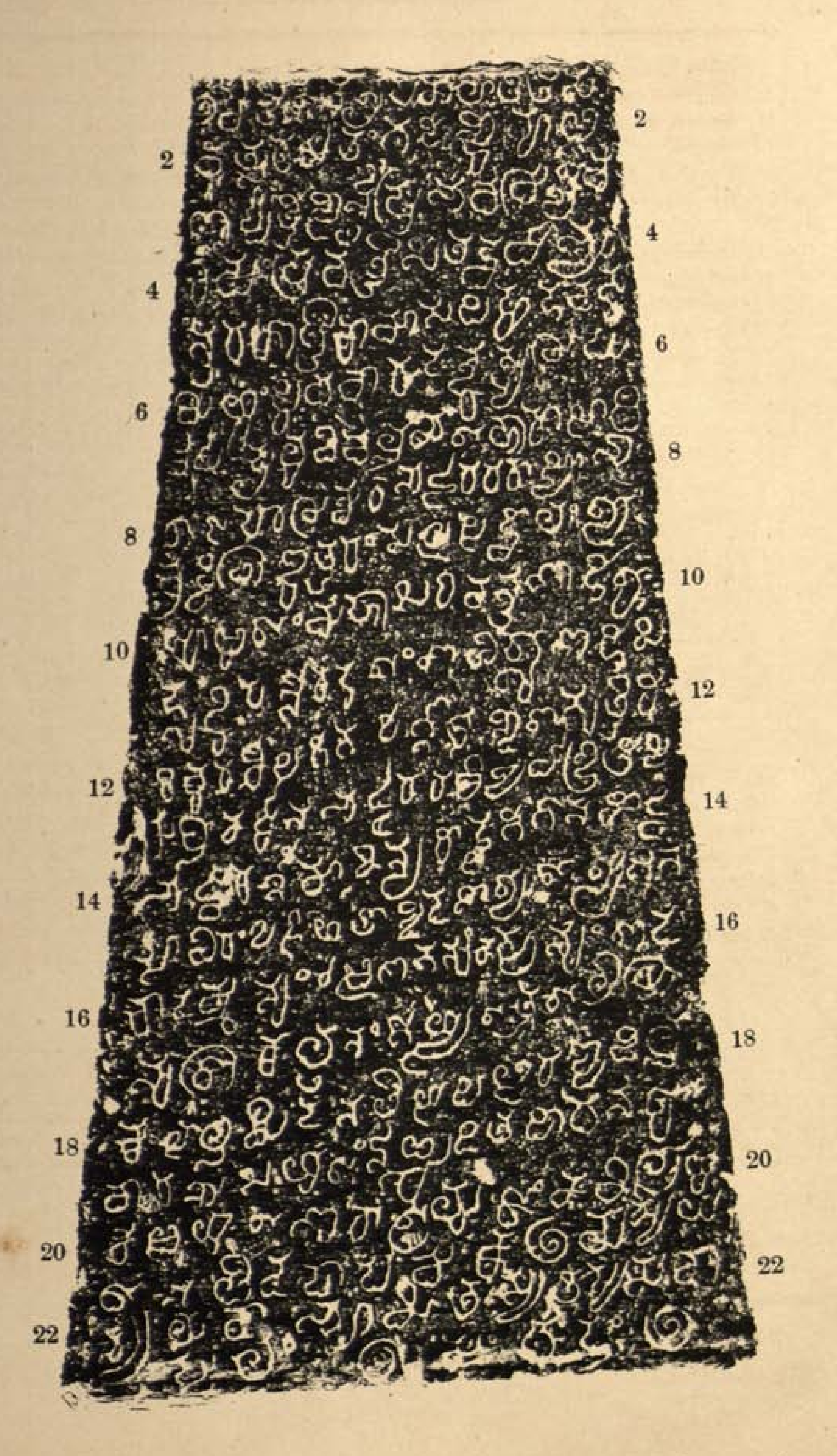
These are **three** plates of copper, each measuring about 7½" by 3¾". Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a **ring-hole**, a little above ½" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a **copper-ring** of 3⅞" diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered to a circular **seal** of 1⅝" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a

[1] Read *Vāraṇāsiyuman=*.

[2] In *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 272 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 300, the find-spots of these records are said to be Aḍava instead of Sudava. These two names perhaps indicate one and the same place.

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 271 ff.

VENKATAPUR INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA; SAKA 828.



SCALE: ONE-QUARTER.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 1997 E'40—285.

bull, couchant to right, and a crescent above it. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 102 *tolas*. The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is engraved on both sides. Three of the inscribed faces of the plates have six lines of writing apiece, while the fourth has seven, the total coming to twenty-five lines in all, the last line containing only three or four letters. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Chicacole[1] (Year 183), Trilingi[2] (Year 192) and Siddhāntam[3] (Year 195) plates of Dēvēndravarman, the donor of the present grant, already known to us.

Some of the **palæographical features** of the inscription are the following: (1) initial *a* occurs in line 5 and initial *ā* in l. 22, (2) the form of medial *ā* in *tā* of *mātā* (l. 9) is noteworthy, and (3) the final form of *t* occurs once only in *pūrvvāt* (l. 16); the letter is smaller in size and is underscored once.

The **numerical symbols** for 100, 80 and 4 occur in the date which is given in l. 24.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting the three customary verses and one mentioning the writer towards the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among the **orthographical peculiarities** of the record may be mentioned the following: (1) the occurrence of the *jihvāmūlīya* in lines 1 and 14, (2) the use of the *upadhmānīya* in lines 6 and 9, (3) the doubling of *t* before *y* in *sattya-*, *ttyāga-* (l. 7) and *parihṛittya* (l. 9), according to Pāṇini, viii, 4, 47, (4) the doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the doubling of consonants before *r*, the exceptions being in lines 18 and 19, (6) the use of *anusvāra* in place of final *m* in ll. 12, 20 and 21, (7) the change of *visarga* into *s* before dental *s* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9), (8) substitution of *anusvāra* by guttural nasal before a palatal sibilant in *nistriṅśa* (l. 4) and *vaṅśyēna* (l. 22).

The inscription **records** the gift of the village of Haduvaka which was situated in the district (*vishaya*) called Pushyagiri-pañchāli to the learned Brāhmaṇa teacher Pataṅga-Śivāchārya, who was the *guru* of the donor. The original donee again made over one half of the village to (*the god ?*) Yāgēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka and the other half to his own disciples and disciples' disciples. The gift was issued from Kaliṅganagara on the occasion of the termination of the *dīkshā* ceremony of the donor. The donor was *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. The writer of the charter was Pallavachandra, son of Mātṛichandra, who belonged to the Apūrvanaṭa family. The witness of the gift was *mahāmahattara* Śavaranandiśarman and the engraver was Sarvachandra, the son of Khaṇḍichandra, the *bhōgika*.

The **date**, given in words as well as in figures, is the Year 184, which presumably refers to the Gaṅga era.

Of the **localities** mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** has been variously located at modern Kaliṅgapatam or at Mukhaliṅgam. The village of **Haduvaka** is evidently the same as Sudava (or, Sudaba), the findspot of our inscription. The district of **Pushyagiri-pañchāli** in which the village granted was situated, I am unable as yet to identify.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be placed in the **second half of the 7th century A.D.**

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 130 ff. and plates.

[2] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 300 ff. and plates.

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff. and plates.

TEXT[1].

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti[||*] Sakala-vasumatī-tala-tilakāyamānas[3]=sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaṇīyād=vijaya-vataḥ **Kaliṅganagara-**

2 vāsakān=Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya charāchara-gurōs=sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇ-aika-sūttradhārasya

3 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmād=vigalita-kali-kalaṅkō Gāṅg-āmala-ku-

4 la-tilakō nija-nistriṅśa(striṁśa)-dhār-ōpārjjitas[4]=sakala-**Kaliṅg**-ādhirājya[ḥ*] pravitata-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mē-

5 khal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-āhava-saṅkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabda[ḥ*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chū-

6 ḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-puñja-rañjita-charaṇaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō naya-vinaya-śauryy-[au-]

Second Plate; First Side.

7 dāryya-sattya-ttyāga-sampadām=ādhāra-bhūtaḥ śrī-Guṇārṇṇava-sūnur=mmahārājaḥ śrīma-[d*]-**Dēvēndravarmmā Pushyagiri-**

8 **pañchāli**-vishayē **Haduvaka**-grāmē sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbinas=sama(mā)jñāpayati [|*] Viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ*] yath=āsmā-

9 bhir=ayaṁ grāmas=sarvva-karaiḥ parihṛitty=ā-chandr-ārkka=pratishṭhaṁ mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē vēda-

10 vēdāṅg-ētihāsa-purāṇa-nyāya-vidyā-sva-siddhānt-ādhigatāya bhagavat-**Pataṅga-Śivāchār-yyāya** guravē di-

11 ksh-ōttara-kālē guru-pūjāyai dattas=tēn=āpi pratigṛihya Yōgēśvara-bhaṭṭārakāy=ārddhaṁ sva-śishya-praśi-

12 shyēbhyō=py=arddhaṁm(m)[5]ity=ēvam=viditvā yath-ōchita-bhāgabhōgam=upa nayanta[ḥ*] sukhaṁ prativasat=ēti[|*] grāmasya sīmā-li-

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 ṅgāni bhavanti [|*] Pūrvvasyān=diśi Guṇahārī garttā tata(tō)[6] dakshiṇasyān=diśi sīmāntē[7] s=aiva garttā paśchima(mē)na kadamba-

14 vṛikshaḥ tatas=chiñchā-vṛikshaḥ nimba[s*] tata[ḥ*] sarjja-vṛikshaḥ taṭā[k-ā*]lyāṁ timira-vṛikshaḥ tataḥ Piśāch-ālī-kāraka-vṛikshaḥ

15 taṭāk-ālī-paśchima-sīmāntē taṭāk-āly-uttarē bhallātaka-vṛikshaḥ tata(tō) jambū-vṛikshaḥ Chullavēṇa

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[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Read °*māna*-.

[4] Read -*ōpārjjita-sakala*-.

[5] The predicate *dattaḥ* is understood here.

[6] [The reading is *garta-dakshiṇasyān=diśi*.—B. C. C.]

[7] Here we have an example of tautology. We have to read either *dakshiṇasyān=diśi* or simply *dakshiṇa-sīmāntē*.

Two Eastern Ganga Copper-Plate Grants from Sudava.

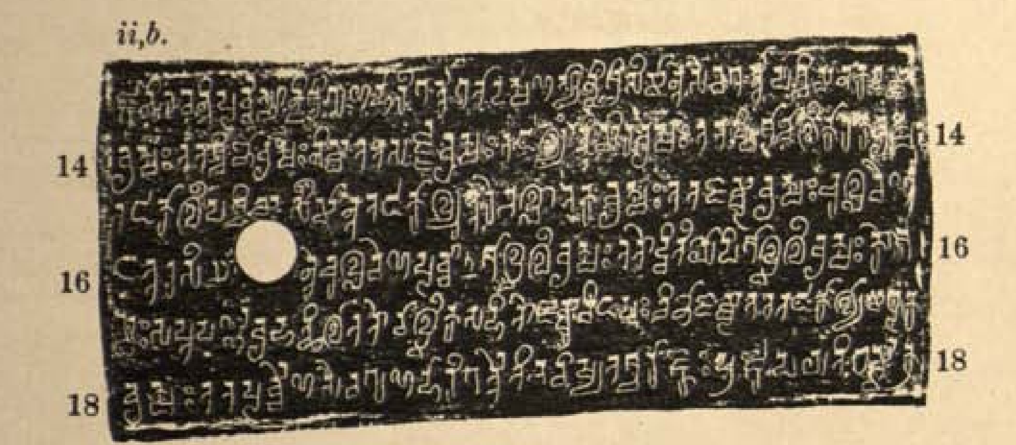
A.—Plates of Devendravarman; [Ganga] year 184.

i.

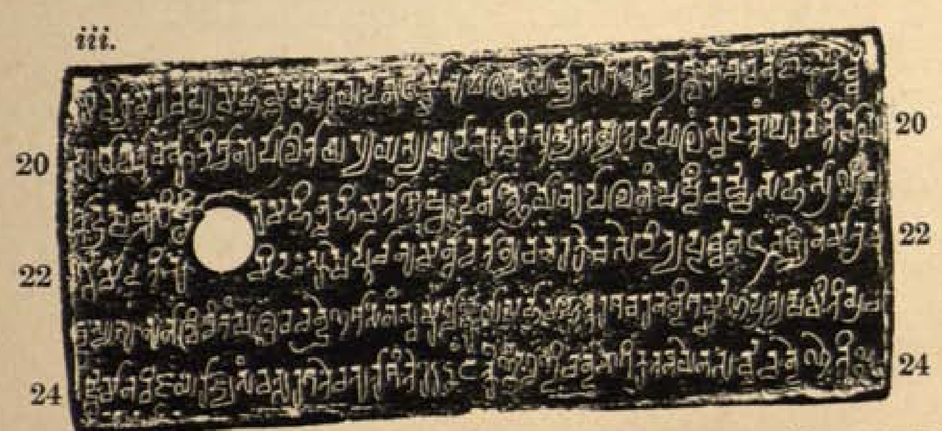
ii,a.



ii,b.



iii.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 2015 E'40–290.

Scale : six-tenths.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

16 uttara-sīmāntē Chullavēṇa-pūrvvāt śālmalī-vṛikshaḥ tatō dvitīyō=pi śālmalī-vṛikshaḥ kōśa-

17 mbaḥ saptaparṇṇa(rṇṇō) vṛi(bṛi)hat-chhi(ch-chhi)lā tatō vālmīka-sahitō jambu viṭapaḥ chiñchā-jambū[s*] tata[s*] taṭāk-ālyā[ṁ*] madhūka-

18 vṛikshaḥ tata[ḥ*] pūrvvēṇa s=aiva Guṇahārī gartt=ēti [||*] bhavishyataś=cha rājñaḥ prajñāpayati [|*] dharmma-kra-

Third Plate.

19 ma-vikramair=avāpya mahīm=bhavadbhir=ayaṁ dānadharmmō=nupālanīyō(yaḥ) [||*] Vyāsa-gītāś=ch=ātra ślōka(kā) bhavanti [|*] [1]Bahubhī(bhi)r=vva-

20 sudhā dattā va(ba)hubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||1*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā ya-

21 tnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahi(hī)n=ma(m=ma)himatāṁ śrēshṭhaḥ(ṭha) dānāt=chhrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [||2*] Shashṭiṁ varshsha-sahasrāṇi sva-

22 rggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē [2]vasēd=ity=Apūrvvanaṭa-vaṅśyē(vaṁśyē)na Mātṛicha-

23 ndrasya sūnunā [|*] likhitaṁ **Pallavachandrēṇa**[3] śāsanaṁ sva-mukh-ājñayā [||4*] mahāmahattara-**Śavaranandiśarmmaṇa[ḥ*]**[4] pratyaksham=iti [|*] **prava-**

24 **rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śatē chatur-āśītē 100 80 4** [|*] utkīrṇṇaṁ Khaṇḍichandra-bhōgika[5]-tanayēna [6]**Sarvvachandrēṇ=ēti**ḥ(ti) [||*]

25 [? U*]māpati[7]

B.—Plates of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman ; [Gaṅga] Year 204.

These are **three** sheets of copper, with their edges slightly raised in order to protect the writing. They measure 6″ by 3¼″. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a ring-hole through which the plates slide on to a thick **ring** of copper measuring 3¼″ in diameter. The ends of the ring were secured and soldered to a circular **seal** which measures 1⅝″ in diameter. It bears in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of a bull, couchant to right, surmounted by a crescent. Below the bull there is a floral design. The **weight** of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 138 *tolas*. The first and the third

[1] Metre : *Ślōka* (*Anushṭubh*) ; and in the following three verses.

[2] Read *vasēt* [||3*] *iti*.

[3] The same person was responsible for drafting the Chicacole (Year 183) and Triliṅgi (Year 192) plates of Dēvēndravarman.

[4] He figures also as a witness in the Chicacole and Triliṅgi records of Dēvēndravarman. The Chicacole inscription, however, calls him a *mahattara*, for a note on which term, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, f. n. 6. Dr. E. Hultzsch's explanation of the first component of his (the witness's) name (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 3) seems to be unwarranted ; for, Śavara need not always signify the savage tribe. In fact, Śavara is only another name of Śiva who is the object of devotion of the donor of our grant.

[5] For a note on *bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64 ; also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 100, f. n. 1.

[6] He also engraved the Chicacole and Triliṅgi plates of Dēvēndravarman. The name of the father of the engraver of the latter grant has been misread (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 302) as *Chandrabhōgika*, whereas it is clearly *Khaṇḍichandra* on the facsimile. *Cf.* plate III (opp. p. 301), wrongly numbered there as 'Plate II (*Reverse*)'.

[7] This was probably the name of the record-keeper (*akshaśālin*) or some other official at his office. [The reading seems to be *Māgha-di 1*.—B. C. C.]

plates are inscribed on their inner faces only, while the second one contains writing on both of its sides. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines, each of the inscribed faces of the plates containing eight lines of writing.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Southern class of alphabets and resemble those of the Ganjām Plates of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman[1] and the Dhanantara Plates[2] of Sāmantavarman.[3]

The **orthography** of the inscription calls for no special remarks. It shows almost the same features as those that occur in the record of Dēvēndravarman dealt with under **A** above.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of one imprecatory verse, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription **records** the gift of the village of Tālatthēra situated in the district (*vishaya*) of Krōshṭukavarttanī, to the learned Brāhmaṇa Vishṇusōmāchārya who belonged to the Pārāśara *gōtra* and hailed from Śṛiṅgāṭikā-*agrahāra* in the Kāmarūpa *vishaya*. The occasion for the gift was a marriage ceremony (*kanyādāna*). The donor of the grant was *Mahārāja* Anantavarman, son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvēndravarman, who belonged to the family of the Gaṅgas (*Gāṅga-kula*). The grant was made at the request of the king's brother, Jayavarman.

The **date**, given in words as well as in figures, is *śukla-trayōdaśī* of the month of Mārgaśirsha of the Year 204 (of the Gaṅga era). The engraver was **Kuyāli**, the son of Nādimachi.

Of the **localities** mentioned, the **Krōshṭukavarttanī**-*vishaya* is mentioned in some of the early and later Gaṅga inscriptions.[4] It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch[5] with modern Chicacole. The Kāmarūpa-*vishaya* may not necessarily signify the famous country of the same name in Eastern India. Perhaps it is just another (hitherto unknown) district of ancient Kaliṅga. I am unable to identify at present both this and the Śṛiṅgāṭikā-*agrahāra* as well as the village granted. Besides these, our inscription contains a medley of geographical names (chiefly those of hillocks, *etc.*) which marked the boundaries of the village of Tālatthēra. These, however, seem impossible to identify without a local investigation.

Palæographically, our inscription is to be referred to the **last quarter of the 7th or the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.**

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[1] Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 261-63 and plates.

[2] Above Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

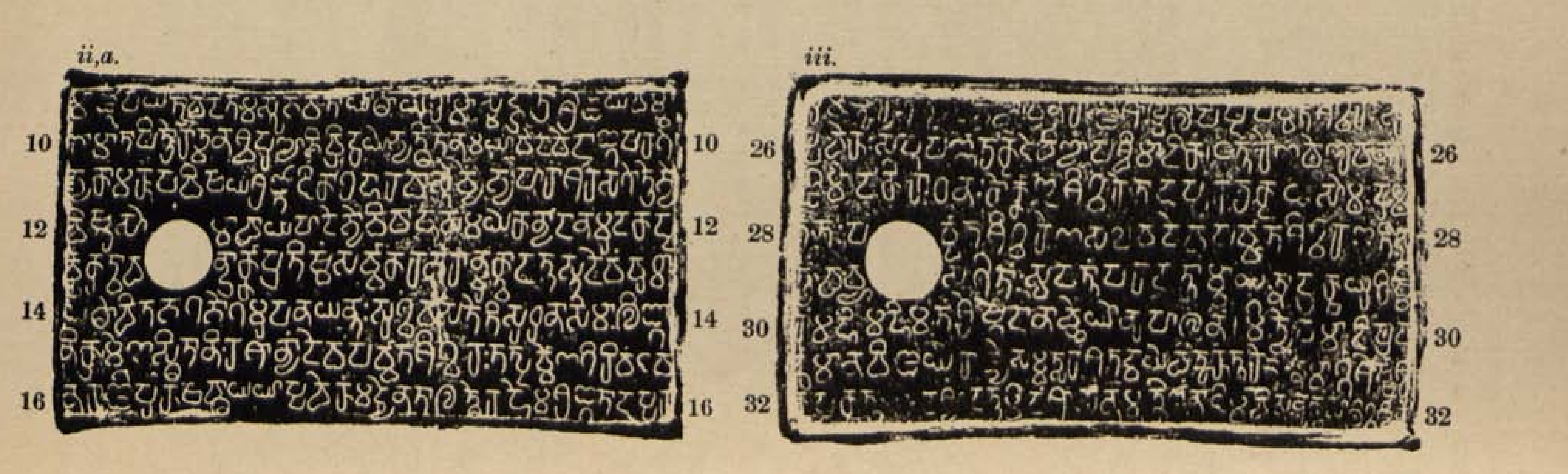
[3] Apart from the one under discussion, there is another grant of Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, (see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1918-19, p. 14, No. 8 and *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 188-190 and plates). This record, however, does not seem to be genuine; for, the script appears to be too late for the reign of Anantavarman, and further the record, which abounds in gross mistakes in composition, is not dated.

[4] *E. g.*, Urlām plates of Hastivarman (Year 80), above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, father of the donor of the present grant (Year 183), above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff., *etc.*

[5] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff. [In fact, Dr, Hultzsch has only pointed out that the district of Krōshtukavartanī also occurs in the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman but he has not identified it with Chicacole as stated by Mr. Ghosh here as well as on p. 196 of Volume XXIV, above. The *vishaya* has, however, been identified by Mr. G. Ramadas with the country to the north of the river Vaṁśadhārā in the Ganjām District (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 263).—Ed.]

TWO EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SUDAVA.

B.—PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; [GANGA] YEAR 204.



i. ii,b. ii,a. iii.

SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 2015 E'40—290.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti [||*] Vijayavataḥ **Kaliṅganagarān**=Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya
2 bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ praṇāmād=vigalita-kali-kalaṅkaḥ śrīmad-Gā-
3 ṅga-kula-tilakō nija-nistri[ṁ*]ś-ōpārjjita-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] pravitata-cha-
4 tur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhal-āvani-tal-āmala-yaśāḥ anēk-ā
5 hava-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-śavda (bda)[ḥ*] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-cha-
6 kra-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ para-
7 mamāhēśvara-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-Dēvēndravarmma-sūnur=mmahārāja-śrīmā-
8 n=**Anantavarmmā Krōshṭukavarttanyā[ṁ*] Tālatthērē** sarvva-samavētāñ=ku(n=ku)-ṭumvi(mbi)na[ḥ*] sa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

9 **mājñāpayati** [|*] Viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ*] yath=āya[ṁ*] grāmō=smad=bhrātrā śrī-[3]**Jayavarmma-**
10 **ṇā** mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhayē=bhyartthitēna mayā vēda-vēdāṅga-pa(pā)ragē-
11 bhya[ḥ*] **Kāmarūpa-vishaya-Śriṅgāṭik**-āgrahāra-vāstavyēbhya[ḥ*] Pārāśara-sagōt-trē[bhyō]
12 **Vishṇusōmāchā[r*]ya**-pādēbhyō vivāha-samayē kanyā-dānam=udaka-pū-
13 rvvaṁ kṛitv=ā-chandr-ārkka-pratishṭhaṁ sarvva-kara-bharān=muktvā dattas=tad=ēvaṁ vudhvā(buddhvā)
14 yath-ōchita-bha(bhā)gabhōgam=upanayantaḥ sukhaṁ vasat=ēti [|*] adhunā sīmā-liṅgā-
15 ni kramēṇa sthitāni I(Ai)śānyāṁ Dēvaparvvata-śikharaḥ tat-pūrvvēṇa giri-vaṭa-va-
16 na-rāji-[4]purusha-chchhāyay-āppachēru-maddhyēna Tālatthēra-Hēmaśṛiṅga-tādappara[ḥ*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 ttrikūṭē[5] suruli-vālmikaḥ pa(pā)rvvatyā(tya)-girivaṭaḥ dhātu-karañja[ḥ*] Vasantapura-tṛi(tri)-
18 kūṭē chiñchā-vana-rāji-pañchāṅgula-vibhīta[ḥ*] Kōṅga-parvvatē pūrvv-āvatārē giri-
19 vaṭaḥ salla-pattharē kōśāmraḥ chiñchā vāpī-pūrrv-āliḥ parvvata-śikharē Dumūlli-
20 tṛi(tri)kūṭaḥ pūrvvā dika(k)| dakshiṇēna chiñchā-paṅkti[ḥ*] Sōma-vāṭaka-tṛi(tri)kū-

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[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] He has been identified by Mr. S. N. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 261) with *Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva* of a Ganjām grant and by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 386, f. n. 7) with a king of the same name mentioned in another inscription from Ganjām (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 491 ff.).

[4] "This description appears to presuppose the position of the sun at an angle of 45° over the horizon." (above, Vol. III, p. 134, f. n. 1).

[5] According to Dr. Hultzsch 'its meaning might be "the point at which three roads meet"'; see above, Vol. III, p. 20, f. n. 7.

21 ṭē rādhana-chiñchā-paṅkti[ḥ*] Dhāra-vāṭaka-tṛi(tri)kūṭē chiñchā-vana-rāji-rāja-

22 mārgga[ḥ] chiñchā-vālmīkaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-vālmīkaḥ punaḥ Kavāṭa-sandhi-tōra-vālmī-

23 kaḥ nikhāt[-ō]pala[ḥ] nimva(mba)-vālmīkaḥ dakshiṇā dika(k)| paśchimēna Kapāṭa-saddhiḥ(ndhiḥ) ku-

24 ḍuṅga-paṅk[t*]i[ḥ*] vaku[la*ī]-vana-rāji-taṭāk-āli[ḥ*] sōma-vibhīta-sōma-kapittha-garttā chiñchā-

Third Plate.

25 drumaḥ[1].......... chiñchā-vana-rāji-śālmalī Pipū-parvvata-śikharaḥ a-

26 ppachēruḥ saptaparṇṇa[ḥ*] tṛi(tri)kūṭē chiñchā paśchimā dika(k)| uttarēṇa vēṇu-vana-rā-

27 jī mōdakē rādhanaḥ Kōrkkaṇṭa-śikharē tādapparaḥ tṛi(tri)kūṭaḥ sōma-druma[s=*]

28 tataḥ parvvata-śikharēṇa Salavadēva-parvvata-śikhara iti [|*] a-

29 ttra cha Vyāsa-gītāḥ [|*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhi-shṭhi-

30 ra [|*] mahī[ṁ*] mahīmatā[ṁ*] śrēshṭha dānāch=chhē(chhrē)yō-nupālanaṁ(nam) | (||) mi(i)ty=ēvam=ādi prava-

31 **rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śata-dvayē Chatur-uttarē 204** Mārgaśir-shsha-śu-

32 kla-paksha-ttrayōdaśyāṁ dattam=idaṁ śāsanam=utkīrṇṇaṁ Nādimachi-su(sū)nu-**Kuyāli**-likhinā [||*]

No. 6.—KAMAULI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V. S. 1184.

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This plate belongs to what might be called a remarkable 'hoard' of twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions which were discovered in October 1892 in the village of **Kamauli**, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. They have been deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow since July 1893. Three of this lot were studied by Mr. Arthur Venis[2] and the rest by Dr. F. Kielhorn.[3] Of the present record Dr. Kielhorn did not give us the text, but contented himself with furnishing a brief notice.[4] I now edit the inscription from the excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. I am also indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for generously placing at my disposal an advance proof of a paper from his pen on another Gāhaḍavāla inscription, namely that of Jayachchandra.[5]

This is a **single sheet** of copper measuring 1′ 4″ by 1′ $\frac{5}{8}$″ and is engraved on one side only. At the top centre there is a **ring-hole**, about $\frac{11}{16}$″ in diameter, through which passed a ring. The circular **seal**, which connected the ends of the ring, measures a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter. It bears on it in relief on a slightly counter-sunk surface the conventionalised

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[1] After this follow some five or six syllables which are too obscure to admit of a definite reading.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 347 ff.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 97 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 111, No. I.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 291 ff.

figure of Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, with the hands folded in devotion. From his wide-spread wings and the poise of his legs, he seems to be in the act of flying. Across the centre of the seal runs the **legend** *Śrīmad-Gōvindachadra(ndra)dēvaḥ*. And below it, in the lower semicircle, is engraved the figure of a conch-shell. The entire margin of the seal is rayed or rather serrated. The plate along with the ring and the seal weighs 359 *tolas*.

The plate contains twenty-five[1] lines of writing. The inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** are the usual Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Attention may however be called to some of their outstanding features. These are :—(1) initial *a* occurs in line 1, *ā* in ll. 1 and 20, *i* in ll. 8 and 9, *u* in l. 21; (2) examples of consonants *kh*, *gh* and *ṭh* are found in ll. 13, 9 and 25 respectively; (3) the signs for *dh*, *ch* and *v* are sometimes almost identical in form; *cf. vividha* (l. 12), *ādiśati cha* (l. 14) and *vasumatī* (l. 5) respectively; (4) the letter *r* shows two forms, *cf. e.g. -āvaruddha-* (l. 8) and *bhaṭṭāraka* (l. 10); (5) similarly the letter *g* has two forms, one of which is looped, *cf. Gōvindachandraḥ* (l. 8) and *-galita-* (l. 7) respectively; (6) signs for conjuncts *dg* and *ṅg* are hardly distinguishable, *e.g. divaṅ-gatāsu* (l. 2) and *śrīmad-Gādhipur-* (l. 4); (7) *bh* shows two forms as in *bhāgabhōgakara* (l. 20); (8) dental *s* has also two forms, *e.g. āsīd* (l. 1) and *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 23); (9) medial *ō* is composed in two different ways as in *akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-* (l. 1) and *sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ* (l. 15).

The **numerals** 1, 4, 5, and 8 are contained in the date in line 16. The sign indicating the continuation of an incomplete word at the end of a line consists of one vertical with a slanting stroke to its right.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following :—(1) both the letters *b* and *v* are invariably indicated by the sign for the latter, (2) the consonants are usually doubled after *r*, (3) the letters *ś* and *s* have been used promiscuously in a number of cases, (4) *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal in many instances as in *śaṁkhaṁ* (l. 21), *vasuṁdharām* (l. 24), (5) final form of *m* occurs in *nijam* (l. 2), *phalam* and *vasuṁdharām* (l. 24).

The **language** is Sanskrit. There are altogether fifteen verses, composed in various metres, of which the first praises Vishṇu and his consort Lakshmī, the next eight describe the several kings of the dynasty coming before the donor of the grant, and the remaining six are imprecatory and benedictory ones. Barring these, the rest of the inscription is in prose. There are quite a number of errors, both of omission and of commission, in the text, which will be noted in their proper places.

The **inscription** is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, *Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-Rājatray-ādhipati* **Gōvindachandra**, and records that, on the **Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon** *tithi* of **Kārttika** of the (Vikrama) **Year 1184**, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, he made a gift of the village of **Bhānī**, situated in the *pattalā* called **Maḍavattala**, together with its *pāṭakas*, to the *Mahāpurōhita* **Jāgūśarman**, son of the *Dikshita* Vilhā, and grandson of the *Dikshita* Purushōttama. The donee belonged to the Bandhula *gōtra* having the triple *pravara* of Bandhula-Aghamarshaṇa-Viśvāmitra.[2] The village was given subject to payment of taxes called *bhāgabhōgakara*, *pravaṇikara* and *kūṭaka*[3], but inclusive of certain fundamental rights such as mining, fishing, *etc.* The gift was announced formally in the presence of a number of high officials of the State. The writer of the grant was *Ṭhakkura* **Viśvarūpa**.

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[1] Or rather twenty-six, the last consisting of but six letters.

[2] He belonged further to the Vājasanēya *śākhā* (*cf. e. g.*, above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 20; p. 107, text l. 18, *etc.*).

[3] [In fact, these taxes were to be paid to the donee. *Cf.* above, Vol. IV, p. 99.—B.C.C.]

Inscriptions mentioning Gōvindachandra known so far (including the Basāhi,[1] Kamauli[2] and Rāhan[3] plates which speak of him as *Mahārājaputra*) range over a period of Vikrama Saṁvat 1161-1211 (or A.D. 1104-1154), *i.e.* exactly fifty years.[4] The present record of Gōvindachandra belongs to V. S. 1184. There is another record of the same king which also is dated in the same year.[5]

The inscription under discussion does not furnish us with any facts that are already not known except that it refers to one or two new place-names. The genealogy of the donor is given once in verses 2-9 and again in ll. 10-12, this time with the exclusion of Yaśōvigraha and Mahīchandra, the first two members of the Gāhaḍavāla family. Mahīchandra's son was Chandradēva who is claimed to have acquired the kingdom of Gādhipura (*i.e.*, Kanyakubja) by the prowess of his own arm and to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* of Kāśi, Kuśika, Uttara-Kōsala and Indrasthāna after he had acquired them'. The Sēṭ-Mahēṭ inscription of Vidyādhara,[6] which is dated in V.S. 1176, however, as suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray,[7] somewhat tends to undermine the former claim by reason of the fact that it speaks of two persons, of Rāshṭrakūṭa origin, named Gōpāla and Madana, ruling about this time in and about Kanyakubja. In fact, one of them, Gōpāla, is actually called *Gādhipurādhipa*. It seems that Chandradēva, as claimed in the Basāhi plate[8] (V. S. 1161), after the death of his two mighty contemporaries, *viz.*, kings Bhōja[9] and Karṇa,[10] found the time opportune and the field open to extend his influence in the Ganges-Jumna *doāb* by establishing his capital at the most fiercely-contested-for city in the whole history of mediaeval India. Shortly afterwards, however, the imperial capital seems to have been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign, following, presumably, an expedition led by the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, probably Gōpāla (*Gādhipurādhipa*) of the Sēṭ-Mahēṭ inscription. Madana, the son and successor of Gōpāla, appears however to have soon lost this advantage once for all.

Indeed, Kanyakubja seems to have changed hands again during (the otherwise uneventful) rule of Madanapāla; for as has been recorded in the Basāhi and Kamauli plates, *mahārājaputra* Gōvindachandra made in those years (V.S. 1161-62) gifts of villages situated in the Jīāvatī-*pattalā* which again was situated in the Pañchāla-dēśa. And Kanyakubja, as is well-known, was the first city of the Pañchāla country. These two records therefore mark the re-passage of Kanauj into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla kings who from now on held the capital to themselves till almost the end of their dynasty. The Rāshṭrakūṭa interregnum in Kanyakubja (during the regime of Gāhaḍavāla kings) may therefore be said to have lasted

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 358 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.

[4] For a list and *résumé* of all known inscriptions (except one or two that have been discovered latterly) of Gōvindachandra, see H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Mediaeval Period*, Vol. I, pp. 515-528.

[5] *Viz.*, Bhadavaṇā grant (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 291 ff.='Tālā Inscription', D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 266). Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion (*ibid*, f. n. 6) that the grant is spurious has been deemed unconvincing by the Editor (*ibid*).

[6] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 204. Vidyādhara's father Janaka was according to this inscription the minister (*sachiva*) of Gōpāla.

[7] *Dynastic Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.

[9] He has been variously identified with his famous Paramāra or Gurjara-Pratīhāra namesake (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 507, f. n. 1).

[10] Generally identified with the great Kalachuri king Lakshmī-Karṇa.

roughly from 1095 to 1105 A.D., approximately ten years.[1] It was perhaps during this interval that the Gāhaḍavālas moved on temporarily to some other city, possibly as suggested by Dr. V. A. Smith[2] and then by Dr. H. C. Ray,[3] to Benares or some region near to it.

Gōvindachandra, the donor of the present record, succeeded his father Madanapāla on the throne. He is described here as one who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (*navarājya*). This latter term has been taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti[4] to refer to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra succeeded as a matter of course after his father Madanapāla. On this same expression Dr. Kielhorn observed[5] that "the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning." This circumstance in our opinion finds a satisfactory explanation in the fact (suggested above) that it was Gōvindachandra who re-established the supremacy of his line over Kanyakubja and the territories depending on it.

It was Gōvindachandra again who, significantly enough, assumed, as in the present instance, first of all the members of his family,[6] the ambitious titles of *aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati* originally used by the Kalachuri kings of Ḍāhala from Lakshmī-Karṇa onwards. This fact acquires an added significance from the evidence furnished by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plates[7] of Gōvindachandra (V. S. 1177). This inscription records transference of the gift of a village which was originally granted to another person by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, son and successor of Lakshmī-Karṇa. It seems therefore to have been rightly held by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti[8] that, taking advantage of the favourable turn of events following the death of Lakshmī-Karṇa, Gōvindachandra "wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by Kalachuri kings".[9]

Of the localities mentioned, Kāśi, Uttarakōsala and Indrasthāna have been identified[10] with the present Benares, Ayōdhyā and Indraprastha (or Delhi) respectively. Kuśika, Gādhipura and Kanyakubja have generally been identified with one and the same place, *viz.*, modern Kanauj. The village granted and the *pattalā* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.

[1] The earliest date for Chandradēva known so far is 1090 A.D. (*cf.* his Chandrāvatī plate, V. S. 1148, above, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.). Taking him to be a contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōpāla (for whose son Madana's reign we have a date in 1119-20 A.D. as recorded in the Sēt-Mahēt inscription and who has been rightly supposed to be a feudatory of Gōvindachandra; *cf.* H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 507, f. n. 5), we may reasonably allow him an uninterrupted reign of five years before the imperial capital passed on, though for a short time, to the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

[2] *Oxford History of India*, 1923, p. 195.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 507.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 6.

[6] Chandradēva, the grandfather of Gōvindachandra, is once (above, Vol. IX, p. 324) referred to as *narapati*, a title which (among others) was also assumed by the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, who has been supposed by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 788) to be a contemporary of Chandradēva. It has indeed been suggested by Dr. Ray (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 508) that the assumption of such a title by Chandradēva may indicate some conflict with the Kalachuri kings. In fact, as has been pointed out by Dr. Ray, Chandradēva claims (above, Vol. XIV, p. 193) to have defeated a *narapati-gajapati*, titles which are assumed by Yaśaḥ-Karṇa himself.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 292.

[9] There is also an interesting numismatic evidence which goes to support the contention that Gōvindachandra extended his dominions at the expense of the Kalachuri rulers of Ḍāhala (H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 531).

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, f. n. 46.

The **date** of the record is given, both in words and in decimal figures, as Manvādi, Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika of the year 1184 and "regularly corresponds, for Vikrama-Saṁvat 1184 expired, to Friday, the 21st October A.D. 1127".[1]

TEXT.[2]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-15, *Anushṭubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*, v. 12, *Śālinī*.]

1 Ōṁ Ōṁ[3] Svasti || Akuṇṭh-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | saṁraṁbhaḥ sur-at-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1*] Āsīd-Aśītadyuti-vaṁśa-jātaḥ(jāta-)kshmāpā-

2 la-mālāsu divaṅ=gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśōvigraha** ity=udāraḥ || [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahīchandraś**[5]=chandra-dhāma-nibhan=nijam | yēn=ā-

3 pa(pā)ram=akūshā(pā)ra-pārē vyāpāritaṁ yaśaḥ || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-raśi-(śi)kaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-vīra-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-**Chadra(ndra)-dēvō**[6] nṛipaḥ | yēn=ōdāratara-[4]

4 pratāpa-śamit-āśēsha-praj-ōpadravaṁ śrīmad=Gādhipur-ādhirājyam=asaman=dōr-vvikra-mēṇ=ārjjitaṁ || [4*] Tīrthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** paripā-

5 layat=ābhigamya | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisa(śa)n=dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn=āṅkitā[7] vasu-matī śataśas=tulābhiḥ || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshitīndra-chūḍāmaṇi[4]-

6 r=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajaḥ-paṭalan=dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-ā-

7 chal-ōchchaiś-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhrasya(śya)n-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āsṛig-udbhāsitaḥ [8]Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshaṇam=asau krō-

8 ḍē nilīn-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-va(ba)ndh-āvaruddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ | sāndr-āmṛita-drava-muchā[ṁ*] prabhavō gavāṁ yō **Gōvinda-chandra** iti cha-

9 dra(ndra) iv=āmvu(mbu)rāsē(śē)ḥ || [8*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāṁs=tisṛishu dikshu gajān=atha vajriṇaḥ | kakubhi va(ba)bhramur=Abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*] Sō=

10 yaṁ samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charaṇaḥ |[9] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parama-(mē)śvara-paramamāhēśva[ra*]-nija-bhuj-ōpārjji[ta*]-śrī-Kanyakuñj(bj)-ādhipatya - śrī-Chandradēva-pād-ānu[4]-

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[1] Above, Vol IV, p. 111.

[2] From the ink-impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[3] Expressed by a symbol. [The first symbol answers to *siddham or siddhir=astu*. See above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

[4] Here follows a sign for continuation of the word.

[5] Also called Mahiala (*e. g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.), Mahīyala (*e. g.* above, Vol. II, p. 359, text, l. 2), and Mahītala (*e. g. Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.). In some records (*e. g., Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 15, text, l. 1), it is he who stands at the head of his line instead of Yaśōvigraha.

[6] He is also known as Chandrāditya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 194) and once, simply as Chandra (above, Vol. IX, p. 324).

[7] The conjunct *ṅki* in this word seems rather imperfectly engraved on the impression.

[8] Dr. Kielhorn thinks (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, n. 45; *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11, n. 14, etc.) that this phrase should more properly be read as *Śēshaḥ śaisha-vaśād=iva*.

[9] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

KAMAULI PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA, KING OF KANAUJ; V.S. 1184.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 2013 E'40—290.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

11 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamā[hē*]śva[ra*]-śrī-Madanapāladēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva-

12 r-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradēvō vijayī **Maḍavattala-**[1] pattalāyāṁ sa-pāṭaka-**Bhānī-**[2] gra(grā)ma-nivāsi-

13 nō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-naipi(mi)ttik-āntaḥpurika-dūta-kari-tu-

14 raga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-ādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha yathā I viditam=astu bhavatām=upari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa[3]-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ā-

15 karaḥ [sa-*]maśy(tsy)-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryanta[ḥ*] s-ōrddhā(rddhv-ā)dhaś-chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sa(sva)-sīmā-paryantaś=chatur-aśīty-adhika-śat-aikā-

16 daśa-saṁvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakshē paurṇimāyāṁ Manvādau Śukra-dinē=ṅkē=pi **Saṁvat 1184** Kārttika-sudi 15 Śukrē śrīmad-Vārāṇasyāṁ śrī-Gaṁgāyāṁ snātvā vidhivan=mantra-dē-

17 va-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛi-gaṇāṁs=tarpayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇa-rōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipatisa(śa)kalaśēkharaṁ samabhyarchya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēva-

18 sya pūjāṁ vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā Havirbhujaṁ hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-vivṛidha(ddha)yē tad=ētat=parama-sra(śra)ddhayā saṁyatībhūya gōkarṇṇa-kuśa-la-

19 tā-pūta-kara-tal-ōdaka-pūrvvam=asmābhir=Vvadhu(Bandhu)la-gōtrāya Vaṁdhu(Bandhu)l-Āghama(rsha)ṇa-Viśvāmitra-triḥ(tri)-pravarāya dīkshita[4]-śrī-Purushōttama[5]-pautrāya dīkshita-śrī-Vīlhā[6]-putrāya mahāpurō-

20 hita-śrī-**Jāgūsa(śa)rmmaṇē**[7] ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ śāsanīkṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravaṇikara-kūṭaka-prabhṛiti-samast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyībhūya

21 dāsyatha |*|| Bhavanti ch=ātra puṇya-ślōkāḥ || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihnā(hṇā)ti yas=tu bhūmiṁ prayachchhati I ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(taṁ) [sva]rgga-gāminau || [10*] Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chchha(chha)-

[1] Dr. Kielhorn doubtfully read this word (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as '*Maḍavala* (?)'. But there is a trace of *tta* (rather weakly engraved) between *va* and *la*. Compare this *tta* with the same sign in *pattalāyāṁ*.

[2] This word was hesitatingly read by Dr. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV, p. 111) as '*Rārī* (?)'. Unfortunately the two letters have been engraved in a slovenly manner and in a smaller size. It seems, however, possible to read the second letter as *nī*. As regards the first it may well be a disjointed *pā*, or as I have surmised, *bhā*.

[3] For a note on the terms *jala-sthala*, *etc.*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 73 ff.

[4] "This word is explained to denote persons who or whose ancestors have performed a great sacrificial ceremony, such as a *jyōtishṭōma*." (Above, Vol. IV, p. 98, f. n. 7.)

[5] He is also called Purāsa. (Above, Vol. IV, p. 103, text l. 21; p. 107, text l. 18; p. 109, text l. 19, *etc.*)

[6] He is otherwise known as Vīlhāka (above, Vol. II, p. 360, text l. 13) and Vēdaśarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 121, text l. 26).

[7] He is apparently the same as *Purōhita* Jāguka who served under Gōvindachandra's father Madanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) No less than ten copper-plate inscriptions from Kamauli record grants made in favour of this high priest. He is variously called *Mahādīkshita Mahāpurōhita* Jāgū (above, Vol. IV, p. 117, l. 18 and p. 120, No. P.), Jāgāka (*ibid*, p. 103, l. 21) and Jāgūka (*ibid*, p. 107, l. 19). He is also once (*ibid*, p. 126, No. T.) referred to as Yājñavalkya in an inscription of Jayachchandra.

22 traṁ var-āśvā vara- vāhaṇā(nā)ḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Purandara || [11*] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || (|) sāmānyō=

23 yaṁ dharmmasētur[1]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [12*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā |[2]

24 phalam || [13*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [14*] Gām=ēkāṁ hiraṇyam=ēkaṁ cha[3] bhūmi(mē)r=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ |

25 haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āha(hū)ta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15*] Ṭhakkura-śrī- **Viśvarūpēṇa** tāmvra(mra)paṭṭō=yaṁ likhitam=idaṁ[4] nṛip-ājñay=ēti | Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||[5] .. .. .. ||

26 .. .. .. | .. .. .. ||

NO. 7.—BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of the Raja and Ruling Chief of the Dhenkanal State, Orissa. In 1930 the late Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguly of Calcutta got it from him and deposited it in the Archæological Museum at Baripada in the Mayurbhanj State. I am thankful to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archæologist of Mayurbhanj, for kindly allowing me to edit it.

It is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides; the first side containing seventeen lines and the second eighteen lines of writing. When handed over to me, it was found to have been covered with a thin coat of verdigris and consequently some portions of the writing were quite illegible. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, who had the opportunity to examine the plate, very kindly arranged its cleaning by chemical treatment and also sent me an excellent set of inked impressions. To Dr. Chhabra I also owe a number of useful suggestions in preparing this article. The transcript given by me is based on the original as well as on the inked impressions. The inscription is, on the whole, in good preservation except that the first and the last lines of the first side and the first four and the last two lines of the second side have been very much corroded. The letters are deep-cut and well-formed. The plate measures 11″×6″. It has a **seal** attached to its left-hand side, which measures 2¾″ in diameter, resembles in form a full-blown lotus exhibiting two rows of petals and contains a medallion superimposed on the inner row of the same. Inside the medallion, the inner diameter of which is about 1¾″, occur in relief the figures of a couchant humped bull, of a crescent with a star almost touching its hump and of a club-shaped object below its mouth, while underneath the bull there runs in one line the legend *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya* underlined with two parallel straight lines, and at the bottom there occurs, also in relief, the figure of an expanded lotus flower. The plate together with the seal weighs about 143 *tolas*.

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[1] The technical word *dharmasētu* occurs for the first time in some of the inscriptions of Sātavāhana kings from Nasik (*cf.* above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, l. 11 ; p. 65, l. 13, *etc.*). According to Dr. E. Senart (*ibid*, p. 64), "*Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period, denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit', which enables its author to get over the ocean of *saṁsāra*".

[2] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] This line of the verse has one syllable in excess. Read *gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇṇam=ēkaṁ cha* as elsewhere.

[4] Read either *tāmrapaṭṭō=yaṁ likhitō* or *tāmrapaṭṭē likhitam=idaṁ*.

[5] Here follows what appears to be a trisyllabic mystic formula, cited thrice, the reading and meaning of which I am unable to offer.

The **characters** belong to the northern type of alphabet and closely resemble in form those of the Ganjām plate of Daṇḍīmahādēvī of the year 180[1]. We have here examples of the initial vowels *ā* in *Ārchchanānasa*, l. 29; *i* in *iti*, l. 9; and *ai* in *Airāvaṭṭa*, l. 24; as well as of the consonants *jh* in *-jhaṅkāriṇī*, l. 4; *dh* in *gōdhā*, l. 22. The letter *n* shows two different forms, as in *n=aiva*, l. 3; and in *vanē*, l. 4. No distinction has been made in the form of medial *u* and *ū*, as may be exemplified by the words *sphurita-* and *śūra-*, l. 5, while the medial *u* is represented by two different signs as is seen in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6. In many instances the superscript *r* is not clearly marked.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The text contains some mistakes of spelling as well as of grammar, which have been pointed out in their proper places. As regards **orthography**, the following peculiarities deserve notice: (1) A consonant after *r* is usually reduplicated; (2) *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, *e.g.* in *suvisuddha-*, l. 6 and *-rachanais=chandr-*, l. 15; (3) *n* has been employed for *anusvāra* in *tīvrānśumālī*, l. 11; (4) *b* is represented by the sign for *v*; (5) in some cases *sandhi* has not been observed, *e.g. śrīmān=Jayānanda*, ll. 2-3, (6) sign of *avagraha* has been used in *yō='bhūt*, l. 8.

The record does not contain any date, but the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva[2], having the introductory portion identical with that of the present one, records a date at the end of the inscription. Mr. A. Banerji-Sastri, the editor of this grant, has not been able to give the correct reading of the text. His reading of the date is also erroneous. The record has been re-edited and further commented upon by Mr. N. Tripathi[3], but he has also failed to interpret the date. He first explained the symbols for the date as representing *200+80+3(=283)*, and later as *200+80+1 (=281)*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has given this date as the year 293 and has suggested to refer it to the Harsha era[4]. If this view is accepted, and there is no reason to reject it, the date in question would correspond to A.D. 899, which would roughly be the date of the present inscription as well.

The inscription opens with a description of the place of issue of the grant, the name of which has inadvertently been omitted by the scribe but may be ascertained from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva as being **Jayapura**. Then the lines 2-24, mostly composed in verse, give a genealogical account, beginning with Jayānanda and ending with Dēvānanda, in course of which the qualities and the achievements of the rulers have been poetically described. The **object** of the inscription has, then, been set forth, which was to record the grant by the king Dēvānanda of the village Lambēva[5], situated in the *vishaya* of *Pōtōḍā* in the Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala*, to one *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, who belonged to the Kāṇva-*śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda, and to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, and was a member of the *Bhaṭṭa* community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, originally hailing from Puṇḍravarddhana.

As to the family of the donor, it is called Nandōdbhava[6] or simply Nanda, as may be inferred from the terms *Nand-ōdbhava-vaṁśa*, and *Nanda-kula* occurring in l. 2 and l. 17 respectively.

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff. and plates; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2043.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff. and Vol. XVII, pp. 196-7.

[4] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2043.

[5] [See below p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

[6] A similar instance is found in the name Śailōdbhava.

Mr. Tripathi concludes from these expressions (also occurring in Dhruvānanda's plate) that the family of Jayānanda was an offshoot of the Imperial Nandas of Magadha[1]. But this conclusion does not seem to have been based on sufficient data. What seems to be probable is that the suffix *ānanda* was peculiar to the names of this family as *tuṅga*, *kara*, *stambha* and the like were peculiar to the names of some other royal families of Orissa. And, as these suffixes gave distinct names to these families, the suffix *ānanda* did the same in the case of the royal family of Jayānanda. The confusion between *nanda* and *ānanda* seems to have been one as between *kara* and *ākara*, illustrated in the case of the Kara family of Orissa, in which the second component part of some names is not *kara*, but *ākara*, *e.g.* Śubhākara. This Nanda family of Orissa is not known from any other source except from the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva referred to above, and the present record. With the help of the genealogies given in these two charters, we can construct the following genealogical table of this family :—

Jayānanda
|
Parānanda
|
Śivānanda
|
Dēvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.
|
Dhruvānanda, surnamed Vilāsatuṅga.

It should be noted in this connection that though the relation between the first four members has been specifically mentioned as that of father and son, the same between Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda is not clear from their records. At any rate, that Dhruvānanda was a successor of Dēvānanda is evident from his plate which mentions his name after that of Dēvānanda[2].

As has been said above, the name of **Jayapura**, the description of which occurs in the opening part of the inscription, has probably been omitted through the carelessness of the scribe.

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 469.

[2] [Mr. Panigrahi seems to have mixed up the genealogies given in the two records. Moreover, the present inscription apparently mentions two Dēvānandas, while Mr. Panigrahi obviously takes these two as referring to one and the same person. Below are given, for the sake of comparison, the genealogical lists as supplied by the Talmul plate and the present inscription.

Talmul Plate	*Baripada Museum Plate*
Jayānanda	Jayānanda
Parānanda	Parānanda
Śivānanda	Śivānanda
Dēvānanda	Dēvānanda (I)
Vilāsatuṅga-Dhruvānanda.	Vilāsatuṅga-Dēvānanda (II).

While Dhruvānanda is said to be *Paramasaugata*, Dēvānanda (II) is stated to be *Paramamāhēśvara*; otherwise their descriptions agree word for word. The apparent relation between Dhruvānanda and Dēvānanda (II) is that of brothers, one professing the Budhist faith, the other adhering to the Śaiva creed, though the seals of both of them bear a *Nandī* emblem. In this case, we will have to admit that Dēvānanda (II) is called after his father's name, which is improbable though not impossible, considering the case of five Maitraka kings of the name of Śīlāditya (III—VII), of whom each succeeding one was a son of the preceding one; see Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 394.—B. C. C.]

This place, presumably the capital of the Nanda family of Orissa, has been identified with Jajpur[1] of the Cuttack district by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and with Jeypur or Jeypore[2], the head-quarters of a big estate of the same name in the newly constituted Koraput district of Orissa, by Mr. N. Tripathi. Both of these identifications are open to serious objections. As *Jajpur* cannot be regarded as a corruption of *Jayapura*, and as it was known as Virajā[3] in the eighth or ninth century A. D., when it was held as capital by the Bhauma kings of Orissa, the identification proposed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri should be ruled out of consideration. As regards Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification, though no objection can be taken to it from phonetic point of view, several considerations prevent us from taking it as conclusive. On an examination of the place-names mentioned in this grant and others, it is revealed that **Airāvaṭṭa** *maṇḍala* which included the *vishaya* of **Pōtōḍā** has been mentioned in the Talmul plate of Dhruvānandadēva and also in the Balijhari plates of Uddyōtakēśarī Mahābhavagupta[4]. This *maṇḍala* must be taken to have comprised a tract of land along the Mahānadī river in view of the fact that the gift village Kōntalaṇḍā, mentioned in the last-named charter, has pointedly been spoken of as situated on the bank of that river. So, if Jayapura is to be taken identical with Jeypur of the Koraput District, we have to suppose that the territories ruled over by Dēvānanda and Dhruvānanda extended far to the south-west of the Mahānadī river on the north. But their dominion over such vast territories is not warranted by their records which do not even give the title of *mahārāja* before their names, nor mention a single conquest to their credit. They must have been feudatories of some paramount power in Orissa as is indicated by their titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Besides, Jayānanda, the first known ruler of the family, probably the founder of the dynasty, has been credited with the conquest of the whole of Gōndrama, which, as will be shown below, meant the hilly tracts now ruled over by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, but never any tract along the Bay of Bengal. The last but not the least important is the fact that if these plates of the Nanda family were issued from Jeypur of the Koraput district, it is rather strange that the southern influence so conspicuous on the copper-plates issued from Kaliṅganagara and Śvētaka should have been completely absent from the palaeography of their records. I should, therefore, suggest the identification of Jayapura of our records with Jaipur, a village situated in the Dhenkanal State from which and from the adjoining Narasinghpur State all the three copper-plate grants mentioning the name of Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* are reported to have hailed. Jayapura, as its name suggests, was possibly founded by Jayānanda, the first ruler of the Nanda family.

Among the other geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Gōndrama*, which is also mentioned in four other copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa[5], is always found in conjunction with *sakala* 'all', and in one plate with *ashṭādaśa* 'eighteen'. It is thus clear that it was a geographical expression meaning a group of eighteen tracts of land and seems to be the same as *ashṭādaś-āṭavī-rājya* (eighteen forest chiefdoms) of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha.[6] The name *ashṭādaśa Gōndrama* applied to these tracts was probably due to the predominence of the Gond tribe over other aboriginal tribes inhabiting these parts and seems to have survived in the geographical expression *aṭhara gaḍhjāt* still applied to all the feudatory states of Orissa by the people, though as a matter of fact their number at present is not eighteen but twenty-four. It should be

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XV, p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 457 ff.

[3] Pt. B. Misra. *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 80.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 17, text l. 33, Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2076.

[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 402 (text l. 18), 406 (text l. 9) and 418 (text ll. 1-) and Vol. VI, p. 239 (text l. 13),

[6] Above Vol. VIII, p. 287 (text l. 9) and discussion on p. 286.

noted in this connection that the credit of having conquered the whole of Gōndrama given to Jayānanda in this record may just be an exaggeration. **Airavāṭṭa**, after which the *vishaya* of that name was called, has been identified with Raṭāgarh in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack district[1]. **Pōtōḍā** and **Lambēva** may provisionally be identified with Pōṭal in the Hindol State and Limbu in the Narasinghpur State respectively. Puṇḍravarddhana is the well-known ancient name for North Bengal. I cannot suggest any identification for Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura.

TEXT.[2]

Obverse.

1 Ōṁ[3] svasty=akalita-kali-kāla-kalmasha-pravēś-āvakāśād=vijit-āśēsh-Ōjjyanī-guṇa-nikarāt **[Jayapurāt*]**[4] ||

2 Va(Ba)bhūva **Nand-ōdbhava-va(vaṁ)śa**-sambhavaḥ sva-vikram-ākrānta-samasta-Gōndramaḥ ||(|) dharādhipō dhamma(rmma)dharaḥ sudhīmān=śrīmān-**Ja-**

3 **yānanda** iti pravīraḥ || [1*][5] Yasmin=rājani dīnam=akshara-yugan=dēh=īti n=aiva śrutaṁ n=ātaṅkā[ḥ*] kusṛiti[6] kutō na cha

4 mṛishā dvandvan=na ch=āsīn=nṛiṇāḥ(ṇām) ||(|) śa[rvvaryyā]m=ava(ba)lā sahāya-vikal=ālaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇī kshīvā yāty=ajanē vanē ya-

5 di puna=vvā(r=vvā)[rttā] Dilīpē nṛipē [|| 2*][7] Kanaka-ruchira-kāntiḥ prōnnataḥ pūrit-āśaḥ sphurita-vimala-ratnaḥ śūra-dulla(rlla)ṅghya-mūtti(rttī)ḥ [|*]

6 vu(bu)dha-jana-nuta-pādō Mēru-vat=tasya sākshāt=priyatama-tanayō=bhūch=chhi(ch=chhrī)-**Parānanda**-nāma(mā) || [3*][8] Tasya(sy=ā)pi ch=āsit=suvisu(śu)ddha-

7 pakshō vasañ=janānāṁ khalu mānasē cha [|*] hansō(haṁsō) yathā hansa(haṁsa)-[samā*]-na-kīrtti[r*]=nnāmnā **Śivānanda** iti prasiddha-

8 ḥ || [4*][9] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayas=tṛiṇīkṛita-ripu-vrāta-jvalat-pāvakō vā(bā)l-aiṇāṅka iv=ānvay-āmva(mba)ra-gatō yō='bhūtsri(t=pri)-

9 ya[ḥ*] prāṇināṁ(nām) ||(|) tāra(ru)ṇyē taruṇī-vilōchana-puṭair=āpīta-rūp-āmṛitō **Dēvā-nanda** iti prasiddhim=aga-

10 mad=yaḥ svair=guṇair=nni[r]mmalaiḥ || [5*][7] Durvvār-āri-kar-īndra-kumbha-dalanē sphūjja-(rjja)t-karaḥ kēsarī śaśvan=māna-

11 vatī-mukh-āvja(bja)-jayakṛit=tīvrānśu(vrāṁśu)mālī sadā ||(|) tasmād=ēva **Vilā[sa*]tuṅ-ga**-nṛipatibhū(r=bhū)tas=satām=agraṇī-

12 ya(r=ya)sy=ōchchaiḥ sa(śa)rad-indu-dhāma-dhavalaṁ nityaṁ yasō(śō) varddhatē || [6*][7] Nakshatr-āvalī-hāra-dāmakavatī nitya(tyaṁ)

13 nabhō-mandirē jōsnā(jyōtsnā)-chandana-lē[pa]n-ātidhavalā sānd(ndr)-āndhakār-āmva(mba)-rā [|*] [ya*]sy=ōtu(ttu)ṅga-sadhā-gṛi-

14 hē=tidhavalē dig-yōshitān-darppaṇē sva(svaṁ) rūpamva(ṁ va)ra-kāmin=īva rajanī chandr-ānanā pasya(śya)ti || [7*][7] Yasy=ō-

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4.

[2] From the original and inked impressions.

[3] Represented by a symbol.

[4] This name has been supplied here from Dhruvānanda's plate, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 90.

[5] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[6] Read *kusṛutiḥ* or *kusṛitiḥ*.

[7] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[8] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[9] Metre: *Upajāti*.

BARIPADA MUSEUM PLATE OF DEVANANDADEVA.

Obverse.

SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 2006 E'40—275.
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reverse.

15 chchaiḥ sita-mandirā[d=dhva]ja-diśi(śi) prōtu(ttu)ṅga-haṭṭ-āvalī su(śu)bhrā chāru-sudhā-vikāra-rachanais(ś)=chandr-ātapa-sparddhinī |

16 dūrād=bhāti dṛisaḥ(śaḥ) padaṅ=gatavatī lōkasya sa[ñchā]riṇō ni(nī)hārōtkarabhūdharād=iva sa(śa)nair=Mmandāki-

17 [nī syandatī][1] || [8*][2] Sa śrī(śrī)-**Nanda-kul**-āmvu(mbu)j-ākara-raviḥ sad-vaṁsa(śa)-dipā(dīpō) nṛipas(ś)=chaṇḍ-ārātī(ti)-vadhū-mukh-āvja(bja)-sasa(śaśa)-

Reverse.

18 [bhṛid=rakt-ānta-dīrgh-ēkshaṇaḥ] — — —◡◡—◡—◡ pulakīkurvvan=jana[ñ=chō]shṭitaiḥ satya-tyāga-ka(ku)lābhi-

19 [māna-vi]nayā yasy=āṅgajāḥ sad-guṇāḥ || [9*][2] Dīpyat-pratāp-ā[na]la-[plushṭ-ārā]ti-mūrttiś=chatur-ambhōdadhi[3]-paryanta-bhrānta-

20 [sat-kīrtti]ya(r=ya)th-ō[chi]ta-[paryyavasthā]pita-varṇṇa-cha[tu*]shṭayaḥ pūrit-āśēsha-praṇayi-jana-manōrathaḥ sajjana-jan-ā-

21 [na]nda-dāyī rakt-āmva(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-kaladhauta-ḍōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi(mbi)ta-prānta-krōḍa-dēśa-vinyasta-mayūra-cha-

22 ndrikā-nikara-sita-chchhatr-āvabhāsamāna-sita-dhātumaya-gōdhā-si(śi)kharīkṛita- lōhita-lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhvaja[ḥ*] pa-

23 ramamāhēśvara- matā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda)-mahāsāma-

24 ntādhipati-śrī-**Dēvānandadēvaḥ** kuśalī Airāvaṭṭa-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha-Pōtōdā-vishayē bhavishyad-yathā-

25 kāla-bhāvinō rājakāna[4] rāja-putrā[n*] Vrā(brā)hma[ṇa*]-purōgān=sāmantān=nivāsi-janapa-dān=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-ka-

26 raṇān=anyā[ṁ]ś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān=rāja-pād-ōpajīvinaḥ sarvvān=yath-ārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati kuśa-

27 layaty=ādiśati ch=ānyata(t)[||*] Viditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-vishaya-samva(mba)[ddha-*] **Lamvē(mbē)va**[5]-grām-ōdaya[6] sa-jala-stha[laḥ*]

28 sa-gartt-āvaskara[ḥ*] prajñāyamāna-chatu[ḥ*]-sīmā-paya(rya)ntaḥ Puṇḍa(ṇḍra)varddhana-vinirggata-Jamva(mba)ma-Nārāyaṇapura-Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-

29 sāmānya-Kāṇva-śākha-Yajurvvēdī(di)-Kṛishṇātrē[ya-gōtrāya*] Ārchchanānasa-Śāvāsēti-hōtā[7] richavāvasa-vat dityadhvaya[8]

30 Ādityaddh(dha)ara-sutaś=cha Śaktiddha(dha)ra-suta-Vasma(Brahma?)ddhara-bhāṭaḥ[9] ||[10] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛi-

[1] This reading is clear in Dhruvānanda's plate. The correct form of the last word is *syandamānā*.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[3] Read *ambhōdhi*-

[4] Read *rājanakān* as in the Talmul plate.

[5] [The reading seems to be *Lamvē(bē)da*.—B. C. C.]

[6] [Possibly the intended reading is *-grāmō='yaṁ*.—B. C. C.]

[7] [This evidently refers to the *tryārshēya Pravara* of the donee, and is to be corrected as *Ātrēy-Ārchchanānasa-Śyāvāśv-ēti hōtrē*. Compare *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, p. 57.—B. C. C.]

[8] The sense after *hōtā* is not clear.

[9] We have probably to amend the reading as *Ādityadhara-sutasya Śaktidharasya sutāya Brahmadhara-bhaṭṭāya*.

[10] This sign of punctuation is not needed.

31 ddhayē tāmvra[1]-śāsanēna pradattō=smābhiḥ[||*] yatas=tāmva[1]-śāsana-darśanād=asmakā(t-kā)ry-ā[nu*]rōdhāja(d=ya)thā-kāla-

32 [phala]-niyam-ōpabhujyamānā(na)[sya*] na kēn=āsya pata(ri)panthī(nthi)nā bhā(bha)vitavya-[ṁ] [||*] Mā[bhū*]d=aphala-saṁ(śaṁ)kā vaḥ para-da-

33 tt=ēti pārthiva(vāḥ) [|*] sva-datā(ttā)[t*] pha[la]m=āna[ntyaṁ] para-datt-[ānupālanē] [||*] Sva-dattā[m=para-dattā*]m=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vī(vi)shṭhā[yāṁ*] [kṛi]-

34 [mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē] [||*] [Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rāja][bhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*|] yasya yasya [yadā*] [bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ] [||*] [Iti]

35 [kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ . . . . . [2]]

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm. Hail! From [**Jayapura**] which is exempted from the ingress of vices of the Kali Age and has surpassed all the qualities of Ujjayanī.

(Verse 1) There was born in the **Nandōdbhava** family a virtuous, extremely intelligent and surpassingly heroic king named **Jayānanda,** who, by dint of his own valour, subjugated the whole of Gōndrama.

(V. 2) It was during his kingship that the poor twin letters *dēhi* (i.e. ' give ') were never heard; no diseases, no fraud from anywhere and no false quarrel ever occurred among the people, (*so much so that even*) a drunken woman, with her ornaments jingling, could pass through a desolate forest at night unescorted (*without being molested by any robber on the way*), whereas such (*a state of perfectly good rule*) is ascribed to king Dilīpa.[3]

(V. 3) He had a son, most beloved to him, the illustrious **Parānanda** by name, who, being of splendid golden complexion, dignified, having his ambitions fulfilled, bedecked with glittering flawless jewels, his person being unassailable by warriors, (*and*) deeply honoured by the learned, evidently resembled the Mēru (*mountain*) which is (*likewise*) endowed with pleasing brilliance on account of its gold, is very lofty, has occupied large space, is possessed of sparkling pure gems, with its bulk unscalable by adventurers (*and*) its foot frequented by the gods.

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[1] Read *tāmra*.

[2] Only some traces of the rest of the verse are to be seen on the plate; it may be supplied as *śriyam=anu-chintya manushya- jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha buddhvā nahi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ* ||

[3] Every word in the passage *śarvaryyām*, etc., has a special significance. Thus *śarvaryyām* = at night, an opportune time for committing robbery; *abalā* = woman, literally ' powerless one ' whom it is easy to assail or overpower; *sahāya-vikalā* = without any escort or companion, so that the crime can be perpetrated without any fear of immediate detection; *alaṅkāra-jhaṅkāriṇī* = her ornaments making a jingling noise, thereby assuring a handsome booty; *kshīvā* = drunken, thus too senseless to offer any resistance; *ajanē vanē* = in a jungle where there is no human being near by, so that there is no rescuing even if the victim shouts for help.

The author of the inscription indulges in poetic fancy, asserting that Jayānanda's virtues have mistakenly been attributed to Dilīpa. The description of Dilīpa alluded to is echoed in the following verses:

Yasmin mahīṁ śāsati vāṇinīnāṁ nidrāṁ vihār-ārdha-pathē gatānām |
Vātō=pi n=āsraṁsayad=aṁśukāni kō lambayēd=āharaṇāya hastam ||
(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 75).

Na kil=ānuyayus=tasya rājānō rakshitur=yaśaḥ |
Vyāvrittā yat=para-svēbhyaḥ śrutau taskaratā sthitā ||
(*Ibid.*, I. 27).

Trayaḥ śabdā na jīryantē Dilīpasya nivēśanē |
Svādhyāya-ghōshō jyā-ghōshō dīyatām= iti vai trayaḥ ||
(*Mahābhārata*, XIII (*Śāntiparvan*), 29, 79).

The last verse rather presents a contrast: with Dilīpa a request never passed unfulfilled, while in Jayānanda's reign it never came to utter a request.

(V. 4) He, too, had a son, who was well-known by the name of **Śivānanda**, had faithful allies, and verily won the hearts of his pepole (*and*) whose fame shone forth like the sun, (*who was thus*) quite as a swan with pure white wings, dwelling in the Mānasa (*lake*).

(V. 5) He had a son, called **Dēvānanda**, who proved a veritable blazing fire to his enemies reduced to the state of straw, who, having ascended in the sky of his family, like a new moon endeared himself to (*all*) beings, whose nectar of beauty, in youth, maidens drank to their heart's content using their eyes as goblets, (*and*) who acquired renown through his stainless qualities.

(V. 6) He was a roaring lion in tearing asunder the frontal globes of the great elephants of the irresistible enemies and was always a sun in winning over the lotus-like faces of zealous women. On that account the present king was (*known*) as *Vilāsatuṅga*. He is the foremost among the pious and his fame, as white as autumnal moon-light, is intensely increasing everyday.[1]

(V. 7) The night having moon as her face, dense darkness as her garment, stars as a string of necklace, and appearing excessively fair due to the besmearing of sandal paste of moon-light, beholds, just like a beautiful woman in the chamber of the sky, her own image in his lofty and extremely white palace, which is a mirror to the ladies of the quarters.

(V. 8) From his white palace, towards the banners, the beautiful and white row of tall shops, on account of their whitewash, becoming a rival to the moon-light, looked at from a distance by the people moving about, appears like the Ganges gently flowing down from the Himālaya mountain.

(V. 9) This king, the light of the noble family, is a very sun to the lotus-lake (*in the form*) of the prosperous Nanda family, is a very moon to the lotuses that are the faces of his fierce enemies' wives, having large eyes with red ends.....excessively delighting the people with his doings. Truth, charity, family-pride and humility are his inborn good qualities.

(Ll. 19-24) The illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāsāmantādhipati* **Dēvānandadēva**, who has through the blazing fire of his prowess consumed the bodies of his enemies, whose good fame has travelled as far as the four oceans, who has placed the four *varṇṇas* in their proper positions, fulfilled the desires of all the suppliants, gives delight to the virtuous men, who has a cloth-banner (*with the emblem*) of the red-eyed snakes wearing on their heads the alligators made of white

[1] [Mr. Panigrahi's above rendering of this verse seems to be responsible for the confusion he has made in the
genealogy. It may be pointed out that the author has used the past tense in describing the first four rulers,
while in the case of Vilāsatuṅga he employs the present tense, thereby indicating that the charter was issued by
Vilāsatuṅga who has clearly been spoken of as *tasmād.......bhūtaḥ* 'who has been born from him (*i.e.* from
Dēvānanda)'. This Vilāsatuṅga and the second Dēvānanda mentioned in l. 24 have been taken by me as referring
to one and the same person because the descriptive attributes place them in apposition to each other and there
is no such word used as *tasmāt* or *tasya* to indicate their relation otherwise.

The sixth verse may thus be explained as follows: "It was from him that the king Vilāsatuṅga has been
born, who, clapping his hands, appears a very lion for tearing asunder the frontal globes of his enemies' huge
elephants that are difficult to check, who always wins over a repeatedly offended lady (*as easily*) as the sun causes
a lotus-bud to unfold, who ranks foremost among the virtuous (*and*) whose glory, as bright as the light of autumnal moon, ever grows further and further."—B. C. C.]

metal, that floats on the white umbrella held over the golden litter covered with red cloth, inlaid with peacock feathers in its inner side and with *chowries* hanging down (*from it*),[1] who is a devout worshipper of Śiva, who has acquired (*title to*) the five *mahāśabdas* (*and*), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, being in good health;

(Ll. 24-32) duly honours, intimates to, enquires after the health of and commands all those that will in course of time be, (*viz.*,) chiefs, princes, all the inhabitants of the country headed by Brāhmaṇas, feudatories, functionaries along with the *karaṇas*, and others of the class of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabha*, dependent on the king, in the Pōtōḍā *vishaya* included in the Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala*: "Be it known to you that the income[2] of the village *Lambēva*[3], along with its land and water, along with its pits and their contents, included in this *vishaya* (*of Pōtōḍā*), up to the four well-known boundaries, has been granted by Us, by means of a copper-plate charter, for the increase of the glory and religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself, to *Bhaṭṭa* Brahmadhara, son of Śaktidhara, son of Ādityadhara, hailing from Puṇḍravardhana, a member of the Bhaṭṭa community of Jambama-Nārāyaṇapura, a student of the Kaṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurvēda, belonging to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, a *hōtṛi* having (*the triple pravara of*) [*Ātrēya*-]Ārchanānasa-Śyāvāśva,..... Wherefore, seeing this copper charter and having regard for our deed, nobody should cause any obstruction to him while he is regularly enjoying the seasonal yields (*of the gift*)."

(Ll. 32-35) [Here follow four of the customary verses.]

No. 8.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF CHOLA GANDARADITYA.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

In the short interval of about 32 years between Parāntaka who ruled from A.D. 907 to at least A.D. 953,[4] and Rājarāja I whose date of accession was A.D. 985, five members, *viz.*, Rājakēsarin Gaṇḍarāditya, Parakēsarin Ariñjaya, Rājakēsarin Sundara-Chōḷa, Parakēsarin Āditya II and Parakēsarin Uttama-Chōḷa, have to be accounted for. As they are usually designated in inscriptions, by their dynastic titles of Parakēsarin or Rājakēsarin, their identity has to be determined only by the internal evidence in the records, if any. The exact periods when these kings ruled are also not specified, except in the case of Parakēsarin Uttama-Chōḷa whose date of accession has been fixed to be A.D. 969-70[5].

With the help of three records belonging to a Rājakesarivarman copied from the Trichinopoly District, all of which are palæographically attributable to the 10th century A.D. and

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[1] [This epithet, I think, is to be split up into two, one ending with *avabhāsamāna* and the other beginning with *sitadhātu*. Their construction is rather clumsy, but the first evidently describes the king's sedan (*dōlikā*) and the second the royal banner over the palace. They may be translated as follows: "whose gold sedan is decorated with a red cloth, is flanked by suspended *chowries*, has its interior furnished with the feathers of the peacock's tail (*their eyes being seen prominently*), (*and*) shines forth with a white umbrella (*spread over*); whose banner with a snake (*emblem*) is surmounted by an alligator made of white metal (*sitadhātu*)".—B. C. C.]

[2] [This seems to be the translation of *grām-ōdaya*. The word *udaya* does also mean 'income' but its adjuncts *sa-jala-sthalaḥ*, etc., do not justify the reading *udaya* in the text. The intended reading as suggested above (p. 79, n. 6) is probably *grāmō='yam*, in which case the gift consists of the village itself.—B. C. C.]

[3] [See above p. 79, n. 5.—Ed.]

[4] There is a solitary record dated in the 48th year of the king at Vanamaladinne in the Chittoor District (No. 200 of 1931-32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

[5] No. 456 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

evidently relate to one and the same king of that title, an attempt is made herein to fix the initial date of Rājakēsarin Gaṇḍarāditya. The records under reference are:

Place.	Details of date.	Remarks.
1. Allūr[1] . .	5th year, Kaṇṇi, lunar eclipse[4] .	Mentions the son of Vīrasōḷa-Irukkuvēḷ.
2. Pālūr[2] . .	Ditto . . .	Mentions Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Parāntakaṉ-Vīrasōḷaṉ.
3. Do.[3] . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.

From the surnames Parāntaka and Vīrachōḷa of the Irukkuvēḷ chief named Mahimālaya figuring in the two Pālūr inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3), it can be inferred that this chief had been a contemporary of Parāntaka *alias* Vīra-Chōḷa, and that the Rājakēsarivarman, in whose records also he figures, was evidently one who came after this Chōḷa king.

The occurrence of a lunar eclipse in the Kanyā month cited in the records is, however, an important astronomical detail, which is helpful in fixing the date. In the period of fifty years from A.D. 940 to 990, there were only three years in which such an eclipse occurred, *viz.*[5]:—

1. A.D. 954, September 15, Friday; śu.15 (.35); Uttiraṭṭādi (Uttara-Bhādrapadā) (.15);
2. A.D. 955, September 4, Tuesday; śu.15 (.92); Pūraṭṭādi (Pūrva-Bhādrapadā) (.50) and Uttiraṭṭādi (f. d. n. .49); and
3. A.D. 973, September 15, Monday; śu.15 (.25); Uttiraṭṭādi (.03).

Of these, the last date may be left out of account as it would definitely fall in the 4th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa. The remaining two dates which are fortunately contiguous to each other and are removed by a period of one year only, would yield either A.D. 949-50 or A.D. 950-51 as the initial date of this Rājakēsarivarman.

However, a record from Nīrppaḷaṉi[6] in the Pudukkōṭṭai State said to be dated in the 10th year of a Rājakēsarivarman states that Mahimālaya-Irukkuvēḷ *alias* Parāntakaṉ-Vīrasōḷaṉ, who is identical with the chief figuring in the Pālūr inscriptions noted above, made a gift to the temple at Nīrppaḷaṉi, while he visited the temple at Tiruppālatturai during a lunar eclipse, which occurred in the Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra in the month of Kanyā. As the other details are identical, the regnal year read as 10 appears to be a mistake for 5; and Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra must have also been the star quoted in the portion lost in the Allūr inscription. It is quite possible also that the king had bestowed gifts to the four temples at Allūr, Pālūr, Nīrppaḷaṉi and Tiruppālatturai, all situated near to each other, on the same religious occasion of a lunar eclipse, while staying at the last-mentioned temple. A.D. 954 September 15, Friday, with Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatra may therefore be selected as the date of these three records, in preference to the other date in A.D. 955. As this day fell in the 5th year of this king Rājakēsarivarman, the date of his accession would lie between A.D. 949, September 16 and A.D. 950, September 15.

[1] No. 366 of the same collection for 1903.

[2] No. 346 of the same collection for 1918.

[3] No. 348 of the same collection for 1918.

[4] In this record the portion containing the name of the *nakshatra* during which the eclipse occurred is built in, and the expression *parriṉa* is alone visible. The missing words were probably *Uttiraṭṭādi-nakshatrattu parriṉa* as in the Nīrppaḷaṉi inscription.

[5] According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, some other years in which such an eclipse occurred were A.D. 871, 889, 890, in the reign of Āditya I, a Rājakēsarin; but the records cannot palæographically be attributed to that king.

[6] *Inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, No. 30.

Who was this Rājakēsarivarman, whose date of accession was A.D. 949-50 ? We know from the Ātakūr record[1] that the combined armies of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and the Gaṅga Būtuga had defeated the Chōḷa army led by prince Rājāditya at Takkōlam in the North Arcot District and that this Chōḷa prince had also lost his life in the encounter. This record is dated simply in Śaka 872, current, Saumya, corresponding to A.D. 949-50 ; but in the absence of other details, its exact date cannot be calculated. From the foregoing facts it can, however, be inferred that soon after the death of the eldest prince Rājāditya in the end of A.D. 949, Parāntaka had nominated his second son Gaṇḍarāditya as the heir-apparent[2] in the beginning of A.D. 950, and that the latter began to count his own regnal years from this year onwards.

As some records[3] dated in the 8th year are definitely assignable to Gaṇḍarāditya, his reign may have extended from A.D. 950 to 957 at least.[4] His end is cryptically described in the expression '*Mērkeḷundaruḷiṇa-Dēvar*' i.e., 'he who was pleased to proceed west', but its significance is not quite clear. It is possible that he had lost his life in one of the skirmishes with Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III's army in occupation that may have occurred in the western frontier, and that this event was sought to be euphemistically expressed as 'a journey to the west', from which, however, the king probably never returned alive.

No. 9.—BIJHOLI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHAHAMANA SOMESVARA : V. S. 1226.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The rock inscription under description was at first published by Kavirāja Śyāmaldās of Udaipur in 1886, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LV, part I (pp. 14-15, 28-32 and 40-46) together with some other epigraphs. Since then it has been dealt with by many scholars in connection with the genealogy of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Śākambharī. But the transcript of the record as published by the Kavirāja was far from satisfactory[5] and the necessity for re-editing it properly has frequently been felt by scholars.[6] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, it appears, was to re-edit it[7], but as he has not been able to undertake the work so far, I have taken up the task at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

Bījholī is a small fortified picturesque town situated in 25° 10′ N. and 75° 20′ E., about 112 miles north-east of Udaipur. Its position is in the midst of what is known as the *ūparamāla* or the uppermost table-land called Pathār, in the Aravalli Hills. This table-land extends from Bārolli and Bhainsarorgarh in the south to Jahāzpur in the north through Menāl, Bījholī and Māṇḍalgarh, once forming an important portion of the Imperial Chāhamāna dominions of Sāmbhar and

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

[2] The statement in verse 21 of the Larger Leiden plates of Rājarāja I that after Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya succeeded to the throne, has to be taken to refer to this heir-apparency only (*ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256).

[3] No. 176 of 1907 and No. 574 of 1908 which are records of a Rājakēsarivarman refer to Piḷḷaiyār (Prince) Arikulakēsarin, who was the younger brother of Gaṇḍarāditya.

[4] It may be mentioned that the same dates have been suggested by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his *Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 180. The facts noted above support his chronological scheme for this period.

[5] The transcript of the record which the Kavirāja later on published in the *Vīra-vinōda* (Part I, pp. 383-89) is far better than the one under reference.

[6] Above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, n. 3 ; H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1082, n. 1.

[7] Above, Vol. XII, p. 222.

Ajmer. It now forms a part of the State of Udaipur. It is very rich in archæological remains, being possessed of numerous ancient monuments now mostly in ruins, of superb architectural and sculptural beauty, such as the temples at Bārolli and Menāl which Col. Tod[1] and James Fergusson[2] have so highly eulogised. The localities of Jahāzpur, Māṇḍalgarh, Bījholī, Menāl, etc., comprised in this tract, are also the find-spots of a number of epigraphs important for the chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. In fact, every nook and corner of this picturesque table-land has to narrate a story about itself through either sculptures, epigraphs or architectural remains. Princes of the Hūṇa tribe, it is said, were the first founders of towns like Bījholī here, and were the paramount lords of the whole country extending from near the Koṭā border to the precincts of Būndi.[3] This Hūṇa possession, in course of time, came under the Imperial Chāhamāna control through conquest and subsequently passed into the hands of the Guhilots of Mewār[3] and is still in their possession.

Thus, Bījholī[4] is an important archæological site with certain ancient temples of unique design and elaborate sculptures, still surviving. The place is at present held by one of the sixteen first-class *Umarāvas* or vassals of the Rāṇās of Udaipur, who is called the Rāo of Bījholī. He is an off-shoot of the Paramāra family, whose ancestors had come to Mewār from Jagner between Agra and Baiāna in about A.D. 1610.

The first antiquarian who visited this place was Col. James Tod who has described it in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1797-1800 (W. Crooke's ed.). Later on, Mr. Carlleyle, assistant to Major-General Alexander Cunningham of the Archæological Survey of India, paid a visit to the place and described it and its antiquities in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 234-52. Subsequently some other scholars, such as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, also had occasion to visit the place. Mr. Carlleyle stayed at Bījholī for about five days during which period he examined all that was of archæological interest and importance there, minutely describing them in his *Report*; but unfortunately due to heavy rains which prevented him from further exploration, he could not find the rock inscription under description the existence of which he knew from Tod only[5]. He has, therefore, not been able to tell anything about the present record.

The inscription is engraved on a flat undulating rock under a Mahuvā (*Bassia latifolia*) tree, within the encircling wall, towards the north of the big reservoir of water attached to the shrine of Pārśvanātha situated about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of the town of Bījholī. Tod has described this site in his "Personal Narrative", but his account is somewhat vague and confused, for, he here speaks of 'no less than five temples to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third of the Jain pontiffs, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details'. But in reality, there is only one large Jain temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha with four small shrines on its four corners, as Mr. Carlleyle rightly observes[5]. Moreover, the architectural details of the temple of Pārśvanātha which Tod mentions as elaborate are really anything but elaborate. The whole style and execution of the temple is, as a matter of fact, so commonplace that there is hardly

[1] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1752-69 and 1796-1805 (W. Crooke's ed.).

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 448-451.

[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

[4] For the various spellings of this geographical place as used by various scholars, see Ray's *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1081, n. 7.

[5] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

anything of artistic interest. This temple of Pārśvanātha with the reservoir and the orchard attached is, at present, a Digambara Jain property and is under the supervision of Paṭavārī Hīrālāl Kāmdār[1], a devout Digambara Jain and a lover of antiquity.

The surface of the rock containing the inscription is not smooth but rough and undulating, and hence it is very difficult to take impressions of the record. The rock has suffered for centuries from exposure and it was only very recently that Rāo Savāī Krishna Singh, the grandfather of the present Rāo Savāī Kesari Singh of Bījholī, erected[2] a small roof over the rock for protection. Wherever the rock was originally defective, it has been left blank; but now the portion of the rock used for engraving has also peeled off at places, and thus some of the important portions of the text have totally been destroyed. As regards **measurement**, the first line of writing on the rock is 5′ 3″ long and the last complete line is 12′ in length, the intervening lines gradually increasing in length both ways as we proceed downwards. The height of the inscription between the first and the last line is 3′ 6″. There are in all thirty lines of writing on the rock, of which the last one is even less than half.

Regarding **palæography** there is practically nothing remarkable. The initial vowel *i* which is used three or four times in the whole inscription, however, appears in its ancient form made up of two dots and a comma below, the modern form of the letter being totally absent. The consonant *jh* which occurs twice in two different geographical names, *viz.*, *Mōrājharī* (l. 11) and *Laghu-Vījhōlī* (l. 29) is somewhat confusing, having been so formed as to appear like *kr*. The form of *n* is throughout similar to that of *t* except for a small notch on the lowest extremity of the left-hand side loop which is often imperceptible. *G* in its reduplicated form is throughout represented as *gn*.

In respect of **orthography** the most conspicuous point to be noted is the indiscriminate use of the sibilants, particularly the dental and the palatal, throughout the inscription, *e.g.*, *Nāśā-svāsēna* (l. 2), *Pārsvanāthaḥ* (l. 4), *subha-tatiḥ* and *chaturvvimsatiḥ* (l. 5), *sauryēṇa* (l. 10), etc., of which the use of *s* in place of *ś* is more frequent than *vice versa*. Almost the same is the case with regard to the use of *v* and *b*, for examples, *cf.* *-nitamvinī-*, *vibhrati* and *nirvvādha-vōdh°* (l. 5), *vabhūva* (l. 12), *sad-vuddhi-vamdhura* (l. 13), etc., and *-baryaḥ* (l. 8), *-ballīm* (l. 18) and *banam* (l. 20). *J* is used in lieu of *y* in *jam na(yan=na)* (l. 8) and *bhārjjayōr=* (l. 14). The sound of *kh* is sometimes represented by its proper sign, while in some cases the sign for *sh* is employed in its stead. Consonants following a superscript *r* are often reduplicated, *e.g.*, in *nishṭh-ārppitam* (l. 1), *karmm-ōnmūlana-* (l. 5), *nirggataḥ* (l. 12), and so on; sometimes they are left single, as in *gāmbhīry-audārya-ba(va)ryaḥ* (l. 8), *[da]rśayāmi* (l. 19), etc. Nasals are throughout represented by *anusvāra*, the only exception being *Gaṅga(ṅgā)nātha* (l. 21). The sign for *avagraha* is employed about ten times.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and except for a few grammatical inaccuracies, the composition is free from errors. The clerical and engraving mistakes are, however, considerable. Thus, *sandhi* is not observed in some cases, while in others it is wrong. The transitive root *sū*, 'to beget, to produce' is used intransitively in *śrī-Jāsaṭō=sūta* (l. 13). The verbal noun *samsnātrī* in *samsnātrī kōṭi-limgānām* (l. 21) is used for its causative form *samsnāpayitrī*. Some of the verses contain paronymous words and thus convey double meanings. The whole epigraph is in verse except adoration to Vītarāga in the beginning and a portion after the last verse in l. 29, commencing with the date in numerals and terminating with the last line, recording various donations of land made by different persons for the maintenance of the Pārśvanātha temple, which are in prose.

[1] I am indebted to this gentlemen as well as to Sādhu Sītārāmdās, both residents of Bījholī, for the kind help they extended to me when I was there in connection with the preparation of a transcript of the record under edition.

[2] Ojhā, *Rājputāne kā Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 1198.

The inscription is indeed 'difficult' as admitted by scholars like Professor F. Kielhorn[1]. This difficulty is, to some extent, due to careless engraving, but it chiefly lies in the ambiguous phraseology of certain verses of historical importance. Consequently their contents are open to more than one explanation. Some other historically important verses add to this difficulty by being overloaded with metaphors.

It is a Digambara Jaina record inasmuch as its main **object** is to record the erection of a temple to Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jain pontiff, by a pious Digambara Jain named **Lōlāka**[2]. But its importance lies in the long list it supplies of the princes of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty of Sāmbhar and Ajmer. The authentic and complete history of this ruling family is still not known. Till before A.D. 1875 the only source of information regarding the history of this dynasty was the well-known *Pṛithvīrāja-rāsō*, an epic poem written in the old Rājasthānī dialect, supposed to be the work of the famous bard Chanda who was a contemporary and the court-poet of the Chauhān Pṛithvīrāja. But the authenticity and the antiquity of the said work have been seriously doubted[3]. In the words of Mr. Vincent A. Smith we find that "the Chanda's *Rāesa*, as we now have it, is misleading, and all but worthless for the purposes of the historian[4]". It was in the year 1875 that a birch-bark manuscript copy of an historical poem in Sanskrit called the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, written in Śāradā characters, was discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmīr in course of his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The discovery of this fragmentary manuscript threw fresh light on the history and chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. A short account of this poem was first brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. J. Morison in his article entitled "Some Account of the Genealogies in the Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya", published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 188-192. This work is proved to have been composed during the lifetime of Pṛithvīrāja, the great Chauhān Emperor, from the fact that the poet Jayaratha, who flourished about A.D. 1200[5], has quoted certain verses in his work, the *Vimarśiṇī*[6], from this poem, and as such, the historical information it contains is genuine. The antiquity of this poem and therefore its historical accuracy is also vouched for by the fact that a commentary on it was written as early as about the middle of the fifteenth century by the well-known historian Jōnarāja, the author of the 'second' *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and the commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* written in A.D. 1448. The order of chronology of the Chāhamāna princes as given in this poem also found full support from the Harsha stone inscription[7] of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja dated in V. S. 1030, which mentions seven successive princes from Gūvaka (I) to Vigraharāja (II). But as the list supplied by this inscription was shorter than that given in the poem, some inscription of this period with a long list of these princes, exactly corresponding to that found in the poem, was a requisite so as to leave no room for suspicion. This desideratum has been supplied by the present rock inscription and therein lies its importance. The chronology of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty as given in the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and as verified from the Bijholī rock inscription is, thus, to be accepted as authentic.

To take up now the **contents** of the record, we find that it opens with a salutation to Vītarāga in a small prose sentence. In v. 1 adoration is paid to that divine light produced in the (supreme) soul which has manifested itself in the form of the formula '*syāt*'. V. 2 describes Ṛishabhadēva,

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 62.

[2] This name is variously spelt in the inscription as Lōlāka (v. 49), Lōllaka (v. 51), Lōlika (v. 58) and Lōlaka (v. 83).

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, 1886, part I, no. I, pp. 5-65.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1881, p. 29.

[5] Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 171.

[6] Bombay edition, p. 64.

[7] Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 57-64.

the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Then is described Śāntinātha, the sixteenth pontiff, in v. 3. In v. 4 are mentioned the marvellous activities of Nēminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara, who is said to have blown the Pāñchajanya conch of Lord Kṛishṇa by means of the breath of his nose, pulled his bow Śārṅga with his thumb and shook Halabhṛit with his finger. Then Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third apostle is described in v. 5. V. 6 is devoted to the description of Varddhamāna (Mahāvīra), the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. In v. 7 is adored the goddess of speech under two of her appellations, Śāradā and Bhāratī. Vv. 8-9 mention other divinities in a general way.

Then begins the **genealogical portion** covering vv. 10-28. V. 10, the first couplet of this portion, poetically describes the Chāhamāna-*vaṁśa* where the expression *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kshiti-rāja-vaṁśaḥ* comprising its first quarter is open to two different explanations. Almost all scholars appear to have taken this compound to mean *Śrī-Chāhamāna ēva kshitirāja-vaṁśaḥ* 'the royal or princely dynasty known as Chāhamāna', for they regard the genealogy contained in this inscription to begin from Sāmanta[1]; but the compound expression as well means *Śrī-Chāhamāna-kshiti-rājasya vaṁśaḥ* 'the family of the illustrious prince Chāhamāna', in which case the present genealogy suggests itself to start from **Chāhamāna,** the eponymous prince born from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*[2] to whom the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*[3] of Nayachandra Sūri trace the origin of the tribe. Nothing, however, is said of him here as also in the two poems referred to above. It hardly needs any mention that the birth of this prince of great antiquity from the Sun, as recorded in ancient works like the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya,* clearly indicates the relation of the Chāhamāna princes to the race of Kshatriyas emanated from the Sun, and that the theory of their origin from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha on Mt. Abu as first propounded by Chanda, the author of the *Rāsō,* is merely a misleading fabrication.

In the next verse (v. 11) is given the description of Śākaṁbharā (Śākambharī), the guardian deity of the Chāhamāna race, born as the wife of Vishṇu. Most interesting to note in the present verse is the mention of the second prince of the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* lists, named Vāsudēva, as carving out his principality round the lake Śākaṁbharā (Sāmbhār) which region is here said to have become his mother or mother-country (*jan=īva,* l. 6). The author has evidently referred to Vāsudēva by the variant Vishṇu—a fact which has totally escaped the attention of scholars. Our author, it will be seen as we proceed further, is fond of employing variants in case of proper names, both geographical and genealogical. The word *tatō=pi* towards the end of this verse also indicates that the verse mentions some prince in descent from the one mentioned in the previous verse, who is undoubtedly Vishṇu or Vāsudēva; and it thus also proves that *Chāhamāna* in the foregoing verse is used as the name of a prince and not as a mere family title. It is, thus, gratifying to find the genealogical lists of the Chāhamāna princes of Sāmbhar as given in the present rock inscription and the two historical poems referred to above, corresponding from the very starting point.

V. 12 is undoubtedly one of the difficult verses found in this portion for which scholars have offered more than one explanation. The verse describes a prince named **Sāmaṁta** who has been regarded as the very first prince mentioned in the present inscription. But taking Chāhamāna as the first prince on this list as already discussed above, this prince is the third in order of description. He, of course, seems to be the first prince of this line who had established himself with some

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270; above, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 22, no. 154; Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1062 and 1081-82; Ojhā, *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 363.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 263.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.

stability in his ancestral land and maintained his position as a ruler. Neither the present inscription nor the said historical poems throw any light on the relation in which this prince stood to his predecessor; but as all these three records appear to be unanimous in placing Sāmaṁta after Vishṇu or Vāsudēva, it seems reasonable to believe the former as the son of the latter. As to the various explanations offered for this verse, we find scholars like C. V. Vaidya inclined to accept the first half of it as quite independent of the second half taking it to mean that "There was a Brāhmin of Śrīvatsa-*gōtra* formerly in Ahichchhatrapura"; and the second half of it according to them means that "From him was (descended or born) king Sāmanta of many *sāmantas*[1]". In this explanation the text *Pūrṇṇatallē(llō)* finds no meaning. Dr. H. C. Ray, however, accepts Pūrṇṇatalla as a proper name of the prince who succeeded Sāmanta, but his explanation of the third quarter of the verse *Sāmaṁtō-naṁta-sāmṁtaḥ* seems to be quite different. He appears to take *Sāmaṁtō-naṁta* as meaning 'Sāmanta who was also known as Ananta'; and the other *sāmaṁta* at the end of the quarter means 'a feudatory prince' according to him. He, thus, takes the verse to mean that in Vishṇu or Vāsudēva's lineage 'was born Sāmanta also known as Ananta, who was a feudatory prince and a *vipra*, in the Vatsa-*gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura. From him was born Pūrṇatalla[2]'. The above explanation is certainly based on the meaning, as first given by professor Kielhorn[3] and later on, having been a little modified[4] by himself, now generally accepted by scholars, of the second quarter of v. 13 of the Harsha stone inscription that 'Gūvaka (from whom starts the genealogy in that inscription) attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of prince Nāgāvalōka', and also on the fact that in vv. 16 and 28 of that very epigraph, the country which the princes of this dynasty governed has been called 'Ananta or Ananta-*gōchara*'. He, thus, seems to have tried to explain the name Ananta-*gōchara* by assuming that it was called as such after the other name[5] of Sāmanta, which, as found in the present epigraph was Ananta. And as Gūvaka (I) is regarded a feudatory prince, Dr. Ray is inclined to accept *sāmaṁta* at the end of the third quarter of the present verse as meaning 'a feudatory prince', thereby making prince Sāmaṁta also a feudatory. But the generally accepted explanation of the Harsha stone inscription text is itself not final. Kielhorn had himself to change the theory he first propounded regarding this chiefship of the Chāhamāna princes[6].

The plain meaning of the present verse of our record seems to be that 'formerly a *vipra* named **Sāmaṁta** having numerous feudatory princes was born or descended in the Vatsa-*gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura. After him came the prince **Pūrṇṇatalla**' (v. 12).

The use of the term *vipra* in connection with a ruling prince decidedly of the Kshatriya stock is found not only in this inscription but also in many others of various ruling dynasties where the princes are sometimes called *vipra* and sometimes *mahīdēva*. A correct explanation of the use of such terms has not yet come forth. In my article on the 'first and third slabs of Kumbhalgarh inscription', I have tried to show that such usage has nothing to do with the origin or blood of the princes and seems to have some bearing on their divine habits which they might have acquired[7]. I am, now, further inclined to think that the word *mahīdēva* must have originated

[1] C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, p. 93.
[2] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 1061-62.
[3] Above, Vol. II, p. 117.
[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.
[5] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1064.
[6] Above Vol. IX, p. 62, n. 1.
[7] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 308.

itself in connection with ruling princes as its very formation shows. Having then been applied to *vipras* or Brāhmins, most divine and venerable as they stood in the social rank of the age, it seems to have become a synonym of *vipra* in course of time, so much so that thereafter the latter came in use to denote royalty in place of the former. Even to-day the application of the term *mahārāja*, undoubtedly a princely title, to a Brahmin is not unfrequent; and the terms *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vipra*, *Mahārāja*, *Mahīdēva*, etc., appear to have become almost synonymous. Thus, *vipra* may have been used here for *Mahīdēva* 'a ruling prince' who, in the present case, as we know from other sources, was a Kshatriya of the solar race.

The theory of Kshatriyas having *gōtras* like Vatsa, Vasishṭha, etc., has been sufficiently discussed by scholars and it is unnecessary to dilate on it here.

The identification of Ahichchhatrapura which is here stated to have been Sāmanta's original seat of government has also been a subject of much discussion. As the original home of the Chāhamānas is also called Sapādalaksha in many other inscriptions, some scholars like Bhagvānlāl Indraji[1] and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar are inclined to regard this name as the original Sanskrit form of the modern name Siwālik which is a range of hills below Dehra Dun in the Sahāranpur District, U. P., and thus, according to them, this Ahichchhatra must have been a town in that region in the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley, from where the dynasty migrated southwards. But the testimony of the two literary works referred to above, *viz.*, the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, as also the evidence and the provenance of the earliest inscriptions of the tribe so far discovered, and the identification of most of the places mentioned therein, would suggest the Śākambharī region to have been the cradle of this race. The epigraphic as well as the literary tradition regarding the capture of Delhi, the capital of the Tōmaras, by the Chāhamānas as supported by references to occasional conflicts between some of the earlier princes of both the tribes would also indicate the movement of the latter to have been northwards from Sāmbhar and not towards Sāmbhar from the north. This Ahichchhatrapura, therefore, has to be identified with some place in the Śākambharī-*pradēśa* itself where Vishṇu (Vāsudēva), the predecessor of Sāmanta, had carved out his principality. Rai Bahadur Ojhā has identified it with Nāgapura, modern Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State[2].

After Pūrṇatalla came the princes **Jayarāja, Vigrahanṛipa, Chandra, Gōpēndraka, Durllabha, Gūvaka, Śaśinṛipa, Gūvāka, Chandana, Vappayarāja, Viṁdhyanṛipati, Siṁharāṭ, Vigraha, Durllabha** (II), **Guṁdu, Vākpati** and his younger brother **Vīryarāma** (v. 13).

Except a bare enumeration of these princes, even the relation in which each succeeding prince stood to his immediate predecessor is not known from this verse for which we may resort to the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* and the Harsha stone inscription. Thus, the former states that Jayarāja was the son of Sāmaṁta, Vigrahanṛipa and Chandra were respectively the son and grandson of Jayarāja, Gōpēndraka was the brother of Chandra, and Durllabha was Chandra's son, *i.e.*, Gōpēndraka's nephew. We have no other information from any source regarding these first five princes. Only vague praise is assigned to them in certain literary works due to which some scholars regard them as insignificant[3]. The last prince of this category, *viz.*, Durllabha or Durlabharāja is stated in the *Pṛith. vij.* to have been succeeded by his son Gōvindarāja, but the present record places Gūvaka after Durllabha. According to Rai Bahadur H. B. Śārdā, Gūvaka and Gōvindarāja are

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part I, p. 157 and p. 158, n. 1.

[2] *Nāgarī-Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. II, part III, see also *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVIII (1922), p. 289.

[3] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1062.

both identical [1]; and the Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030 referred to above, gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna princes up to Vigraharāja II (Vigraha of the present verse) from Gūvaka who has been unanimously identified with Gūvaka of the present inscription. Thus, Gūvaka of the inscription of V. S. 1030, Gōvindarāja of the said historical poem and Gūvaka of this record is one and the same prince. According to the explanation of the second quarter of verse 13 of the Harsha stone inscription as first given by Prof. Kielhorn, this Gūvaka was a feudatory prince attaining pre-eminence as a hero in the court of Nāgāvalōka, who has been identified with the Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (A. D. 815).[2] Regarding the above explanation Prof. Kielhorn himself had, later on, felt some doubt as already alluded to by me above, and the verse can be explained in a different way also[3]. It is, however, strange to note that Major Erskine has omitted[4] this name in his list of princes of this dynasty, though the name is found in all the records including the one under description.

According to the *Pṛith. vij.*, Gūvaka was succeeded by Chandrarāja (II) whom our author calls Śaśinṛipa. His fondness for using synonyms in proper names is here again displayed as in the case of Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).

Gūvāka, the next prince mentioned here, styled Gūvaka (II) in both the *Pṛith. vij.* and the Harsha stone inscription, was the son of Chandrarāja. He was succeeded by his son Chandana to whom is attributed by the latter record the slaying in battle of a Tōmara prince whose name according to Kielhorn is Rudrēna[5] which he equates with Rudrapāla. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes this name to be Rudra[6]. His son and successor was Vappayarāja called Vākpatirāja in the *Pṛith. vij.* who is said in the Harsha inscription to have put to flight one Tantrapāla. The same inscription gives him the title *Mahārāja*. He had three sons of whom the youngest named Lakshmaṇa established himself at Nāḍol and was the founder of the Mārwār branches of the Chāhamānas. His successor was Viṁdhyanṛipati whom scholars like Śārdā[7] and Ray[8] do not regard a prince at all, evidently being misled by the text *Vappayarāja-Viṁdhyanṛipatiḥ* of Kavirāja Śyāmaldās's faulty transcript. But the text on the rock is *Vappayarāja-Viṁdhya-nṛipatī*, a dual form, evidently containing the names of two princes; and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right when he takes him as the successor of Vappayarāja[9]. It may be noted in this connection that excepting the names *Saśinṛipa* and *Vīryarāma*, this verse mentions all other names either in a combination of two or three. Nothing, however, is known of Viṁdhyanṛipati from any source. He was succeeded by Siṁharāṭ, the son of Vappayarāja, who is stated in the Harsha inscription to have subdued a Tōmara *Nāyaka* or chief Salavaṇa[10], and built a Śiva temple which the *Pṛith. vij.* locates at Pushkar. His title was *Mahārājādhirāja*. Next prince was Vigraha (Vigraharāja II), the son of Siṁharāṭ. The Harsha stone inscription of V. S. 1030, which is the oldest record of the dynasty so far discovered, belongs to the reign of this prince. The *Pṛith. vij.* assigns to him the conquest of the country as far south as the Narmadā and the defeat of the

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 265-66.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 239-40 and Vol. XLII, p. 58.

[3] Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.

[4] *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III-B, p. 65.

[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 121, v. 14 and p. 117 and n. 3.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 58, n. 2.

[7] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

[8] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1063.

[9] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.

[10] Some scholars have taken 'Salavaṇa' to mean 'together with Lavaṇa'. In that case the name of the Tōmara *Nāyaka* remains unknown.

Gurjara prince Mūlarāja who fled to the fort of Kanthādurga in Cutch. He is also stated to have built a temple to the goddess Āśāpurī, one of his family guardians, at Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) in Gujarāt. After him came Durllabha, his younger brother, regarding whom we have no information except that his minister's name was Mādhava. The Kinsariyā inscription[1], however, states that he earned the epithet *Durlaṅghyamēru* and conquered the country called Āsōśittana (Rāsōśittana). His successor was his son Gumdu, whom the *Pṛith. vij.* calls Gōvindarāja (II). According to the *Prabandhakōśa*[2], he won a victory over Sulṭān Mahmūd. If this Sulṭān is identified with Mahmūd of Ghazni, the event will be one that took place in A.D. 1025[3] when he was on his way to Sōmanātha through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But as the event does not find mention in an authentic work like the *Pṛith. vij.*, some scholars are doubtful regarding the reliability of this statement of the *Prabandhakōśa*[4]. Gōvindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatinṛipa (Vākpatirāja II), who, according to the *Pṛith. vij.*, rent asunder with his dagger the mouth of Aṁbāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa (mod. Āhaḍ near the Udaipur Railway station) and thus sent him to the abode of Yama. This Aṁbāprasāda is the same as Āmraprasāda of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331[5], who was the son of the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra. The last prince mentioned in this verse is Vīryarāma whose name is followed by the word *anujaḥ* showing that he was the younger brother of Vākpatinṛipa and therefore one of the sons of Gumdu as accepted by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[6]. Dr. Ray, however, calls him the son of Vākpati. He was killed by the Paramāra prince Bhōja (A.D. 1010-1055), according to the *Pṛith. vij.* The word *anujaḥ* with which ends this verse has also to be construed with the first prince mentioned in the next verse *viz.*, Chāmuṁḍa, who is definitely stated in the said poem to be the brother of Vīryarāma.

After [**Chāmuṁ**]**ḍa** whose epithet was *Rāṇaka-vara*, came **Siṁghaṭa,** his brother **Dūsala** and **Vīsala**. After him (Vīsala) came his son **Pṛithvīrāja,** and thereafter his son **Ajayadēva** (v. 14).

Chāmuṁḍa, as has already been noticed, was the younger brother of Vīryarāma whom he succeeded. The *Pṛith. vij.* calls him Chāmuṇḍarāja and attributes to him the building of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu at Narapura (mod. Narwar in the Kishengarh territory) situated at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer[6].

He is stated here to have been succeeded by Siṁghaṭa whose name is missing elsewhere. His relation with his predecessor is also not known but he is accepted as the prince who succeeded Chāmuṁḍa both by Kielhorn[7] and by Bhandarkar[8].

After him came his brother Dūsala called Durlabha or Durlabharāja (III) in the *Pṛith. vij.* He was also called Vīrasiṁha. As to whose son he was, there is no clue in the present epigraph. The *Pṛith. vij.* calls him the son of Vīryarāma[9], but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Chāmuṁḍa.[8] He is here stated to be the brother of Siṁghaṭa and if he was the son of Chāmuṁḍa as Dr. Bhandarkar believes, then Siṁghaṭa, whose relation with his predecessor is not yet known, was also an elder son of Chāmuṁḍa. He is stated in the said historical poem to have been killed in a battle with the *Mātaṅgas* (*Mlēchchhas* or Musalmāns).

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.
[2] *Gaüḍavaho*(ed. B. S. S.). Introduction, p. cxxxvi, note.
[3] Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 113.
[4] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069.
[5] *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.
[6] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 1.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, Appendix I, p. 14.
[8] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 51 and 381.
[9] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1069, and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 270.

His successor was Vīsala, Vigraharāja (III) of the *Prith. vij.* and Viśvala of the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*. The former poem states that he gave to Udayāditya of Mālwā (A.D. 1059-1087) a horse named Sāraṅga with the aid of which he vanquished Karṇa, the Gurjara prince. The present inscription gives **Rājadēvī** as the name of his queen.

His successor was his son Pṛithvīrāja (I) whose queen's name as found here is **Rāsalladēvī**. The *Pṛith. vij.* attributes to him the killing of a body of 700 Chaulukyas who had come to rob the Brāhmaṇas of Pushkara-*tīrtha*. Only one inscription of his reign, *viz.*, the Rēvasā stone inscription[1] dated in V.S. 1162 (A.D. 1105) has been found. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar takes him to be the son of Durlabha[2] and not that of Vīsala as recorded in both the *Pṛith. vij.* and the present epigraph.

The next prince was Ajayadēva, the son of Pṛithvīrāja (I), called Ajayarāja *alias* Salhaṇa in the *Pṛith. vij.* His queen's name as recorded in this verse is **Sōmalladēvī**, called Sōmalēkhā in the said poem according to which she used to coin fresh *rūpakas* every day. The same poem attributes to the reign of this prince the foundation of the city of Ajayamēru, modern Ajmer. Dr. Bhandarkar regards him as the son of Vīsala.[2]

Verse 15, which contains the achievements of Ajayadēva, is another important verse in the present record as whatever historical information is derived from this and the following verses is not found elsewhere. Ajayadēva is stated here to have killed three heroes **Chachchiga, Siṁdhala** and **Yaśōrāja** towards the identification of whom no scholar seems to have yet made any attempt. Perhaps a clue to their identity is to be found in the expression *Śrīmārgga-Durdd-ānvitaṁ* at the end of the first half of this verse. *Anvitaṁ* appears to mean 'connected or associated with', and the first two words seem to be the names of two geographical places with which the heroes mentioned were connected. Thus, it is evident that these heroes were associated with the localities of **Śrīmārgga** and **Durdda.** The word *vīra* shows that probably they did not belong to any of the principal ruling families, but may have been feudatories of an inferior rank of some one of them. Śrīmārgga as it stands, appears to have been used as a variant of Śrīpathā or Śrīpatha which has been identified by J. F. Fleet[3] with modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State. The tendency of our author's mind towards the use of synonyms is here again discernible. We, thus, find that it was Ajayadēva who took the first step towards conquering the northern plains of India and extending the boundary of his ancestral territory which attained its culminating point in the reign of his grandson Vigraharāja (IV) as we shall presently see. This northward expansion seems to have begun in two different directions—one through Bayānā in direct north and the other through Durdda which on phonetic grounds may be identified with modern Duddai or Dūdhai in central India in the neighbourhood of the Chāhamāna domain in an easterly direction. The latter place seems to have been important in the ancient country of Jējākabhukti governed by the Chandrātrēyas. This country itself, as known from one of the stone inscriptions found at Madanpur, a little way to the south-east of Dūdhai, was completely conquered in V. S. 1239 by Pṛithvīrāja, the great Chāhamāna ruler, who was the son of Sōmēśvara and grandson of Arṇōrāja[4]. Ajayadēva was, thus, the first powerful king of this lineage who took the initiative in enlarging his kingdom and carving out a path for his descendants for further expansion. That he actually brought the country as far as Bayānā under his own control is also evidenced by the discovery of certain silver and copper coins bearing his name which are frequently found in Rājputāna and Mathurā[5]. The latter half of the verse mentions his other exploit which was the tying of one **Sōllaṇa,** a commander-in-chief (*Daṁḍanāyaka-varaḥ*), to a camel in the field of battle. This fact is also corroborated from

[1] *P. R. A. S.*, Western circle, 1909-10, p. 52.
[2] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Nothern India*, pp. 51 and 381.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 239.
[4] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1084.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1071.

the *Pṛith. vij.* which states that he defeated Sulhaṇa, the king of Mālwā. But as there was no king of this name ruling over Mālwā during that period, it seems to have been the name of a general as mentioned here, of the then Paramāra prince, possibly Naravarman, ruling over Mālwā.

V. 16 mentions **Arṇōrāja** as the son and successor of Ajayadēva. The next verse (v. 17), the interpretation of which is rather difficult, appears to contain some important historical fact under the veil of metaphor. The first half of it seems to mention the retaliation this prince had on the kingdoms of **Kuśa** and **Vāraṇa**[1]. We already know that his father Ajayadēva had extended his dominion both towards the north up to Bayānā and towards the east up to Dūdhai; and the kingdoms lying beyond these localities must have naturally cherished hostility for Arṇōrāja who was now a formidable neighbour. They might have even attacked him, but he seems not only to have repulsed the attack but also to have added fresh territories to his father's dominion. He, thus, took the second step towards the paramount sovereignty of Āryāvarta lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, which his son Vigraharāja (IV) was destined to enjoy for the first time, having himself taken the third step by way of capturing Delhi and Hānsi, as we shall just see. Kuśa, as the name of a kingdom, may denote Kuśasthala or Kanauj[2] where the route may have been northwards from Dūdhai already in possession. The kingdom of Kanauj had been fast fading in importance at this time due to the increasing influence of the Chāhamānas. Vāraṇa is the well-known ancient name of Bulandshahar[3] near Delhi which was, during this period, under the control of Ḍōḍas or Ḍōḍiyas, one of the thirty-six royal races of the Rājputs mentioned by Tod. An inscription dated in V. S. 1233 found at Bulandshahar mentions sixteen generations of this dynasty which ruled there[4]. Arṇōrāja might have made further progress by proceeding to this place from Bayānā making the ruling prince there his tributary. He, thus, seems to have still further enlarged his kingdom northwards up to Bulandshahar and Kanauj. The next half of the verse appears to contain an account of his relation with the Paramāra kingdom of Mālwā. We know from a stone inscription found in the *Aḍhāi-din-kā-jhõpaḍā* at Ajmer and now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, that Arṇōrāja's father Ajayadēva had conquered the country up to Ujjain, the capital of Mālwā. This clearly shows the hostility existing between the two kingdoms. Ajayadēva is also stated in the previous verse to have barbarously treated Sōllaṇa, the *Daṁḍanāyaka* of the Mālwā prince. Arṇōrāja is here stated to have shown disrespect to one called **Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa** and thus brought him to humiliation. *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, as we already know, was the epithet of the Paramāra prince Naravarman[5] who was a contemporary of both Ajayadēva and Arṇōrāja, and what is mentioned here plainly refers to him. The text *bhaṁga-karaṇaṁ śrī Dēvarājaṁ prati*, the concluding portion of the verse, also seems to refer to Naravarman, who, having been called Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa is looked upon as Dēvarāja, the lord of gods. The employment of the term *Dēvarāja* is evidently for the sake of suiting the other sense of the verse relating to the ocean (*Arṇōrāja*). This prince might have thus attacked the Mālwā country and subdued its ruler either independently or he may have assisted his father-in-law, the Chaulukya prince Jayasiṁha (Siddharāja) who waged war against Naravarman, continuing for full twelve years in order to avenge himself of the latter's attack on his capital in his absence when on a pilgrimage to Sōmanātha[6]. The *Pṛith. vij.* states that he also completely vanquished the Musalmāns (*Mātaṅgas*) who came across the desert (Marusthalī)[7].

[1] [From the context *Kuśavāraṇa* seems to comprise only one kingdom.—Ed.]

[2] N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 111.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23 *s.v.* Baraṇa; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 458.

[4] Ojhā, *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 239.

[5] Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 397.

[6] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, pp. 969-70.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1073 and *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 273.

His son was **Vigraharāja** (v. 18). **Sajjana,** 'the only wicked person on earth, took his way towards (*the home of*) Kṛitāṁta'; and **Kuṁtapāla,** 'the keeper of lance, came to a state of utter lancelessness' (v. 20). He, due to resentment made **Jāvālipura**, a city of flames; **Pallikā**, an insignificant village; and **Nad(dd)ūla,** like a bed of reeds (v. 21). He is stated to have 'made his fame take rest on each street of towns and on each roof of dwellings, which was fatigued due to the capture of **Ḍhillikā** and was lagging behind owing to the acquisition of **Āśikā**' (v. 22).

This Vigraharāja, the son of Arṇōrāja, was the monarch in whose reign the Chāhamāna power attained its climax. He may rightly be called the first Chāhamāna Emperor of India, justifying what has been spoken of him in the small Delhi Siwālik Pillar inscription[1] dated in V. S. 1220 (A.D. 1164). The identification of Sajjana mentioned in v. 20 is somewhat difficult. This name may refer itself to the *Daṁḍādhipati* whom Chaulukya Jayasiṁha had appointed to superintend the affairs of Surāshṭra which he conquered having defeated and killed in battle the Ābhīra ruler Navaghana[2]. If this identification is correct, then the southward extension of the Chāhamāna domain as far as Vindhya as recorded in the inscription of V. S. 1220 referred to above, becomes justified to some extent. Kumārapāla, the contemporary Chaulukya prince, was indeed a formidable monarch and the country of Surāshṭra was a part of his dominion. But Vigraharāja was no less powerful, and hostilities between these two neighbouring powers had already broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārapāla who had twice attacked his father Arṇōrāja[3]. It is thus possible that this Chāhamāna prince extended his arms against Surāshṭra in order to avenge himself, and, having killed its governor Sajjana who might have grown very old by this time, took that land in his possession. Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī has already drawn the attention of scholars[4] to an inscription of Sajjana dated in V. S. 1176 (A.D. 1120) located in the temple of Nēminātha at Girnār.

As regards the identification of Kuṁtapāla who had to throw away his weapons (v. 20) in presence of Vigraharāja, we have no difficulty. Muhaṇōta Naiṇasī informs us that when Kītū or Kīrtipāla, the founder of the Sōnagarā branch of the Chāhamānas, took possession of Jālor, the ruling prince there was Paramāra Kuntapāla[5]. Vigraharāja, as we already know, was a contemporary of Chaulukya Kumārapāla and so was Alhaṇadēva[6], the father of Kītū. Thus, Vigraha and Alhaṇa were both contemporaries; and as Kuntapāla of Jālor was living when attacked by Kītū, it goes without saying that he was a contemporary of Alhaṇa and also of Vigraha. Thus, our prince seems to have invaded the Paramāra territory of Kuṁtapāla and even set fire to his capital town Jāvālipura, *i.e.*, Jālor (v. 21), the reason for which is, however, not known. This hard stroke at the hands of this powerful monarch must have rendered Kuntapāla very weak, and this is why Kīrtipāla took no time in turning him out of Jālor soon after, and establishing himself there as the founder of the Sōnagarā branch. He also reduced Pallikā (modern Pālī in Jodhpur State), a flourishing town in ancient times, to a state of utter insignificance (v. 21). He is also mentioned to have turned the town of Naddūla (mod. Nāḍol) into a bed of reeds (v. 21). Nāḍol, at this time, was invaded and ultimately annexed to the Chaulukya Empire by Kumārapāla due to a predecessor of Alhaṇa ruling there, siding with Arṇōrāja, his enemy, in the fight that took place between the two princes in V. S. 1207, and was put in charge of a *Dāṁḍanāyaka* named Vaijāka[7]. It was Alhaṇadēva who regained his ancestral dominion of Nāḍol through constant assistance to Kumārapāla which secured him the favour of the Chaulukya ruler who ultimately

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 218 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1073.
[3] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 969.
[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 176-77.
[5] His *Khyāta*, part I, p. 152; Ojhā, *Sirohī-rājya kā Itihāsa*, p. 179.
[6] Above, Vol. IX, p. 83, n. 8.
[7] Above, Vol. XI, p. 70.

restored him his territory. This allegiance of Alhaṇa to Kumārapāla must have caused the indignation of Vigraharāja who devastated Nāḍol as mentioned here and avenged the breach of faith[1].

His last exploit mentioned was the capture of Ḍhillikā (Delhi) and the acquisition of Āśikā (Hānsi) (v. 22) from the Tōmara prince Anaṅgapāla III[2]. This, as I have already mentioned, was the third and the last step taken by this prince towards completion of the task set afoot by his grandfather Ajayadēva and successfully carried out by his father Arṇōrāja, *viz.*, the extension of Empire. Arṇōrāja had already reached Bulandshahar and Kanauj, and his son, the presnt prince, proceeding still further towards the north, brought the entire Āryāvarta under his control. Hitherto we certainly knew from other records that he was a paramount sovereign ruling over the whole of Hindustān lying between the Himālaya and the Vindhya, but it looked rather abrupt as to how he could make so vast an acquisition in course of a single generation. Our epigraph now clearly shows that the acquisition was not abrupt but gradual and was the result of constant activities covering three successive generations. By this extension he naturally came into contact and conflict with the Yāminis of Ghazni and the Punjab, whom he totally exterminated as stated in the Siwālik Pillar inscription. The portraiture of this prince will be partial if we fail to note that he was not only a distinguished warrior but also a distinguished man of letters. As the author of the *Harakēli-nāṭaka*[3], he ranks among the best dramatists of India. His court-poet Sōmadēva was the author of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*[3]. He was so great a patron of learning that with his death the name " the friend of poets " disappeared[4].

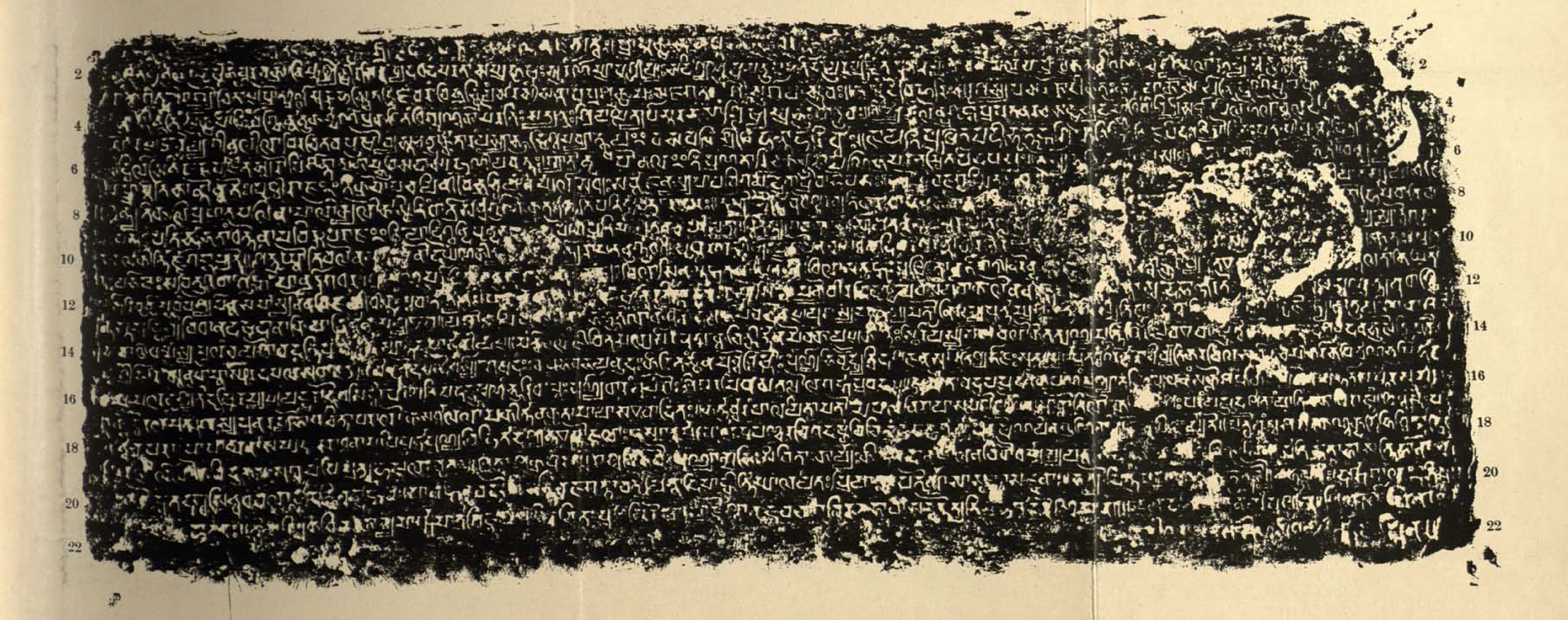
After him came **Pṛithvīrāja** (II), the son of Vigraharāja's elder brother (v. 23). It is indeed strange to note that the latter had an elder brother whose name is not recorded in the present genealogy. A clue to this mystery is found in the *Pṛith. vij.* which, though omitting his name, states that the eldest son of Arṇōrāja or the elder brother of Vigraharāja " rendered to him (his father) the same service as Bhṛigu's son (*i.e.*, Paraśurāma) had rendered to his mother[5]." This statement shows that he murdered his father. The name of this parricide is, however, mentioned in the *Hammīra-mahākāvya* as Jagadēva, who is there also stated to have succeeded his father. It is quite possible that after murdering his father he might have ascended and held the throne for some time ; but as a parricide he must have naturally lost all support from his subjects, and before he could consolidate his position on the throne, he seems to have been ousted easily by his younger brother Vigraharāja. It is due to this dark character that he has been passed over in silence by our author. He is, however, not ignorant of him as he mentions the present prince Pṛithvīrāja, as his son. The *Pṛith. vij.* mentions a son of Vigraharāja named Aparagāṅgēya[6] who was his rightful successor, but it also states that he died very young and unmarried. Thus the throne passed on to Pṛithvīrāja. This prince is here stated to have been very charitable, donating a village named **Mōrājharī** to Pārśvanātha (v. 24) the erection of whose temple the present inscription records. It may be noted that Col. Tod and Mr. Carlleyle have read the name of this village as Mōrakara[7] and Mōrakūrō[8] respectively, the former regarding it as an independent village situated just where the Pārśvanātha temple now stands, and the latter as another name of Viṁdhyavallī (Bījholī). But though the third constituent syllable of the name of this village looks like *kra* or *ku*, it has to be understood as *jha*. This sign occurs in a slightly altered form in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 201-212.
[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. I, p. 155.
[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[6] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 276.
[7] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1799 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[8] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 234.

Correction Slip.

The facsimile plate of RAJIM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE NALA KING VILASA-TUNGA is to be inserted opposite p. 56, E. I., XXVI. In this connection Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggested the following corrections and additions to be made :

Page 56, text l. 3.—For *kakshayā* — — — read *kāntayā k=āsau yā*
" " " 4.—For *hi(tē?) vāgbhir=na[tu]* read *kiṁ vāgbhir=nanu.*
" " " 5.—For *-pratapō(paḥ)* read *-pratāpī.*
" 57, " 10.—For *[rvvu(rbbu)]ḍhaḥ* read *r=ggu-naiḥ.*
" " " 11.—After *Vilāsatuṅgaḥ* read *prathitaḥ.*
" " " 12.—For *vijay-ādhi[śaṁ?]* read *vijayī dhīraḥ.*
" " " 15.—For *[ni]tya-na[vyē?]* read *janman-ēv=ē.*
" " " " —For *vām-ādhar-ābhāṁ* read *vām-ādhar-ābhaṁ.*
" 58, " 16.—For *dṛishṭir=asyām* read *dṛishṭi-ramyaṁ.*
" " " 20.—For *si[ktha?]* read *sindhu.*



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

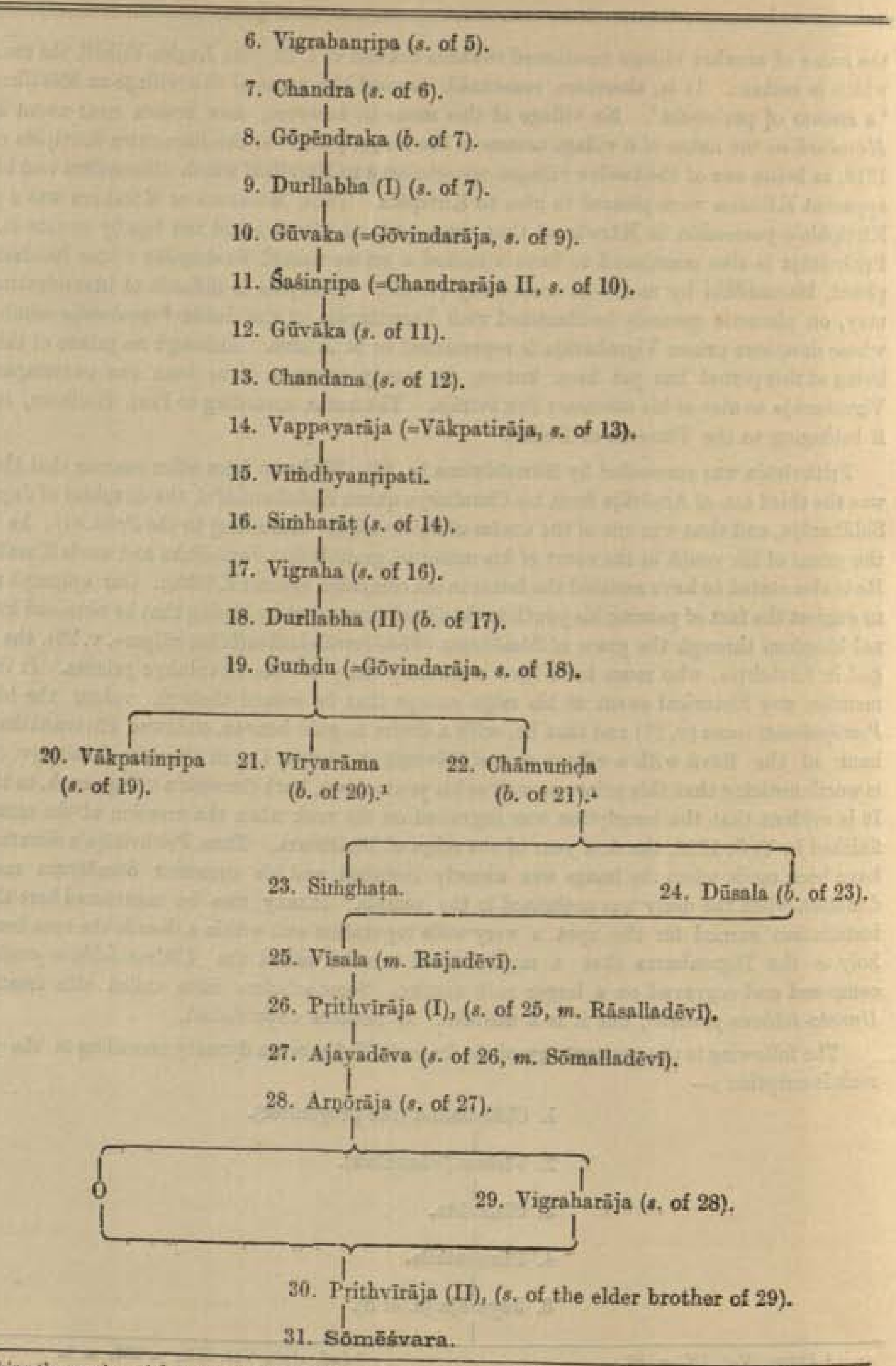
the name of another village mentioned towards the end of l. 29, *viz.*, Laghu-Vījhōlī, the reading of which is certain. It is, therefore, reasonable to read the name of this village as Mōrājharī, *i.e.*, 'a stream of pea-cocks'. No village of this name is, however, now known near about Bījholī. *Mōrakarā* as the name of a village occurs in the Nāḍol plates[1] of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of V. S. 1218, as being one of the twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāī which Alhaṇadēva and his heir-apparent Kēlhaṇa were pleased to give to Kīrtipāla. Thus, Mōrakarā or Mōrakara was a part of Kīrtipāla's possession in Mārwār at that time, and our prince could not legally donate it. This Pṛithvīrāja is also mentioned to have attacked a prince named **Vastapāla** whose handsome elephant, Manasiddhi by name, he took away (v. 25). Vastapāla is difficult of identification. He may, on phonetic grounds be identified with Vasantapāla of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, with whose daughter prince Vigraharāja is represented to be in love. Although no prince of this name living at this period has yet been known, he surely seems to have been one contemporary of Vigraharāja as also of his successor Pṛithvīrāja. The name, according to Prof. Kielhorn, looks as if belonging to the Tōmaras of Delhi[2].

Pṛithvīrāja was succeeded by **Sōmēśvara** (v. 26). We know from other sources that the latter was the third son of Arṇōrāja from his Chaulukya queen Kāñchanadēvī, the daughter of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, and thus was one of the uncles of Pṛithvīrāja. According to the *Pṛith. vij.*, he passed the prime of his youth in the court of his maternal grandfather Jayasiṁha and uncle Kumārapāla. He is also stated to have assisted the latter in his compaign against Kōṅkaṇ. Our epigraph appears to suggest the fact of passing his youth in the Chaulukya court by saying that he obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Sōmēśvara (*Sōmēśvarāl=ladhva(bdha)-rājyas=*, v. 26), the famous god in Surāshṭra, who must have been a tutelary deity of the Chaulukya princes. It does not mention any historical event of his reign except that he earned through valour the *biruda* of *Pratāpalaṁkēśvara* (v. 27) and that he, with a desire to gain heaven, endowed Pārśvanātha on the bank of the Rēvā with a village named **Rēvaṇā** in *śāsana*, *i.e.*, in absolute charity (v. 28). It is worth noticing that this prince as well as his predecessor, both donated a village each, to this god. It is evident that the inscription was engraved on the rock when the erection of the temple was finished in V. S. 1226, the first year of the reign of Sōmēśvara. Thus, Pṛithvīrāja's donation must have been made when the image was already installed, and his successor Sōmēśvara made his donation when the deity was enshrined in the temple. It may also be mentioned here that this installation earned for the spot a very wide reputation and within a decade the spot became so holy to the Digambaras that a mythological treatise called the *Uttama-śikhara-purāṇa* was composed and engraved on a larger rock nearby. Some scholars have called this treatise, the *Unnata-śikhara-purāṇa*[3], but it is a mistake. It remains unpublished.

The following is the **genealogy** of the Imperial Chāhamāna dynasty according to the present rock inscription :—

1. Chāhamāna (the progenitor).
|
2. Vishṇu (Vāsudēva).
|
3. Sāmaṁta.
|
4. Pūrṇṇatalla.
|
5. Jayarāja (*s.* of 3).
|

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 67.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202, n. 1.
[3] Ojhā, *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 364; Erskine, *Raj. Gaz.*, Vol. II-A, p. 100.

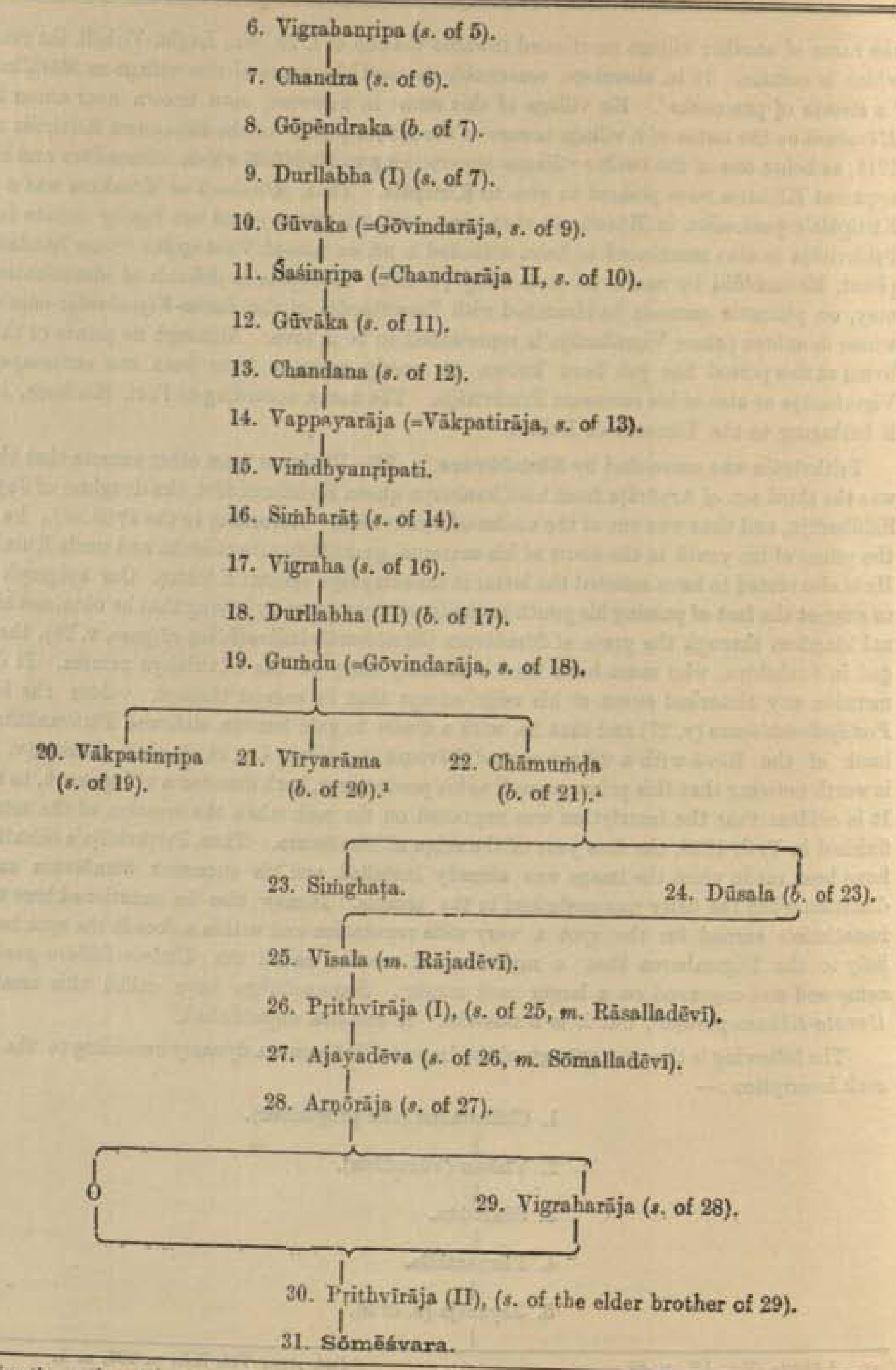


¹ Taking the word *anujaḥ* at the end of v. 13 to refer to both 21 and 22.

From v. 29 the inscription describes the genealogy of the person who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha. This portion opens with a fresh title, *viz.*, *Atha Kārāpaka-vaṁś-ānukramaḥ* (l. 12), where the word *kārāpaka*, although regarded by some to be a family name[1] of the Vaiśyas like Prāgvāṭa, etc., is decidedly a grammatical formation from the root *kṛi*. It does not appear to be the proper name of his family, for he is said in v. 31 to have descended in the Prāgvāṭa-*vaṁśa*.

When the gods and the demons churned the ocean in the reign of Nārāyaṇa, at the site holy to Nēminātha (v. 29), a distinguished family, taken recourse to by the group of gods, was produced, which was located by Śatamanyu (*i.e.*, Indra) at Śrīmāla-*pattana* (v. 30). It was the **Prāgvāṭa**-*vaṁśa* wherein was born one Vaiśravaṇa (v. 31). He built a temple to Jina at Taḍāga-*pattana* and also many a temple at Vyāghrēraka and other places (vv. 32-33). He begot a son named Chachchula (v. 34). His son was Śubhaṁkara; from him was born Jāsaṭa whose son was Puṇyarāśi (v. 35). The temple of Varddhamāna situated at Nārāṇaka was built by the last named (v. 36). He had two wives who gave birth to four sons. Āmvaṭa and Padmaṭa were born of one wife while Lakshmaṭa and Dēsala of the other (vv. 37-38). They seem to have constructed temples to Vīra (*i.e.*, Mahāvīra), at Naravara (v. 39). Lakshmaṭa had two sons, Munīṁdu and Rāmēṁdu by name, while Dēsala had six sons named Duddakanātha, Mōsala, Vīgaḍi, Dēvasparśa, Sīyaka and Rāhaka, in order of birth (vv. 40-42). They erected a temple to Varddhamāna at Ajayamēru (v. 43). Of them Sīyaka, an ornament to *Śrēshṭhins*, beautified the great fort of Maṁḍalakara (v. 44). He built (probably at Maṁḍalakara) a beautiful temple of Nēminātha (v. 46). He had two wives, Nāgaśrī and Māmaṭā by name, of whom the former gave birth to three sons and the latter to two (v. 47). Thus Sīyaka had five devout sons (v. 48). Nāgadēva, **Lōlāka** and Ujjvala, in order of birth, were born of the former wife, and Mahīdhara and Dēvadhara of the latter (v. 49). Ujjvala had two sons, Durllabha and Lakshmaṇa by name (v. 50). Lōllaka was a special creation of god in whom were combined certain unique virtues (v. 51). He, the abode of celebrity, once came to the flourishing town of Viṁ[dhyava]llī and there [saw] some person standing before him [in dream] (v. 52). He asked as to who he was, what was the reason of his coming there and from where he came, to which the latter replied that he was Phaṇīśvara (the holy serpent) and said that Pārśvanātha would come over there himself from the nether world for enlightening him (v. 53). Having got up in the morning, he did not utter anything, for, the mind is not free from corruption in a state of dream (v. 54). Lōlāka had three wives, **Lalitā**, Kamalaśrī and Lakshmī by name, resembling the very goddess of fortune (v. 55). The holy serpent, then (being ignored by Lōlāka) went to his devout wife Lalitā sleeping at night and said. "O blessed one! hear me. I am Dharaṇa, the holy serpent; come, I [show you] the illustrious [Pārśvanātha]" (v. 56). She then replied that what he [said regarding the deliverance and worship of the deity by herself] was not proper (*satya*), and that it was her husband who was the right person to lift up, worship and erect a temple for the god (v. 57). The serpent again approached Lōlika and observed, "O you devout, virtuous and wealthy! Pārśva (the Tīrthaṅkara) has come over up to the bank of the river Rēvatī. Lift him up and have the virtue of erecting a *chaitya-gēha* (temple) for the Jina, whereby you will obtain all worldly prosperity" (vv. 58-59). The serpent then describes the glory of the Bhīma-*vana* where Pārśvanātha meant to manifest himself mentioning the natural rocks of stone with which the *vana* is strewn over, as the blocks hurled down from the sky by the foolish Kamaṭha to obstruct his penance (v. 60). It is in the Bhīma-*vana* that the Uttamādriśikhara is situated like an elevated stage, where lie the holy *tīrthas* and temples of Varalāika, Atimukta, Ghaṭēśvara, Kumārēśvara, Saubhāgyēśvara, Dakshiṇēśvara, Mārkkaṁḍa (Mārkaṇḍēya), Riṁchchhēśvara, Ūṁbarēśvara, Brahman, Mahyēśvara, Kuṭilēśa, Karkkarēśa, Kapilēśvara, Mahānāla, Mahākāla,

[1] Vaidya, *His. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.



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[1] Vaidya, *His. of Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391.

[Bha]-rathēśvara, Ka(Kī)rttinātha, Kēdāra,. . . . . . , Saṁgamēśa, Puṭīśa, Mukh$^{\bar{e}\acute{s}var}$a, Vaṭēśvara, Nityapramōdita, Siddhēśvara, Gayēśvara, Gaṁgābhēda, Sōmēśa, Gaṅgānātha, Purāṁtaka, Kuṭilā, Svarṇṇajālēśvara and Kapiladhārā (vv. 61-66)[1]. Neither untimely death, nor disease, nor famine, nor want of rains is here visible (v. 67). The *tīrtha* of Kōṭīśvara cannot be adequately described where the manifestation of a phallus of Śiva takes place every six months (v. 68). It is here that Pārśvanātha will now reside and enlighten the living beings (v. 69). Having heard these words of the lord of serpents, as Lōlāka woke up in the morning and dug the earth himself, he at once saw the illustrious *Vibhu* in the proximity of the reservoir (v. 70). The place, where there had been no worship of Jina and other acts of piety had now become an abode of [Jaina worship] (v. 71). Due to Sīyaka coming there, Padmā, Kshētrapāla, Aṁbikā, Jvālinī and the serpent Dharaṇa also came out from inside the reservoir (v. 72). Owing to the advent of Pārśvanātha here, the column holy to the attendant deity Yaksha, situated on a hill (at the former residence of the god) fell in the Nāga-hrada, the pond of serpents (v. 73). The Yaksha also appeared before the chaste Lakshmaṇa in dream, saying that he would also go where his lord Pārśva was (v. 74). Vv. 75-85 describe the sanctity of the Rēvatī-*kuṁḍa* and the merits derivable from a bath therein. A poetical description of the temple as well as of the piety of Lōlāka is also given. From v. 83 we learn that Lōlāka's religious preceptor was one **Jinachandra Sūri** in accordance with whose injunctions the former brought into being this holy site. Vv. 86-87 describe the surroundings of the temple : the river Rēvatī to the east as also the *pura* (abode) of the deity ; *maṭha-sthāna* or monastery to the south ; the reservoir of water to the north ; and from north to south, an orchard adorned with multifarious plantation. All these constructions including the seven *āyatanas*, *i.e.*, temples (big and small), were caused to be made by Lōlika.

The author of the inscription was one **Guṇabhadra,** a *mahā-muni*, who belonged to the Mā[thu*]ra *Saṁgha* (v. 88). This *Saṁgha* is a sub-division of the well-known Kāshṭhā-*Saṁgha*[2].

The record was written by **Kēs(ś)ava,** the son of Chhītiga belonging to the Naigama lineage of the Kāyastha caste (v. 89).

The chief masons who constructed the temple to Pārśvanātha were *sūtradhāra* **Harasiga (Harasiṁha),** his son **Pālhaṇa** and grandson **Āhaḍa** (v. 90).

The record was engraved by **Gōvinda,** the son of Nāniga, and **Dēlhaṇa,** the son of Pālhaṇa.

(The temple to) the deity was completed on **Thursday, the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the year 1226 of the Vikrama era,** when it was Hasta *nakshatra*, Dhṛiti *yōga* and Taitila *karaṇa*, corresponding to A.D. 1170, Thursday the 5th February, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta* as also expired[3] (vv. 92-93).

The rest of the epigraph is in prose beginning with the date in numerals. It records various donations made to the temple by certain persons. Thus *Guhila-putra* Rāval **Dādhara** and *Mahattama* **Ghaṇasī(siṁ)ha** donated one *kshētra-ḍōhalī*[4] lying midway between the villages of Kāṁvā and Rēvaṇā. Gauḍa **Sōniga** and **Vāsudēva,** residents of the village Khaduṁvarā gave one *ḍōhalikā*. *Mahattama* **Liṁvaḍi** and **Pōpali** of the village Rāyatā in the Āṁtarī sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) gave one *kshētra-ḍōhalikā*. *Pārigrahī* **Ālhaṇa,** residing in the village of Vaḍauvā, donated one *kshētra-ḍōhalikā*. *Guhila-putra* Rāval **Vyāharū** and *Mahattama* **Māhava,** associated with the village of Laghu-Vījhōlī, gave one *kshētra-ḍōhalikā*.

[1] I have noticed below that some of these gods and sites can be identified.

[2] This I came to know from a learned Digambara Jain ascetic, Mahāvīrakīrti by name.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 133, n. 21.

[4] *Ḍōhalī* or *ḍōhalikā* is a local term applied to a piece of land of any size given for charitable purpose, free of rent.

An attempt may now be made towards identification of some of the **geographical places** mentioned in the latter part of the inscription. **Śrīmāla**-*pattana* (v. 30) is the well-known Bhīnmāl, the capital city of the ancient province of Gurjaratrā, situated about 50 miles west of Mt. Abu.[1] **Taḍāga**-*pattana* (v. 32) I am unable to identify. **Vyāghrēraka** (v. 33) is the same as Vavvē-(ghē)raa where Vigraharāja is represented to be, in the fourth Act of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*[2]. It is to be identified with modern Bāghēra[3] about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmer. **Nārāṇaka** (v. 36) may be identified with Narain in the Sāmbhar *nizāmat* in the State of Jaipur, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 41 miles west of Jaipur city and 43 miles north-east of Ajmer[4]. **Naravara** (v. 39) is the ancient Narapura situated in the Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer[5]. **Ajayamēru** (v. 43) is evidently the modern Ajmer founded by the Chāhamāna prince Ajayadēva or Ajayarāja between A.D. 1100 and 1125[6]. **Maṁḍalakara** (v. 44) is the modern Māṇḍalgarh in the State of Udaipur.

Viṁdhyavallī (v. 52) is the ancient Sanskrit name of Vījholī or Bījholī. It is also popularly known as Bījoliā or Bījoliyā̃ which is derivable from the Skt. form Vindhyavallikā.

Bhīma-*vana* (v. 60) seems to be the ancient name of the extensive forest round about the range of hills containing the great table-land called the Pathār. **Uttamādriśikhara** (v. 61) appears to be the ancient name of the uppermost table-land popularly called the Ūparamāla, extending from Bārolli and Bhainsaror in the south to Jahāzpur in the north. The *tīrtha* of **Varalāika** is a tank near Bījholī whose embankment is strewn over with ancient temples now in ruins. **Mahānāla** (v. 63) refers itself to Menāl vividly described by Tod[7]. The temple of **Mahākāla** (v. 63), is situated well preserved outside Bījholī itself as also that of **Svarṇṇajālēśvara** (v. 66), now called Hazārēśvara[8]. **Kapiladhārā** (v. 66) appears to be another name of Mandākinī, the holy reservoir existing at Bījholī near the Mahākāla temple. **Gaṁgābhēda** (v. 65) is evidently the Gaṅgābhēva at Bārolli mentioned by Tod.[9] The god **Nityapramōdita** (v. 65) obviously belongs to Dhōḍ in the Jahāzpur District of Mewār, where an inscription dated in V. S. 1225 has been found recording the erection of the temple by Kumārapāla, a feudatory of Pṛithvīdēva, the Chāhamāna lord of Śākambharī.[10]

Rēvatī (v. 86) is a small river flowing by the side of the Pārśvanātha temple from which the Rēvatī-*kuṁḍa* reservoir (v. 75), in front of the temple, has derived its name.

Kāṁvā (l. 29) is the modern Kāmā about two miles east of Bījholī. **Rēvaṇā** (l. 29) seems to be the ancient name of modern Randhōlapurā about four miles north-east of Bījholī. This is the same village which was donated to Pārśvanātha by prince Sōmēśvara. **Khaduṁvarā** (l. 29) appears to be the modern Khaḍīpura about 6 miles south-east of Bījholī. **Rāyatā** (l. 29) is the village of the same name in the estate of Begūn, about 11 miles south-east of Bījholī. The **Aṁtarī** sub-division (*pratigaṇaka*) as mentioned here is quite identical with Uparamvāla Antarī of which

[1] Dey, *Geogr. Dic.*, p. 192.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 202 and *ibid.*, n. 1.
[3] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 136.
[4] *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new edition), p. 370.
[5] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 272, n. 2.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 163.
[7] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1800-05 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[8] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pp. 243-49.
[9] Tod, *Rājasthān*, Vol. III, pp. 1766-68 (W. Crooke's ed.).
[10] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

the feudatory Kumārapāla is stated in the inscription of V. S. 1225 referred to above, to be the chief[1]. It is even now the name of the tract which comprises the estate of Begūn, Singoli, Kadvāsa, Ratangarh Khedī, etc. **Vaḍauvā** (l. 29) is the modern Baḍauvā about 3 miles south of Bījholī. Laghu **Vījhōlī** (l. 29) is called Chhoṭī Bījoliā at present, and is about 3 miles west of Bījholī.

Lastly it may be mentioned that this site is regarded by the Digambara Jains to be holy exclusively to their religion, but v. 71 of the present epigraph clearly indicates that it had become as such only after the manifestation of Pārśvanātha taking place in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. That the whole table-land had been a Brahmanic *tīrtha* centuries before this period, and is even now no less so, hardly needs any mention.

TEXT.[2]

1 सिद्दम्[3] ॥ ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ चिद्रूपं सहजोदितं निरवधिं[4] ज्ञानैकनिष्ठा-
प्पितं ।[5] नित्योन्मीलितमुक्तसत्परकलं स्याद्वारविस्फारितं(तम्) [।*] सुव्यक्तं पर-
माद्भुतं शिवसुखानंदास्पदं शास्व(श्व)तं ।[5] नौमि स्तौमि जपामि यामि शरणं
तज्ज्योतिरात्मो[त्थि]तं(तम्) ॥१॥[6] नास्तं गतः कुग्रहसंग्रहो न ।[5] नो तीव्र-
तेजा

2 ◡ ◡ — ◡ — [व]: । — — ◡ — नैव सुदुष्टदेहोऽपूर्व्वो रवि स्तात्स
सुदेहपो[7] वः ॥२॥[8] [स*] भूयाच्छ्रीशांतिः शुभविभवभंगीभवभृतां ।[5] विभोर्य-
स्याभाति स्फुरितनखरोचिः करयुगं(गम्) । विनम्राणामेषामखिलकृतिनां मंगल-
मयीं ।[5] स्थिरीकर्त्तुं लक्ष्मीसुपरचितरज्जुव्रजमिव ॥३॥[9] नागा(गा)स्या(श्या)सेन
येन प्रवलबलभृता पूरितः पांचजन्यः ।[5]

3 — — — — ◡ — — वरदलमलि[नी[10] पाद]पद्माग्रदेशैः । हस्तांगुष्ठेन शांगं-
(शार्ङ्गं) घ(ध)नुरतुलव(ब)लं क्रष्टमारोप्य विष्णो ।[5] रंगुल्यांदोलितोयं हल[11]भृद्व-
नतिं तस्य नेमिस्तनोमि ॥४॥[12] प्रांशुप्राकारकांता[13] त्रिदशपरिवृढव्यूह[रु]द्धावकाशां ।[5]

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[1] Ray, *Dy. His.*, Vol. II, p. 1079.

[2] Transcribed from the original rock at Bījholī.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

[4] Read *niravadhi*.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[7] The word *Vṛisha* indicates the name of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛishabhadēva, who (by breaking the euphonic combination) is to be regarded as *avṛisha*, *i.e.*, not having to ascend the second sign of the zodiac, in contrast to the Sun.

[8] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[9] Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

[10] The word *alinī* means 'a swarm of bees'. It may also mean 'female Jaina devotees'. But it here means something else which was vanquished by the toes of his feet.

[11] There is an *anusvāra* over *bhṛi*, which is redundant.

[12] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[13] Read °*prākāra-kāntām*.

वाचालां केतुकोटि[क]णदनणुमणीकिंकिणीभिः समंतात् । यस्य व्याख्यानभूमी-
मह्ह किमिदमित्याकुलाः कौतुकेन प्रेचंते प्राणभाजः
4 [स भु*][वि] विजयतां तीर्थकृत्पार्श्व(र्श्व)नाथः[1] ॥५॥[2] वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य[3] वर्द्धमान-
महोदयः । वर्द्धतां वर्द्धमानस्य[4] वर्द्धमान[मह]ोदयः ॥६॥[5] सारदां सारदां
स्तौमि सा[6]रदानविसारदां(दाम्) । भारतीं भारतीं भक्तभुक्तिमुक्तिविशारदां(दाम्)[7]
॥७॥[8] निःप्रत्यूह[9]मुपास्महे जिनपतीनन्यानपि स्वामिनः ।[10] श्रीनाभेयपुरस्सरान् पर-
मपापीयूषपाथोनिधीन् । ये ज्यो(ज्यो)तिःपरभागभाज-
5 नतया मुक्तात्मतामा[श्रि]ताः श्रीमन्मुक्तिनितंवि(बि)नीस्तनतटे हारश्रियं वि(बि)भ्रति
॥८॥[11] भव्यानां हृदयाभिरामवसतिः सद्धर्म[म][र्म*]स्थितिः कर्म्मोन्मूलनसंगतिः
सु(शु)भततिः[12] निर्व्वा(र्व्वा)णवो(बो)धोद्धृतिः [।*] जीवानामुपकारकारणरतिः श्रेयः-
श्रियां संहतिः [13]देयान्मे भवसंश्रुतिः शिव[म]तिं जैने[14] चतुर्व्विंस(श)तिः
॥९॥[11] श्रीचाहमानक्षितिराजवंशः पौर्व्वोप्यपूर्व्वो नि(न) जडावनद्धः । भिन्नो
न[15] चां-
6 [गो*] [न च] रंध्रयुक्तो नो निःफलः[16] सारयुतो नतो नो ॥१०॥[17] लावण्यनिर्म्म-
लमहोज्व(ज्ज्व)लितांगयष्टिरच्छोच्छलच्छुचिपयःपरिधानधा[त्री][। उत्तुं*]गपर्व्वत-
पयोधरभारभुग्ना [18]शाकंभ[रा]जनि जनीव ततोपि विष्णोः ॥११॥[19] विप्रः श्री-
वत्सगोत्रेभूदहिच्छ[त्र*]पुरे पुरा । सामंतोनंतसामंतः पूर्णतल्ले(ल्लो) नृपस्ततः ॥१२॥[8]
तस्माच्छ्रीजयराजविग्रहनृपौ श्रीचंद्रगोपेंद्रकौ तस्माद्दु[र्ल]भगूवकौ शशि-

[1] The word *tîrthakrit* is used as a variant for Tîrthaṅkara.

[2] Metre: *Sragdharā*.

[3] Of Varddhamāna, *i.e.*, Mahāvîra, the twenty-fourth apostle.

[4] Of the town of Varddhamāna with which is associated the birth of Mahāvîra.

[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[6] There is an *anusvāra* over *sā*, which is superfluous.

[7] The verse apparently aims at adoring the goddess of eloquence under two of her names, *viz.*, Sāradā and Bhāratî. The author appears to adore her as the latter in the form of the *vritti* called Bhāratî defined as 'भारती संस्कृतप्रायो वाग्व्यापारो नटाश्रयः ।' (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, ch. VI, v. 29).

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] Read *Nishpratyūham=*.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[12] Read *-tatir=ni°*.

[13] Read *saṁsritir=dēyān=*.

[14] Read *Jainî*.

[15] This *na* is to be construed with both *bhinnō* and *=ām[gō*]* according to the *kāk-ākshi-gōlaka* maxim.

[16] Read *nishphalaḥ*.

[17] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[18] Strictly speaking, the form should have been *Śākambharî*, but the addition of *ṭāp* for the feminine form here suggests that the author has regarded the word *Śākambhara* as belonging to *ajādi-gaṇa*.

[19] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

7 नृपो गूवाक[1]सचंदनो [।*] श्रीमद्दप्पयराजविंध्यनृपती श्रीसिंहराब्वि(ड्डि)यद्दो ।[2]
श्रीमद्दुर्लभगंदुवाक्पतिनृपाः श्रीवीर्यरामोऽनुजः ॥१३॥[3] [चामुंड]ाऽवनिपे(पो)ऽति(थ)
थ[4] राणकवरः श्रीसिंघटो दूसलस्तद्भ्राताथ ततोपि वीसलनृपः श्रीराजदेवीप्रियः
[।*] पृथ्वीराजनृपोथ तत्त[5]नुभू(भ)वो रासल्लदेवीविभुस्तत्पुत्रोजयदेव इत्यवनिपः
सोमल्लदेवीपतिः ॥१४॥[3] हत्वा[6] चचिगसिंधलाभिधयसो(शो)राजादिवीरव्रजं ।[2]

8 चिप्रं क्रूरकृतांतवक्त्रकुहरे श्रीमार्ग्गदुर्द्दां(र्द्दो)न्वितं(तम्) । श्रीमल्लो[ल्ह]णदंडनायकवरः
संग्रामरंगांगणे जीवंने(वन्ने)व नियंत्रितः करभके येन ‿ — — [चि]सात्
॥१५॥[7] अर्णोराजोस्य सूनुर्हृतहृदयहरिः सत्ववांश्चि(वाञ्छि)ष्टसोमो गांभीर्यौदार्यव्र-
(व)र्यः समभवद[चि]रालब्ध(ल्ब्ध)मध्यो न दीनः । तच्चित्रं जंन(यन्न) जाद्य(ड्य)-
स्थितिरहतमहापंकहेतुर्न मथ्या न श्रीमुक्तो न दोषाकररचितरतिर्न द्विजिह्वाधि-
सेव्यः ॥१६॥[8] यद्राज्यं

9 यद्राज्यं[9] कुशवारणं प्रतिकृतं राजांकुशेन स्वयं ।[10] येनाचैव नु[11] चित्रमेतत्पुन[12]र्मन्या-
महे तं प्रति । तच्चित्रं प्रतिभासते सुकृतिना निर्व्वाणनारायणन्यक्काराचरणेन
भंगकरणं श्रीदेवराजं प्रति[13] ॥१७॥[7] कुवलयविकासकर्त्ता विग्रहराजोजनि(नो)-
[स्तु(ति)] नो चित्रं(त्रम्) । तत्तनयस्तच्चित्रं य[न्न] जडचीणसकलंकः ॥१८॥[14]
भादानत्वं[15] चक्रे भादानपतेः[16] परस्य भादानः[17] [।*] यस्य दधत्करवालः
करालतां

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[1] The syllable *ka*, having been first left by mistake, was later on engraved above the line.

[2] This *danda* is superfluous.

[3] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[4] This is a superfluous syllable.

[5] There is a superfluous *virāma* stroke below *tta*.

[6] Better read *Dattrā* or *kshiptrā*.

[7] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[8] Metre : *Sragdharā.*

[9] These three syllables are repeated by mistake.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] The medial *u* sign here resembles the *virāma* stroke.

[12] Read *°m=ētad=apunar=*, taking *apunar* as meaning *na punar*.

[13] This is one of the ambiguous verses in the record. It may be noted that what is mentioned in its first half as not appearing strange is to be construed both with the prince and with the ocean (*arṇōrāja*); and what is mentioned in the second half, is to be taken as strange with reference to the ocean only. It would thus mean :— 'that the ocean whose director is the moon (*rāj-āṁkuśēna*), handed over (*pratikṛitaṁ*) the mad elephant (*kuśa-vāraṇaṁ*), *i.e.*, Airāvata, to Indra (*Dēvarāja* of the second half); and that the prince who was a goad to kings (*rāj-āṁkuśēna*), revenged (*pratikṛitaṁ*), the kingdom of Kuśa and Vāraṇa (*Kuśa-Vāraṇam*), is not to be wondered at. But that he (the prince), having insulted Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, brought about the ruin of Dēvarāja (meaning god of gods, *i.e.*, the same Nirvvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, the Paramāra prince Naravarman), is really strange with reference to the ocean which neither insulted Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) nor ruined Dēvarāja (Indra).'

[14] Metre : *Āryā.*

[15] Means 'the act of absorbing lustre,' with reference to *parasya*.

[16] This word is adjectival to *yasya* in the third quarter. It means 'of him who was *bhā-patiḥ* (the most illustrious) and *ādāna-patiḥ* (all acquiring).

[17] Means 'emitting forth lustre'. It qualifies *karabālaḥ*.

10 करतलाकलितः ॥१९॥[1] कृतांतपथसज्जोभूत्सज्जनोसज्जनो भुवः । वैकुंतं[2] कुंतपालो-
गा[य्यत]ो वै कुं[त]पालकः ॥२०॥[3] जावालिपुरं ज्वाला[पु]रं कृता पल्लिकापि
पल्लीव । नद्द(ड्डु)लतुल्यं रोषान्नद्दू(ड्डू)लं येन सौ(शौ)र्य्येण ॥२१॥[1] प्रतोल्यां
च वलभ्यां च येन विश्रामितं यशः । ढिल्लिकाग्रहणश्रांतमाशिकालाभलं-
भितं(तम्) ॥२२॥[3] तज्ज्येष्ठभ्रातृपुत्रोऽभूत्पृथ्वीराजः पृथूपमः । तस्मादर्ज्जितहेमांगो[4]
हेमपर्व्वतदानतः ॥२३॥[3] ग्रतिधर्म्मरतेना-

11 पि पार्श्वनाथस्वयंभुवे । दत्त[5] मोराझरीग्रामं[6] भुक्तिमुक्तिश्च[7] हेतुना ॥२४॥[8] स्वर्णादि-
दाननिवहैर्द्दशभिर्म्महद्भिस्तोलानरैर्व्व[9]गरदानचयैश्च विप्राः । येनार्चिताश्चतुरभूपति-
वस्तुपालमाक्रम्य चारुमनसिद्धिकरी गृहीतः ॥२५॥[10] सोमेश्वराल्लब्ध(ब्ध)राज्यस्ततः
सोमेस्व(श्व)रो नृपः [।*] सोमेस्व(श्व)र[11]नतो यस्माज्जनः सोमेस्व(श्व)रो[12]भवत्
॥२६॥[8] प्रतापलंकेस्व(श्व)र इत्यभिख्यां यः प्राप्तवान् प्रौढपृथुप्रतापः [।*]
यस्याभिमुख्ये वरवैरिमुख्याः केचिन्मृता[13] केचिदभिद्रुताश्च ।.२७॥[14] येन श्री-

12 पार्श्वनाथाय रेवातीरे स्वयंभुवे । सा(शा)सने[15] रेवणाग्रामं[6] दत्त[16] स्वर्गाय कांक्षया
॥२८॥[8] छ ॥ अथ कारापक[17]वंशानुक्रमः ॥ तीर्थे श्रीनेमिनाथस्य राज्ये नारा-
यणस्य च । अंभोधिमथनाद्देवव(ब)लिभिर्व्व(र्ब्व)[18]लशालिभिः ॥२९॥[8] निर्ग्गतः
प्रवरो वंशो हं(दे)वहंदैः समाश्रितः । श्रीमालपत्तने स्थाने स्थापितः शतम-
न्युना ॥३०॥[8] श्रीमालशैलप्रवरावचूलः प(पू)र्व्वोत्तरः सत्वगुरुः सुव्रत(त्त): ।
प्राग्वाटवंशोऽस्ति व(ब)भूव तस्मिन्मुक्तोपमो वैश्रवणाभिधानः[19] ॥३१॥[20] तडागपत्तने
येन कारितं

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[1] Metre: *Āryā*.

[2] Read *vaikuṁṭyam*, 'the state of lancelessness'. [3] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[4] *Hēmāṁga* here means the mountain Sumēru. That he (the prince) gave in charity gold in heaps shows that he had earned the said golden mountain itself.

[5] Read *dattō*. [6] Read *-grāmō*.

[7] Read *-muktyōś=cha*. [8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] *Tōlānarair=*, *i.e.*, 'in men's weight'. *Tōlē ā samantāt narā yēshām, taiḥ.* [Possibly the reading is °*s=tōlābharair=* meaning *tulābhārair=*.—Ed.]

[10] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[11] *Umayā sahitaḥ sō=maḥ, ēvambhūtō ya Īśvaraḥ Śivaḥ, tasmai nataḥ.*

[12] *Saḥ Um-ēśvaraḥ Umāyāḥ īśvaraḥ patiḥ arthāt Śivaḥ abhavat.*

[13] Read *=mṛitāḥ*. [14] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[15] *Śāsana*, with reference to land-grants, means in local circles 'absolute charity.'

[16] Read *dattaḥ*.

[17] *Kārāpaka* does not seem to be the proper name of any Vaiśya family as some scholars have thought (C. V. Vaidya, *His. Med. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 391). It is a wrong form from the root *kṛi* in a double causative sense which is found also in other inscriptions. It refers to him who caused the erection of the Pārśvanātha temple.

[18] The word *Va(Ba)libhiḥ* conveys the idea of the whole demon class according to the maxim '*prādhānyēna vyapadēśā bhavanti*,' for, Bali was the chief of that class.

[19] If we take *vai* as a particle of affirmation, the name of this person would be Śravaṇa.

[20] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

13 जिनमंदिरं(रम्) । [तीर्त्वा] भ्रांत्वा यस(श)स्तत्वमिकत्र स्थिरतां गतां(तम्) ॥३२॥[1]
योऽचीकरच्चंद्रस(श)रि(चि)प्रभाणि व्याघ्रेरकादौ जिनमंदिराणि । कीर्त्तिद्रुमारा-
मसमुद्भिहितोर्विभांति कंदा इव यान्यमंदाः[2] ॥३३॥[3] कल्लोलमांसलितकीर्त्तिसुदा-
(धा)समुद्रः ।[4] सद्(ड्)डिवं(वं)धुरवधूधु(ध)रणे ध[री(रे)शः[5] ।] [भू*][त]ो-
पकारकरणप्रगुणांतरात्मा श्रीचचुलस्तनयः [◡ ◡ —][6] पदेऽभूत् ॥३४॥[7]
शुभंकरस्तस्य सुतोजनिष्ट शिष्टैर्म्महिष्ठैः परिकीर्त्त्यकीर्त्तिः ॥(।) श्रीजासटोसूत[8]
तदंगजन्मा यदंगजन्मा खलु पुण्यरासि(शि)॥[9]: ॥३५॥[10] मंदिरं वर्द्ध-

14 मानस्य श्रीनाराणकसंस्थितं(तम्) । भाति यत्कारितं स्वीयपुण्यस्कंधमिवोज्व(ज्ज्व)लं-
(लम्) ॥३६॥[11] चत्वारश्चतुराचाराः पुत्राः पात्रं शुभश्रियः । अमुष्यामुष्यधर्म्माणो
व्यं(ब)भूवुर्भार्ज्ज(र्य)योर्द्वयोः ॥३७॥[11] एकस्यां द्वावजायेतां श्रीमदाम्बटपद्मटौ ।
अपरस्यां [सु][तौ जातौ*] [श्रीमल्ल]च्छटदेसलौ ॥३८॥[11] पाकाणां[12] नरवरे[13] वीर-
वेश्मकारणपाटवं(वम्) । प्रकटितं[14] स्वीयवित्तेन घा(धा)नु(तु)नेव महीतलं(लम्)
॥३९॥[11] पुत्रौ पवित्रौ गुणरत्नपात्रौ विशुद्धगात्रौ समसी(शी)लसत्वौ(त्वौ) [।*]
व(ब)भूवतुश्चच्छटकस्य जैत्रो मुनींदुरामेंद्रभिधो(धौ) प्रस(श)स्तौ(स्तौ) ॥४०॥[10]

15 [15]षट्खं(ट्खं)डागमवहसीहृदभराः[16] षड्जीवरक्षेश्वराः[17] षट्भि(ड्भि)र्देंद्रियवस्य(श्य)तापरिकराः[18]
षट्कर्मक(क्ल)मादराः[19] [।*] षट्खं(ट्खं)डावनिकीर्त्तिपालनपराः[20] ष(षा)ट्गु(ड्गु)-

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[2] The simile here is rhetorically a bit faulty inasmuch as the subject of comparison is in the neuter gender, while the standard of comparison is in the masculine.

[3] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[4] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[5] *Dhar-ēśaḥ* should be expounded as *Dharaś=ch=āsau īśaś=cha* meaning 'lord Vishṇu in his *Kūrma* incarnation when he upheld the earth.'

[6] Syllables within these brackets are wanting in the text. They have neither been engraved, nor due space has been left for them.

[7] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[8] The transitive verb *sū* 'to beget or produce' is here used intransitively.

[9] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[10] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[11] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[12] Read *Prakīrṇam* as adverbial to the verb in the third quarter and also as predicate to the subject of the fourth quarter. [Reading of these three syllables is uncertain.—Ed.]

[13] Better read *Nṛivarē* to suit the metre.

[14] Better change this verb to *prathitam* for the sake of the metre.

[15] The religious and the philosophical principles finding mention in this as well as in verse 48, decidedly belong to the Digambara Jaina school of thought.

[16] षट्खंडागम appears to refer to the *āgamas* or religious literature pertaining to the six divisions of the cosmos, called *dravyas* which are जीव, धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश, काल and पुद्गल.

[17] षड्जीवs are पृथ्वी, अप्, तेजस्, वायु, वनस्पति and त्रस of which the former five are regarded as स्थावर being possessed of one इन्द्रिय only, while the last is the name given to जीवs possessed of more than one इन्द्रिय.

[18] There are only five इन्द्रियs, *viz.*, 'स्पर्शनरसनघ्राणचक्षुःश्रोत्राणि' (Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*, Ch. II, *sū.* 19); but मनस् which is regarded as an ईषदिन्द्रिय seems to have also been included here.

[19] षट्कर्मs of a श्रावक are enumerated in the following couplet of the *Umāsvāmiśrāvakāchāra* :—

देवपूजा गुरूपास्तिः स्वाध्यायः संयमस्तपः ।
दानं चेति गृहस्थानां षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥

[20] According to the Digambara Jaina doctrine, there are six खंडs of the earth of which one is the आर्यखंड between the Ganges and the Indus, and the rest are म्लेच्छखंडs outside this region.

ख्यचिंताकरा:[1] षट्(ड्ड)ष्यंवु(बु)जभास्करा[:*][2] समभव:[3] षट्दे(ड्दे)ग्रलस्यांगजा: ॥४१॥[4] श्रेष्टी(ष्ठी)[6] दुद्दकनायक: प्रथमक: श्रीमोसलो वीगडिर्द्देवस्वर्ग इतोपि सीयकवर: श्रीराह्नको नामत: । एते तु क्रमतो जिनक्रमयुगांभोजैकभृंगोपमा मान्या राजग्रतेर्व्वंदान्यमतयो:[6] राजंति जंवू(बू)त्सवा:[7] ॥४२॥[4] हर्म्यं श्रीवर्द्धमानस्याजयमेरोर्व्विभूषणं(णम्) [।*] कारितं यैर्म्महाभागैर्व्वि-

16 मानमिव नाकिनां(नाम्) ॥४३॥[8] तेषामंत: श्रिय: पात्रं [सीय]क: श्रेष्टि(ष्ठि)भूषणं(णम्) । मंडलकरमहादुर्ग्गं भूषयामास भूतिना[9] ॥४४॥[8] यो न्यायांकुरसेचनैकजलद: कीर्त्ति(र्त्ते)र्न्निधानं परं ।[10] सौजन्यांवु(बु)जिनीविकासनरवि: पापाद्रिभेदे पवि: [।*] कारुण्यामृतवारिधेर्व्विलसने राकाश[सं(शां)]कौ[प]मी नित्यं साधुजनोपकारकरणव्यापारव(ब)द्धादर: ॥४५॥[4] येनाकारि जितारिर्नेमिभवनं देवाद्रिशृंगोद्दरं चंचत्कांचनचारुदंडकलसश्रेणिप्रभाभास्वरं(रम्) । खेलत्खेचरसुंदरीश्रमभरं भंजद्दुजोद्दोजनैर्हेत्तेष्टापदशैलसं(शृं)गजिनश्रीद्दामसद्मश्रियं(यम्) ॥४६॥[4] श्रीसीयकस्य भार्य्ये द्वे

17 सौ[11] नागश्रीमामटाभिधे(धे) । आद्यायास्तु त्र(त्र)य: पुत्रा द्वितीयाया: सुतद्वयं(यम्) ॥४७॥[8] पंचाचारपरायणात्ममतय:[12] ।[10] पंचांगमंत्रोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला:[13] ।[10] पंचज्ञानविचारणासुचतुरा:[14] ।[10] पंचेंद्रियार्थोज्जिया:[15] । श्रीमत्पंचगुरुप्रणाममनस:[16] पंचाणुशुद्धव्रता.[17] पंचैते

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[1] I do not know the exact conception of षाड्गुण्य. It is, perhaps identical with the sixfold political expedients, *viz.*, संधि, विग्रह, यान, आसन, द्वैधीभाव and आश्रय.

[2] षड्दृष्टि here seems to have been used for षड्दर्शन, *viz.*, लौकायतिक, सौगत, सांख्य, योग, प्राभाकर and जैमिनीय.

[3] Read *samabhavan*.

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] *Krama* here means 'foot'.

[6] Read *-matayō*.

[7] Meaning 'joy of Jambū(-dvīpa)'.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] The correct form of this word in the sense of 'splendour' should be *bhūtyā*.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] This syllable seems to be superfluous.

[12] The five आचारs are दर्शनाचार, ज्ञानाचार, वीर्याचार, चारित्राचार and तपश्चाचार as given in the following *gāthā* :—

दंसणणाणपहाणे वीरियचारित्तवरतवायारे ।
अप्पं परं च जुंजइ सो आयरिओ मुणी झेओ ॥

(Nēmichandra's *Dravya-saṁgraha*, ch. III, *gā*. 52).

[13] पंचांगमंत्र appears to refer to *mantras* classified under five heads, *viz.*, आह्वान, स्थापन, संनिधिकरण, पूजन and विसर्जन, for the worship of the god.

[14] पंचज्ञानs are embodied in the *sūtra* 'मतिश्रुतावधिमन:पर्ययकेवलानि ज्ञानम् ।' (Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. I, *sū*. 9).

[15] The five इन्द्रियार्थs are embodied in the *sūtra* 'स्पर्शरसगंधवर्णशब्दास्तदर्था. ।' (Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. II, *sū*. 20).

[16] The five गुरुs ar° अर्हत्, सिद्ध, आचार्य, उपाध्याय and सर्वसाधु as embodied in the well-known sacred Jaina *mantra*,

णमो अरहंताणं णमो सिद्धाणं णमो आइरीयाणं ।
णमो उवज्झायाणं णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ॥

[17] These five व्रतs are embodied in the following *sūtra* :—

'हिंसाऽनृतस्तेयाब्रह्मपरिग्रहेभ्यो विरतिर्व्रतम् ।'

(Umāsvāmī's *Tattvārthasūtra*, ch. VII, *sū*. 1).

तनया गृह[ीतवि]नयाः श्रीसीयकश्रेष्ठिनः ॥४८॥[1] आद्य[:*] श्रीनागदेवोऽभूल्लो-
लाकश्चोज्व(ज्ज्व)लस्तथा । महीधरो देवधरो द्वावेतावन्यमातृजौ ॥४९॥[2] उज्व-
(ज्ज्व)लस्यांगजन्मानौ श्रीम[द्]म्बभलक्ष्मणौ । अभूतां भुवनोद्भासियसो(शो)दुर्लभ-
लक्ष्मणौ ॥५०॥[2] गांभीर्यं जलधेः स्थिरत्वमचलात्तेज-
18 स्विना(नां) भास्वतः ।[3] सौम्यं चंद्रमसः सु(शु)चित्वममरस्रो(स्रो)तस्विनीतः परं(रम्)
[।*] एकैकं परिगृह्य विस्व(श्व)विदि[तो] यो वेधसा सादरं मन्ये वो(बो)ज-
कर्त्तं कृतः[4] सुकृतिना सः[5] लोल्लकश्रेष्टि(ष्ठि)नः ॥५१॥[1] अथागमन्मं[दिरमे]ष
कीर्त्तेः श्रीविं[ध्यव]ल्लीं धनधान्यव(व)ल्लीं(ल्लीम्) । तत्रालु[लोचे ह्यभि*][तल्प-
सुप्तः] कंचिन्नरेसं(शं) पुरतः स्थितं सः ॥५२॥[6] उवाच कस्त्वं किमिहाभ्युपेतः
कुतः स तं प्राह फणीस्व(श्व)रोहं(हम्) । पातालमूलात्तव देशनाय [श्री*]-
पार्श्वनाथः स्वयमेष्यतीह ॥५३॥[6] प्रातस्तेन समुत्थाय न कं(किं)चन विवेचितं-
(तम्) । स्वप्नस्यांतर्म्मनोभावा यतो वातादिदूषिताः ॥५४॥[2] लोला-
19 क[स्य] प्रियास्तिस्रो(स्रो) व(ब)भूवुर्म्मनसः प्रियाः ॥(।) ललिता कमलश्रीश्च लक्ष्मी-
र्लक्ष्मीसनाभयः ॥५५॥[2] ततः स भर्त्ता ललितां व(ब)भाषे गत्वा प्रियां तस्य
निसि(शि) प्रसुप्तां(प्ताम्) [।*] शृणुष्व भद्रे धरणोहमेद्य श्री[पार्श्वनाथं*] [खलु
द]र्शयामि ॥५६॥[6] तया स चोक्तो [म] ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ य-
[त्व(त्त्वं) न्न(न) हि] सत्यमे'तत्[8] । श्रीपार्श्वनाथस्य समुद्धृतिं स प्रासादमर्चां
च करिष्यतीह ॥५७॥[6] गत्वा पुनर्लोलिकमेवमूचे भो भक्तश्रद्धानुगतातिरक्त ।[9]
देवे धने धर्म्मविधौ जिनेष्टौ श्रीरेवतीतीरमिहाप पार्श्वः ॥५८॥[10] समुद्धरैनं
कुर(रु) धर्म्मकार्यं त्वं कारय श्रीजिनचै-
20 त्यगेहं । येनाप्नुसि श्रीकुलकीर्त्तिपुत्रपौत्रोरुसंतानसुखादिवृद्धिं(द्धिम्) ॥५९॥[6] त[दे]-
[तद्दो*]माख्यं व(व)नमिह निवासी जिनपतेस्त एते ग्रावाणाः(णः) शठकमठ[11]मुक्ता
गगनतः । सधा(दा)रा[मः] [शश्वत्स*]दुपचयतः कुंडसरित(तो)स्तदत्रैतत् स्थानं
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ [नि]गमं प्राप परमं(मम्) ॥६०॥[12] अत्रास्त्युत्तमसुत्तमादि(द्रि)सिष(शिख)रं

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[3] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[4] Something like *saṁgrahaḥ* has to be understood here as object to *kritaḥ*. [The correct reading is *Lōllakaḥ śrēshṭi(shṭhi)naḥ* in which case *Lōllakaḥ* is the object of *kritaḥ*.—Ed.]
[5] *Visarga* is here ungrammatical. It seems to have been retained for the sake of the metre. Better read *sukritin=āsau*.
[6] Metre: *Upajāti*.
[7] *Satyaṁ* here seems to have been used in the sense of *uchitaṁ*, 'right or proper'.
[8] The *virāma* sign here resembles that of medial *ē*.
[9] This mark of punctuation is joined to the top line of the previous syllable.
[10] Metre: *Indravajrā*.
[11] Kamaṭha, also called Kamaṭha-*purusha*, is a mythological figure in Jaina religion who had disturbed the penance of Pārśvanātha by hurling down blocks of stone from the sky.
[12] Metre: *Śikhariṇī*.

साडुं(धि)ष्ठमंचोच्छ्रितं ।[1] तीर्थं श्रीवरलाइकाच परमं देवोतिमुक्ताभिधः । सत्यश्चात्र घटेस्व(श्व)रः सुरनतो देवः कुमारेस्व(श्व)रः सौभाग्येस्व(श्व)रदचिणेस्व(श्व)रसुरौ मार्क्कंडरिच्छेस्व(श्व)रौ ॥६१॥[2] सल्लींवरेस्व(श्व)रो देवो ब्रह्ममह्येस्व(श्व)रावपि । कुटि-

21 लेशः कर्क्करेशो यत्रास्ति कपिलेस्व(श्व)रः ॥६२॥[3] महानालमहाका[लभ]रथेस्व(श्व)रमंत्रकाः । श्रीचिपुष्करतां प्राप्ता[: संति] चिभुवनार्च्चिताः ॥६३॥[3] क(कौ)र्त्तिनाथं(थ)च(श्च) [कें][दारः*] .. .. मिस्वामिनः [।*] संगमेसः(मेशः) पुटेस(श)श्च मुखेस्व(श्व)र[वटे]स्व(श्व)राः ।[।६४॥*][3] नित्यप्रमोदितो देवो सिद्धेस्व(श्व)रगया[4](ये)सु(श्व)राः [।*] गंगाभेद[श्च*] सोमी(मे)शः[5] गङ्ग(ङ्गा)नाथत्रि[6]पुरांतकाः ॥६४(६५)॥[3] संस्नाचो[7] कोटिलिंगानां यत्रास्ति कुटिला ना(न)दी । स्वर्णजालेस्व(श्व)रो देवः समं कपिलधारया:[8] ॥६५(६६)॥[3] नाल्पमृत्युर्न्न वा रोगा न दु[9]र्भिक्षमवर्षणं(णम्) । यत्र देवप्रभाविन[10] कलि-

22 पंकप्रधर्षणं(णम्) ॥६६(६७)॥[3] षण्मासे जायते यत्र शिवलिंगं स्वयंभुवं(वम्) । तत्र कोटीस्व(श्व)रे तीर्थे का श्लाघा क्रियते मया ॥६७(६८)॥[3] इत्येवं ज ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —, — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ —: कृत्वावतारक्रियां(याम्) । कर्त्ता पार्श्वजिनेस्व(श्व)रोत्र कृपया सोद्यात्र वासः पतिः[11] शक्रेर्व्वै(र्व्वै)क्रियिक[:*] त्रियस्त्रिभुवनप्राणिप्रबोधं प्रभुः ॥६८(६९)॥[2] इत्याकर्ण्य वचो विभाव्य मनसा तस्योरगस्वामिनः स प्रातः प्रतिबु(बु)ध्य पार्श्व(र्श्व)मभितः चोणीं विदार्य चणात् । तावत्तत्र विभुं ददर्श सहसा निःप्राकृताकारिणं[12] कुंडाभ्यर्णत एव धाम दधतं स्वायंभुवं श्रीत्रितं(तम्) ॥६९(७०)॥[2]

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[1] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[3] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[4] First *gā* was engraved which was afterwards made *yā*.

[5] Either omit *visarga* and read *Somī(mē)śa-Gaṅgānātha-*, or read *Somī(mē)śō.*

[6] Omit *Tri* for the sake of the metre.

[7] This verbal noun is here used for its causative form *saṁsnāpayitṛī.*

[8] Read *°dhārayā.*

[9] The syllable *du* has a superfluous medial *ē* stroke.

[10] Read *-prabhāvēṇa.*

[11] Read *patiḥ.*

[12] Read *nishprākṛit-ākāriṇam.*

29 [द्वि]तीयायां तिथौ वारे गुरु(रौ) स्ता(ता)रे च हस्तके । धृतिनामनि योगे च करणे तैतिले तथा ॥९[२](८३)॥[1] [सं]वत् १२२६ फाल्गुन वदि ३ [।*] कांवारिवणाग्रामयोरंतराले गुहिलपुं(पु)त्रराо[2]दाधरमहं[3]घणसी(सिं)हाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) क्षेत्रडोहली १ [।*] खदुंवगग्रामवास्तव्यगौडसोनिगवासुदेवाभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) डोहलिका १ [।*] क्षांतरोप्रतिगणके रायताग्रामीयमहं(ह)त्तमल्लींवडिप्रोपलिभ्यां दत्त(त्ता) क्षे[4]त्र-डोहलिका १ [।*] वडीवाग्रामवास्तव्यपारिग्रही[5] ग्राल्हणेन दत्त(त्ता) क्षेत्रडोहलिका १ [।*] लघुवीभ्रोलीग्रामसं[6]गुहिलपुत्रराо[2]व्याहरूमहं(ह)त्तममाहवा-

30 [भ्यां द]त्त(त्ता) क्षे[त्र]डोहलिका १ [।*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुदा(धा) भुक्ता राजभिर्भरताद-य(दिभिः) । यस्य यस्य [य]दा भूमी तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[7] ॥छ॥

No. 10.—A NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF VALLALA : A.D. 911-2.

BY THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.[8]

A record[9] dated in the 6th year of a Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman at Puḷḷamaṅgai in the Tanjore District reads as follows :—

Svasti Śrī [|*] Kō-**pParakēsariparma[r*]kku yāṇḍu āṟāvadu** Kiḻār-kūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Tiruvālanduṟai-Mahādēva[r*]kku **Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāyar** śiṟukālai-sandikku iru-nāḻi ariśiyālum arai-ppiḍi neyy-amirdālum niśadamum tiruvamidu śēvadaṟku vilaikku viṟṟu-kkuḍutta nilam..............

and it registers a gift of land by Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya to the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai-Mahādēva at Puḷḷamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Kiḻār-kūṟṟam, in the 6th year of king Parakēsarivarman. The record can palæographically be attributed to the 10th century A. D., and it must therefore belong either to Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-53) or to Uttama-Chōḷa (A. D. 970-986), the only two Parakēsarins who ruled for at least 6 years in this period.

Now from the Sholinghur record[10] dated in the 9th year of the Chōḷa king, specified only by the title of Parakēsarivarman and identified with Parāntaka I, it is learnt that the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivīpati II was given the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja', while the Udayēndiram Plates[11] of the 15th year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I) state that this chieftain was

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[2] *Rā°* probably stands for Rāuta or Rāval.

[3] *Mahaṁ* stands for महत्तम· modern Mēhtā.

[4] The letter *kshē* is misshaped.

[5] *Pārigrahī* seems to be an official title of a revenue collector.

[6] *Saṁ* probably stands for *saṁgata* or *saṁbaddha* 'associated or connected with'.

[7] There are three indistinct signs after this pair of *daṇḍas*.

[8] [I have to record here with deep regret that Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar breathed his last without seeing this article finally printed. By his death we have lost a sound scholar of South-Indian History.—Ed.]

[9] No. 559 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

[10] *Ante*, Vol. IV, pp. 221-25. It may be noted that the king in this record is also specified by the title of Kō-pParakēsarivarman only, without the epithet of 'Madiraikoṇḍa'.

[11] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 76.

called 'Śembiyan-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya'. As the latter title occurs also in this record of the 6th year of a Parakēsarivarman, it is reasonable to assume that this king is identical with Parāntaka I[1], though the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa' which he had assumed from the 3rd year onwards is lacking.[2] The record cannot be attributed to the other Parakēsarin, Uttama-Chōḷa, for the reason that Piritipatiyār (Pṛithivīpati II), son of Māṟamaraiyar (Māṟasiṁha), who figures in an epigraph[3] of the 24th year of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I), corresponding to A. D. 895, cannot possibly have been living so late as the 6th year of Uttama-Chōḷa, corresponding to A. D. 975. It may therefore be inferred that the title of **'Śembiyaṉ-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya'** together with the chiefship over the Bāṇa territory, had been **conferred on Pṛithivīpati II,** before the 6th year of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, corresponding to **A. D. 912-13.**

Parāntaka I had assumed the title of 'Madiraikoṇḍa', *i.e.*, 'he who took Madura' from the 3rd year[4] of his reign, and so his first southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya king of Madura must have taken place in about A. D. 909-10.[5] As Pṛithivīpati had been granted the title of 'Bāṇādhirāja' before A. D. 912-13, as noted above, the northern campaign in which this Gaṅga feudatory had helped his suzerain against a Bāṇa chieftain, success in which had evidently earned for him both the Bāṇa title and the Bāṇa territory, must have occurred between A. D. 910 and 912-13, *i.e.*, in about A. D. 911-12. As the Sholinghur record particularly mentions that Pṛithivīpati had won distinction in a battle called **Vallāḷa** and thus vindicated 'his fitness for the possession of a particle of the sun'[6], presumably his position as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king of the Solar race, it is possible that this battle was fought in this Bāṇa campaign only, in about **A. D. 911-12.**

The Udayēndiram Plates state that before his 15th year Parāntaka had defeated two Bāṇa chieftains and a Vaidumba chief[7]. It is not definitely stated who they were, and whether the two Bāṇas had been worsted in a single campaign or in two separate engagements. Three inscriptions of Māvali-Bāṇarāja which are attributable to Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru are dated in Śaka 820, 827 and 832 (A. D. 898 to 910), without mentioning the names of any overlords[8]. It is evident from this that the Bāṇa chiefs who had been feudatories of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī had declared their semi-independence, after the extinction of that dynasty by the Chōḷa king Āditya I[9]. In the absence of other similarly dated records of Bāṇa chiefs soon after A. D. 909-10, in this region, it may be inferred that they had met with reverses at the hands of the Chōḷa conqueror Parāntaka, who allying himself with the Gaṅga chieftain Pṛithivīpati II on his north-western frontier had probably defeated them in the battle of Vallāḷa in A. D. 911-12.

[1] It may be noticed that a record of Parāntaka, 11th year, engraved in the same temple (No. 558 of 1921) closely resembles the present inscription in point of palæography.

[2] Several inscriptions attributable to Parāntaka I simply call him a Parakēsarivarman without the distinguishing titles—*e.g.*, No. 376 of 1917, 443 of 1907, etc. So the absence of the title is no bar against the identification of the Parakēsarivarman of No. 559 of 1921 above with Parāntaka I.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 88.

[4] No. 157 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928, etc.

[5] The date of accession of Parāntaka I fell between January and July, A. D. 907.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224, V-8. The Chōḷas belonged to the solar race, and as Pṛithivīpati also assumed the title of Vīra-Chōḷa, the poet seems to suggest that he 'acquired a spark of the Sun' (*ibid.*, p. 225, f. n. 5).

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 76.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-240 and No. 168 of 1921.

[9] There is a record of a Bāṇarāja dated in Śaka 810, which may belong to Vijayāditya or his father Vikramāditya Bāṇavidyādhara (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 44). This date which is equivalent to A. D. 888 gives an indication as to when the Pallava power was destroyed and Āditya I overran Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

The two Bāṇa opponents may have been Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru, whose dated records come up to A. D. 909-10 and who probably lost his life in this battle, and his son Vikramāditya who figures as the heir-apparent in the Guḍimallam Plates[1].

One other point of historical interest may be considered in this connection. The Kanyākumari inscription[2] of the 7th year of the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndradēva (A. D. 1069) states that Parāntaka had earned the title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' by his victory over the unconquered Kṛishṇarāja and narrates this event after his conquest of Madura. In verse 9 of the Sholinghur record[3] noted above, which contains the *captatio benevolentiæ*, Parāntaka is mentioned with this title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' and from the Tamiḷ verse at the end of that inscription it is evident that his Gaṅga feudatory Pṛithivīpati had also assumed the same title of his overlord. So if the Kanyākumari record's statement can be relied on, **Parāntaka** who had assumed the title of 'Vīra-Chōḷa' before A. D. 916, must also have **defeated a Kṛishṇarāja** before that date.

Who was the powerful Kṛishṇarāja who lived in this period? The only king whom Parāntaka could have met in battle on his north-western frontier at this time was the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II who reigned from about A. D. 879 to 912; and the political situation in this period was such as to render plausible the Chōḷa and the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings ranging themselves on opposite sides[4]. We may therefore have to suppose that **Kṛishṇa II**[5] had come to the help of the Bāṇas, as against the Chōḷa Parāntaka I and the Gaṅga Pṛithivīpati II, and had probably suffered defeat in the battle of Vallāḷa noted above. If specific references to this event are absent in records of Kṛishṇa II, it is only to be expected; for the king would not have mentioned his own reverses in his inscriptions, and further A. D. 912 fell almost in the end of his reign. It is, however, inexplicable why the other Chōḷa documents, such as the Anbil, Leiden and Tiruvālangāḍu copper-plate records are silent in regard to this achievement of Parāntaka I, while it is only the later Kanyākumari inscription that has made particular mention of it. This point has to be elucidated only by future discoveries.

Vallāḷa, the scene of the fight, may perhaps be identified with Tiruvallam in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District, which was an important place in the old Bāṇa territory, and which an invading army was likely to attack first. It was called Tikkāli-Vallam in the early times, and it is possible that the name of 'Valla' was transformed into 'Vallāḷa' by the encomiast of the Sholinghur record, to suit the metrical exigencies of the Sanskrit verse in which he has introduced this village-name.

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.

[2] *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 58.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 224. The same verse occurs also in the Udayēndiram Plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 385) with the word *Ēkavīraḥ* substituted for *Vīra-Chōḷaḥ*. Dr. Hultzsch has wrongly identified the Vīra-Chōḷa of this verse with Pṛithivīpati, whereas it refers to the Chōḷa king Parāntaka only.

[4] In this connection, the possibility of attributing a few records from the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District to Kṛishṇa II, requires further investigation. (*Epig. Rept.* for 1933-34, Part II, para. 8.) The *Uttarapurāṇa's* reference to Kṛishṇa's elephants having gone as far as Kumari may, however, be only conventional praise. (Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas* and *their Times*, p. 97, f. n. 27.)

[5] It is possible that Āditya I had married the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and had a son called Kannaradēva by her; and when Parāntaka succeeded to the Chōḷa throne, Kṛishṇa II may have felt some grudge against the Chōḷa king, resulting in his own joining the Bāṇa side.

No. 11.—TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA ; G. E. 116.

BY M. B. GARDE, B.A., DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, GWALIOR STATE.

This inscription was discovered by me in February 1919, in the course of an exploration tour, at **Tumain**, a large village in the Guna District of Gwalior State. It was mentioned in my *Annual Administration Report* for Vikrama Saṁvat 1975 (A. D. 1918-19) and a short note was published in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15. It is now edited with full text, translation and facsimile.

The stone on which it is inscribed was found stuck up in a wall of a small dilapidated mosque at Tumain. It is now preserved in the Archæological Museum at Gwalior. Unfortunately the left (proper right) part (probably more than one half) of the stone is broken off and missing, and consequently the first half of all the lines, lost. The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 24" broad by 7" high. The surviving part of the inscription contains only six lines of writing, but the missing part had a portion of one more line. The epigraph is written in Gupta **characters** of the Southern variety, the average size of letters being ⅝". The recovered portion of the record is well preserved and the text can be read with certainty with the exception of a few letters. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct. It is noteworthy that the present tense is used in the sense of the historic past in two places: *vandyatē* and *jayati* in line 1. There are a few mistakes of copying or engraving, *e.g.*, *kamalaṁ mattyaṁ* for *kamalam=achchhaṁ*, *vandyĕtē* for *vandyatē*, and *saṅhaiḥ* for *saṅghaiḥ* in line 1, *prithivyām* for *pṛithivyām* and *virājāmānē* for *virājamānē* in line 4, *Saṅhadēva* for *Saṅghadēva* in line 5, and *śriṅga* for *śṛiṅga* in line 6.

The sign of punctuation at the end of the quarters and halves of verses, or at the end of complete verses, is expressed either by a single horizontal stroke as in lines 1 and 4, or by two upright strokes as in lines 3, 4 and 6. But where the verses or their halves end in a final *m* or in a *visarga*, the sign of punctuation is not expressed at all. The final *m* at the end of verses, their halves or quarters is never combined with the following consonant but is expressed, as is usual at this period, by reducing the size of the letter and placing a horizontal stroke over it (*e.g.* lines 1, 2 and 4).

As regards **orthography**, it is enough to note that a consonant is often doubled after *r*, *e.g.* *kīrttir=bhuj-ārjjitāṁ* in line 3; *t* is doubled before *r* in *lōka-ttray-āntē* in line 1; the sign of *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in *tataẖ=kanīyān* in line 5.

As remarked above, this is a fragmentary inscription, having lost the first part of each line. The recovered text is wholly in verse. Line 1 gives us a portion of a verse in *Mālinī* metre and the first line of the following verse, a *Sragdharā*. Line 2 contains a complete *Upajāti*. Line 3 consists of the latter half of a *Vasantatilakā* followed by the first half of an *Upēndravajrā*. Line 4 has preserved an almost complete verse and the first quarter of another, both in *Upajāti* metre. In line 5 we have the last quarter of an *Indravajrā* or perhaps *Upajāti* verse followed by a complete *Upēndravajrā*. Parts of two verses in *Upēndravajrā* metre have survived in line 6. The existing portion of the epigraph thus comprises 11 verses, 3 of which have been completely recovered while 8, partially. From the calculation of the missing letters of the verses, and of the average space covered by each letter it would appear that the whole composition consisted of nearly sixteen verses.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of a god (whose name is lost) by five brothers residing at **Tumbavana**. The names of the brothers in the order of seniority were Haridēva, Śrīdēva, Dhanyadēva, Bhadradēva and Saṅghadēva. **The date** si

recorded in words as **one hundred and sixteenth year** of the kings (of the Gupta dynasty), which is equivalent to A.D. 435. No season, month or day is specified. In the genealogical portion, the first existing verse seems to allude to Samudragupta. The next verse eulogises his (son and) successor **Chandragupta** as one who conquered the earth extending as far as the oceans. In line 2 **Kumāragupta** is described as Chandragupta's son, who protected the whole earth as his lawful wife. Line 3 follows with the name of **Ghaṭōtkachagupta** who is compared to the moon and is praised as having attained the fame of his ancestors.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kumāragupta** who is described as shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth as the sun in winter, in the year 116 of the (Gupta) kings. Thus Chandragupta and Kumāragupta of our inscription are the same as Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

The main **historical importance** of the inscription lies in the information it contains about **Ghaṭōtkachagupta.** That he was a member of the Imperial Gupta family is shown by the manner in which he is referred to in this inscription.[1] His mention immediately after Kumāragupta who was occupying the imperial throne at the time of the inscription is perhaps to be explained by the hypothesis that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was then holding the office of the governor of the province of Airikiṇa (Eran) which included Tumbavana (Tumain), the provenance of the inscription. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumāragupta (the ruling Emperor) and Ghaṭōtkachagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a son or possibly a younger brother of Kumāragupta I.

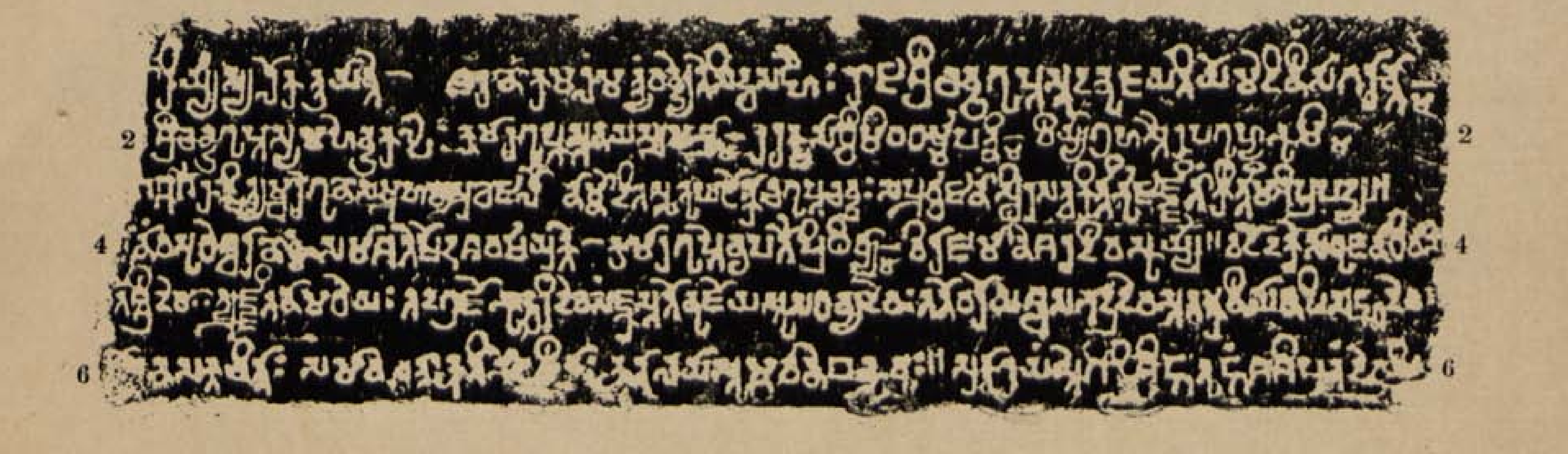
So far, the name of Ghaṭōtkachagupta was known from two documents: (1) a clay seal[2] found at Basāṛh bearing the inscription *Śrī Ghaṭōtkachaguptasya*, and (2) a coin[3] in the St. Petersburg collection which according to Mr. Allan bears on the obverse traces of a marginal legend ending in *Guptaḥ* and beneath the king's arm *Ghaṭō* with a crescent above, and on the reverse a legend which seems to read *Kramādityaḥ*.

The late Dr. Bloch[2] was inclined to identify Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh seal with *Mahārāja* Ghaṭōtkacha, the father and predecessor of Chandragupta I and this view was accepted by the late Dr. V. A. Smith.[4] But Mr. Allan[5] pointed out the difficulties in the way of this identification and surmised that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was probably a member of the Imperial Gupta family, who held some office at the court of the *Yuvarāja* at Vaiśālī (Basāṛh) during the reign of Chandragupta II. The Ghaṭō[tkachagupta] of the coin in the St. Petersburg collection is believed by Mr. Allan to be still another Ghaṭōtkachagupta on the ground that the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the 5th century, and he says that it therefore cannot be referred either to Ghaṭōtkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, or to Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh[6] seal. Mr. Allan's view is corroborated by our inscription. There is little doubt that the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of our inscription who, in G. E. 116, was probably the governor of Airikiṇa, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Basāṛh seal.

Two **place names** occur in this inscription. These are **Vaṭōdaka** in line 4 and **Tumbavana** in line 6. Tumbavana which is mentioned in six of the votive inscriptions[7] on

[1] See line 3 of the text.
[2] *A.R., A.S.I.*, for 1903-04, pp. 102 and 107.
[3] Allan's *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties, etc.*, Introduction, p. liv, p. 149 and plate XXIV. 3.
[4] *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 153 and *Early History of India* (1914 ed., p. 280, Note 1).
[5] Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii and liv.
[6] Allan's *Catalogue*, Introduction, p. liv.
[7] Nos. 16, 17a, 18, 20, 21, and **346** in *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 302, and 335. Also above, Vol. X, Appendix, Lüders' *List*, Nos. 450, 201, 202, 449, and 520.

TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA AND GHATOTKACHAGUPTA; G. E. 116.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 2017 E'40—290.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

the balustrade of the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchī and also in *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (*XIV*, *15*) of Varāhamihira, is no doubt to be identified with Tumain where our inscription was discovered. Tumain is an ancient site and some of its monumental and sculptural antiquities go back to the period to which our inscription belongs. It is six miles to the south of Tukneri Station on the Bina-Kotah branch line of the G. I. P. Railway, and about fifty miles to the north-west of Eran (ancient Airikiṇa).

Vaṭōdaka[1] is very probably modern Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa District of Gwalior State, about 10 miles to the south of Eran, and which is an old place having in its neighbourhood monumental relics of the late Gupta and a small rock inscription[2] of the early Gupta period.

TEXT.

1 [त्रि]ध्वैस्य लोकत्त्रयान्ते । चरणकमलं(ल)मर्त्त्यं(र्च्चं) वन्धे(न्द्य)ते सिद्धसङ्घैः(ङ्घैः) [।।*]
राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनुजयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्

2 -- श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स[मग्राम्] [।*] ररक्ष साध्वीमिव
धर्म्मपत्नीम् वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् [।।*]

3 [–⏑] गौरः चित्यम्बरे गुणसमूहमयूखजालो नाम्नोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः
[।।*] स पूर्व्वजानां स्थिरसत्वकीर्त्तिर्भुजार्ज्जितां कीर्त्तिमभिप्रपद्य ।।(।)

4 [गुप्तान्वया*[3]]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्] समाशते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते । कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रि(पृ)-
थिव्याम् विराजा(ज)माने शरदीव सूर्य्ये ।। वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 तम्श्रीदेव इत्यर्ज्जितनामधेयः [।।*] तदग्रजोभूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञस्ततोनुजो यस्तु स धन्य-
देवः [।*] ततोवरो यश्च स भद्रदेवस्तत⌒कनीयानपि सङ्घ(ङ्घ)देव[:।।*]

6 — नसक्तचित्ताः समान[वृ]त्ताकृति[भावधीराः कृता[3]]लया[स्तु]म्बवने ब[भू]वुः ।। प्रका-
रयंस्ते गिरि[श्र](शृ)ङ्गतुङ्गं शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[केतनं[3]–।]

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Whose lotus-like beautiful foot was adored by multitudes of Siddhas (sages) throughout the three worlds. After him king *Śrī* **Chandragupta** conquered the earth as far as the oceans.

L. 2. *Śrī* Chandragupta's son **Kumāragupta** who resembled the great Indra, embraced and protected the whole earth like a virtuous wife, with his mighty hands.

L. 3. The moon bearing the name **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**, fair ...... and having a network of rays (*in the form*) of a multitude of virtues rose in the sky (*in the form*) of the earth. He whose goodness and fame were steady, having attained the glory won by his ancestors with (*the prowess of their own*) arms.

L. 4. In the year one hundred and sixteen of the lords of the earth (*in the Gupta dynasty*) when king **Kumāragupta** was shining (*i.e.* ruling) over the earth like the sun in the winter. **At Vaṭōdaka** which was the abode of good people,

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[1] Compare Agodaka (Agrōdaka) on coins=Agroha ; Prithūdaka=Pooha.

[2] This inscription is engraved on a tablet near a panel of sculptures representing the *Sapta Mātṛikās*, both carved in rock on a hill. It was dated but the portion giving the year and month, has peeled off, leaving behind only *śukla-divasē trayōdaśyāṁ*. It mentions *Vishayēśvara Mahārāja* Javatsēna. The record is badly damaged and is unpublished so far.

[3] The portion within square brackets is conjecturally restored.

L. 5. (*there lived a person*) who bore the distinguished appellation Śrīdēva.[1] His elder brother was Haridēva by name. The brother born after him was Dhanyadēva. His younger brother was Bhadradēva and next (younger) to him was Saṅghadēva.

L. 6. Of minds attached to,........of similar manners, of noble appearance and disposition, (*they had*) their home at **Tumbavana** (*where*) they built a (*temple*) of god (..........), shining like the moon and lofty like a mountain peak.

No. 12.—TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNALA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The two *yūpa* inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni at **Barnāla** in the Jaipur State with the assistance of Thakur Sheonath Singhji of Kānota. Barnāla is a small village, belonging to the Thakur Sahib of Barnāla, about eight miles from the Lalsote-Gangapur fair-weather road. The two stone *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars, on which these inscriptions have been inscribed, were discovered in a large tank, close to the village. Each of the *yūpas* had been broken into two pieces at a height of about 6 and 6½ feet respectively from the bottom. The Government Epigraphist for India kindly sent to me ink-impressions of these records with a request to edit them for the *Epigraphia Indica*; I am doing so accordingly.

The late Rai Bahadur Sahni has noticed these inscriptions in his report on *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar* during Samvat years 1993 and 1994 (1936-37 and 1937-38 A. D.), pp. 3 ff. Therein he gives the following description of the *yūpas*: "The girdle or *pāśa* which is well executed round the two pillars at Mathura is absent in the Barnāla pillars as well as in those from Baḍvā. The projecting *chashāla* is square in one of the Barnāla *yūpas* and octagonal in the other. Like the Mathura pillars those under notice are square at the base but only up to a height of 3′ 6″ and 4′ 5″ respectively. The wreath is not represented. *Yūpa* No. 1 at Barnāla (Pl. XVII, *a*), which is 21′ 2½″ in height including the lower square portion is, as far as I am aware, the highest *yūpa* so far known to us." As to their present whereabouts, he says: "Both these *yūpa* pillars have been removed from Barnāla to the Hawa Mahal in the city of Jaipur, where portable antiquities unearthed during the excavations of last three seasons have been displayed for the benefit of the public."

In my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita Year 295', I have discussed in detail the general problems connected with the nature and significance of the *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars. I would refer the reader to that paper[2] for information on this point.

As on the *yūpas* at Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, the inscriptions on both these *yūpas* have been engraved in long vertical lines to be read from top to bottom. The engraver has not followed the more convenient method of inscribing the record in short horizontal lines engraved one below the other, which is followed on the *yūpa* in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.[3] The inscription on the pillar A is of one line only, while that on the pillar B is in two lines, inscribed on two adjacent facets of the octagonal shaft. The first line is 8′ 5″ and the second 9′ long[4]. Both the inscriptions have been sadly mutilated; it is an irony of fate that the

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[1] Śrīdēva seems to have been the most important or influential among the brothers, as his name is given precedence over that of his elder brother.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 245 ff.

[4] In the Report, above referred to, it has been stated that the first line is 9′ and the second 8′ 5″. A glance at the plate will show that the first line is shorter than the second and not *vice versâ*.

mutilations should have led to the disappearance of only the names of the sacrificers, who had taken so much trouble to enlighten the posterity about the sacrifices which they had performed.

As will be presently shown, the inscriptions belong to the 3rd century A. D. and their **characters** bear a general resemblance to those of other contemporary records from northern India, especially with those on the *yūpas* of Baḍvā and the Allahabad Municipal Museum. The characters on the *yūpa* A have been very neatly and carefully engraved, but those on the *yūpa* B have been inscribed in such a slipshod and careless manner that the task of deciphering them becomes very difficult. Subscripts of conjuncts and medial vowel signs are very often omitted or very badly executed; and in some cases it would appear that words have been wrongly spelt. We shall have to speak more about this point, when we discuss this inscription.

The **language** of the inscription A may be described as Sanskrit, with occasional influence of Prakrit, as when *sa-gōttasya*[1] and *puṇṇa*[2] have been written for *sa-gōtrasya* and *puṇya* respectively. The inscription B may be described as being written in incorrect Prakrit, with occasional mixture of Sanskrit expressions like *śuddhasya* in l.1 and *dharmō vardhdha[tām]* in l.2.

The **orthography** of the records calls for no particular remarks.

Symbols for **numerals** for 200, 80 and 4 appear in the inscription A and for the numerals 300, 90, 30, and 5 appear in the inscription B. They are similar to those found in contemporary records in northern and western India. In the record B, the two small strokes that were necessary to be attached to the symbol for 100 in order to convert it into 300 have been joined together so as to form an angle with each other; usually the additional strokes are written horizontally one below the other.

INSCRIPTION ON THE YŪPA A.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *siddham* and then proceeds to state its time. **Its date is the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra of the Kṛita year 284.** As is well known, the Kṛita era[3] is the same as the Vikrama era, and so the date of the record would be 228 A. D. The earliest inscription in the Vikrama era so far discovered is that on the Nāndsā *yūpa*, which is dated in the Kṛita year 282. Our inscription would then be the second earliest record of this era. It is 11 years earlier than the Baḍvā *yūpa* records, which are dated in the Kṛita year 295.

After stating its precise date, the record proceeds to inform us that on the date mentioned, seven *yūpas* were erected by a person whose *gōtra* was Sōhartṛi and whose name ended **in -varddhana**. The *gōtra* is spelt as Sōhartta, but it is obviously the same as Sōhatṛi, which occurs among the *gōtras* of the *Bhāradvājakāṇḍa*, having the option of three or five *pravaras*.[4] It is very sad that the mutilation of the record should have occurred just on that part where the name and the parentage of the sacrificer were mentioned. His name ended in *varddhana*, as observed already. The two letters immediately preceding *varddhana* cannot be made out; but the two next preceding letters appear to have been *rājñō*, to judge from the traces they have left behind. It would therefore appear that **the sacrificer was a king bearing a name of five letters, the last three of which were** *varddhana*. We can also see the

[1] [See below p. 120, n. 8.—Ed.]

[2] [See below p. 120, n. 11.—Ed.]

[3] See *ante* Vol. XXIII, pp. 48-52 for a discussion on the Kṛita era.

[4] वैषहानि: सौहर्तौ कारी . . . इत्येते गणांस्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः पञ्चार्षेयो वा प्रवरो भवति। *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* (Second edition), p. 56. [See below p. 120, n. 8. —Ed.]

traces of the letters *rājñō* after the word *sa-gōttasya*. Then follows space for two, or possibly three letters, which is now practically blank; but thereafter we can discern faint traces of the letters *pa* and *tta*. It would therefore appear that after giving the *gōtra* of the sacrificing king, the record had proceeded to give his parentage. His father was also a king and had a name of two or three letters. The restoration here suggested leaves no space for the letter *sya* coming after *putra*; probably that letter had been dropped. It is also possible that it may have been destroyed when the pillar was broken into two.

The concluding portion of the record reads, *yūpa-sattakō(aṁ) puṇṇava*[1]. I do not know the extent of the damage to the *yūpa* subsequent to this portion; it however appears very probable that the record ended with the words *puṇṇava[rdhakō(aṁ) bhavatu]*, expressing the hope that the sacrificial performance may increase the merit of the performer. The reference to the group of seven *yūpas* may show that the king had performed seven sacrifices; they were very probably the seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. The sacrifices included in this group were *Agnishṭōma, Atyagnishṭōma, Ukthya, Shōḍaśin, Vājapēya, Atirātra* and *Āptōryāma*.[2] The Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpa* commemorates the performance of these very sacrifices.

The inscription clearly refers to a group of seven *yūpas*. The *yūpa* of the record B does not belong to this group, as it commemorates a sacrifice performed 51 years later. It is therefore not unlikely that a diligent search in the locality may lead to the discovery of more sacrificial pillars.[3]

TEXT.[4]

Siddham[5] |[6] Kṛitēhi 200 80 4 Chaittra-śukla-pakshasya paṁ(ñ)chadaśī [|*] Sōhartta[7]-sagōttasya[8] [rājñō[9]]...p[u]tt[ra[9]]sya [rājñō[9]]..varddhanasya yūpa-sattakō[10] puṇṇa[11]-va[rddha-kaṁ bhavatu *]

TRANSLATION.

Be it auspicious! The full-moon day of (*the month of*) Chaitra of the year 284 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). May this group of seven sacrificial pillars of king ....varddhana, son of king....., of Sōhartṛi *gōtra*, [increase] the merit (*of the sacrificer*)!

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[1] [See below n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 9, 27. [3] [But see below n. 10.—Ed.]

[4] Edited from an ink-impression.

[5] The stop *m* is indicated by a small letter *ma* written below the line.

[6] The full-stop is indicated by the rather unusual device of two dots, written like a *visarga*.

[7] Read *Sōhartṛi*. The medial *mātrā* for *ō* looks to some extent like the medial *ī mātrā*; but since the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* gives Sōhartṛi as the name of the *gōtra*, we must read the first letter as a rather irregular *sō*.

[8] [The reading appears to be correctly *Sōharttṛi-sagōttrasya*. The curl representing the medial *ṛi* in the syllable *rttṛi* is partly discernible, and so is also the sign for the subscript *r* in the letter *ttra*. Besides, otherwise the lengthening of the right-hand stroke of the second *t* in the syllables concerned is unaccountable.—B. C. C.]

[9] There are faint traces of these letters.

[10] Read *saptakam*. [The reading appears to be *yūpō sa[ttra]kō*, the sign of the medial *ō* in *pō* resembling that in *sō* of *Sōharttṛi*. The wrong *visarga sandhi* betrays the Prakrit influence. The reading of the second syllable is doubtful, inasmuch as it cannot be ascertained whether it is *ttra* or correctly *ttri*, though it seems to be the former. In any case, the subscript *r* is pretty clear. We may correct the reading as *yūpaḥ sattrikaḥ*, meaning 'the pillar connected with a sacrifice'. The particular sacrifice is, however, not specified. According to this reading, thus, there is no mention of seven *yūpas*.—B. C. C.]

[11] Read *puṇya*. [I see traces of a subscript *ya* below the second *ṇ*; thus the reading is *puṇṇya*, and according to my interpretation, we may restore this portion as *puṇṇyaṁ varddhatām* or *puṇṇyaṁ varddhatu* as is commonly found in similar inscriptions.—B. C. C.]

TWO YUPA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARNALA: KRITA YEARS 284 AND 335.

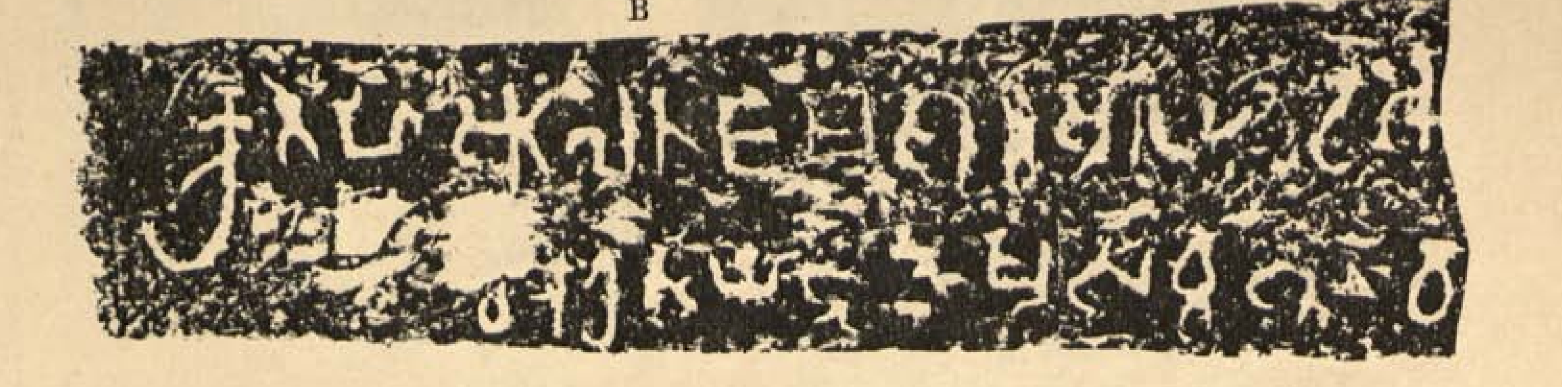
A

Left Half

Right Half

B

Left Half



Right Half



SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2038 E'40—300.

Inscription on the Yûpa B.

This inscription does not begin with the auspicious word *siddham*, as does the inscription on the *yūpa* A; it straightway proceeds to give its date according to the Kṛita, *i. e.*, Vikrama era. **Its date is the fifteenth day, i. e., the full-moon day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha of the Kṛita year 335.** The name of the month is spelt as *Jasha*; there can be, however, no doubt that the word is intended to stand for Jyēshṭha. *Jasha* for *Jyēshṭha* is but the first example of the carelessness of the engraver of this record. **The date of the record is therefore 279 A. D.**

It would be convenient to discuss the decipherment of the remaining portion of the record from its end; I therefore proceed to do so. The last four letters of the second line are very clear; they read *dharmmō vardhdha*. It is clear that the last word is intended to be *varddhatām*; the record ends with the hope that religion may prosper. The word preceding *dharmmō* is clearly *prīyatāṁ*; the subscript *r* of *prī* is faintly visible and its medial *ī mātrā* is slightly damaged. The next preceding word clearly reads *Vashṭa* and there is a dot after the last letter, which is clearly a remnant of a *visarga*. I think we have to correct this word into *Vishṇuḥ*. The subscript *ṭa* can also be taken as an ill-executed *ṇa*; the medial *ē mātrā* was left out in the word *Jyēsṭha* in l. 1, and a similar mistake seems to have been repeated here. The concluding expression *Vishṇuḥ prīyatāṁ dharmmō varddhatām* would remind us of the expressions *Prīyant-[ā]m-Agnayaḥ* and *punaḥ punaḥ prītim-iyān-Mahēśvara iti*, which occur at the end of the inscriptions on the Īsāpur and Allahabad Municipal Museum *yūpas* respectively. The royal sacrificer of the Allahabad Museum *yūpa* was a Śaiva advocate of the Vedic sacrificial religion; in the present case the sacrificer was a Vaishṇava champion of the Vedic rites.

Immediately preceding the emended word Vishṇu there is a triangular symbol, which is almost identical with the symbol occurring at the end of the inscription on the *yūpa* of Balavardhana, found at Baḍvā[1]. This form is therefore not a letter but a mere symbol, marking the end of the main announcement of the record.

Immediately before this concluding symbol, there is another, which clearly stands for 90. Out of the five letters preceding 90, the first is clearly *da*, the second looks like a damaged *kshi*, the third is a *ṇ* with a subscript, the fourth is a *da* or *dā* and the fifth is a *ta*. When we recollect how the Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions end with the expression *Trirātra-sammitasya dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) gavāṁ sahasram*, it will be at once clear that these five letters are intended to stand for *dakshiṇyaṁ(ṇā) dāta(dattā)*. The reading of the third letter only is rather doubtful here; the subscript looks like that of a *r*; but the main letter is a *ṇ* or *n*, and so the context as well as the use in the Baḍvā records would show that it was intended to be *ṇya* for an original *ṇā*.

These five letters therefore refer to the *dakshiṇā* given to the priests on the occasion of the sacrifice and the symbol for 90 describes its amount. What then were the ninety objects that were given at the end of the sacrifice?

The name and the description of the 90 things donated to the Brāhmaṇas is given in the preceding seven letters; for the four letters preceding this group of seven clearly read *yajña ishṭa* to be corrected into *yajñā ishṭāḥ*. The first of these seven letters is a *sā* or *sa*; the second one is *vva* or *vri*; the third is a conjunct of which the second letter is *ta* and the first very probably *s*; the fourth is clearly an initial *i*; the fifth is certainly a *va*; the sixth is a *vā*; and the seventh a *ga*. But *savvasta iva vāgā* as the description of the ninety articles given in *dakshiṇā* gives no

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing p. 52.

meaning whatsoever. We shall have to emend the text rather drastically, remembering all the while that the engraver was a person who was capable of writing *Jasha* for *Jyēshṭha* and *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu*.

I would suggest, not without very great diffidence, that *savvasta iva vāgā* should be emended into *savatsā iva gāvō*. The *dakshiṇā* given at the sacrifices commemorated on the Baḍvā *yūpas* consisted of kine. The same was probably the case here. *Vāgā* should therefore be changed into *gāvō*; an engraver who writes *Vashṭa* for *Vishṇu* is certainly capable of writing *vāgā* for *gāvō*. *Savvasta* does not give any sense, and since it is an adjective of *gāvō*, it is but reasonable to emend it into *savatsā*. The context now shows that *iva* should be changed into *ēva*. The record therefore states that a *dakshiṇā* of 90 cows, not alone but each accompanied with its calf, was given on the occasion.

And what was the occasion? It is mentioned in the opening portion of the second line. Here again the first two letters have been peeled off. The third letter had a subscript *r*, the fourth is *ra* and the fifth *tra*; then comes the numeral 5, which is followed by the words *yajña ishṭa*, as observed already. It is very clear that the 3rd, 4th and 5th letters were intended to be *trirātra*; this part of the record then states that five Trirātra sacrifices were performed when the honorarium of 90 cows along with their calves was given.

As in the case of the inscription on the *yūpa* A, the name of the sacrificer must have followed immediately after the word *pañchadaśī* in the 1st line. The two letters after this word read *bhṛiṭṭa*, which have obviously to be corrected into *bhaṭṭa*. After this a considerable portion of the inscription has been peeled off and about six or seven letters have been obliterated completely. They contained the name of the sacrificer. His title *bhaṭṭa* would suggest that he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a king or a general.

The last five letters of the first line are very clear; they are to be read as *tri ta va ṇa śu*. *Tritavaṇaśu* however gives no sense. With great hesitation I would emend this word into *Tritavanēshu*; the five Trirātra sacrifices seem to have been performed by the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer not in a village or in a town but in a holy forest known as Trita forest.

One more lacunæ, that of the two letters at the beginning of the second line, remains to be considered. The following word here is *trirātra*, and the obliterated word was probably an adjective of that sacrifice. The full and real name of the Trirātra sacrifice, which was an amalgam of Agnishṭōma, Ukthya and Atirātra, was Garga-trirātra[1]; it is possible that the two obliterated letters were *gargga* and what remain of them gives some support to this conjecture.

Our record therefore commemorates the performance of five Trirātra or perhaps Garga-trirātra sacrifices by a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer on the full moon day of Jyēshṭha of the Kṛita year 335, corresponding to 279 A. D. The *dakshiṇā* prescribed for a Trirātra sacrifice was one thousand cows. But our sacrificer was probably not rich enough to give it, and so he contented himself by giving only eighteen cows per sacrifice, but each accompanied by a calf. He was a Vaishṇavite also, so he ends the inscription with the hope that Vishṇu would be pleased and religion promoted by his action.

I now give below the reading of the record along with the suggested emendations.

[1] *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

TEXT.[1]

1 Kṛitĕhi 300 30 5 Jasha[2](Jyēshṭha)śuddhasya[3] paṁ(ñ)chadaśi[|*] Bhṛiṭṭa(Bhaṭṭa)............ Tritavaṇaśu(Tritavanēshu ?)

2 [Garga ?][t]r[i]ra(rā)tra 5 yajña(jñā) ishṭa(shṭā)[4] savvasta(savatsā) i(ō)va vāgā(gāvō) dakshiṇya[5](ṇā) dātā(dattā) 90.[6] Vashṭaḥ(Vishṇuḥ) priyatāṁ dharmmō vardhdha[tām*].

TRANSLATION.

The 15th day of the bright fortnight of (*the month*) of Jyēshṭha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (*reckoning*). Five (*Garga*) Trirātra sacrifices were performed by Bhaṭṭa......in Trita forests (?). 90 cows, which were accompanied by (*their*) calves, were given as *dakshiṇā*.

May (*god*) Vishṇu be pleased ! May Dharma increase !

No. 13.—GURZALA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION.

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, University of Madras.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on a grey marble slab set up behind the Travellers' Bungalow,[7] about two furlongs to the north of it, at Gurzāla in the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guṇṭūr District. There are on the spot several similar slabs which are uninscribed and which must be the relics of some ancient structure that has now disappeared. An impression of the inscription was placed in my hands some time ago by Dr. M. Rama Rao, but I found subsequently from Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that he had secured a much better impression of the record, and it is from this impression which he has kindly placed at my disposal that I edit the record which is listed as No. 335 of the Epigraphical Collection of Madras in the *An. Rep. on S. I. Epi.* for the year 1936-37, and discussed in paragraph 10 of Part II.

The slab containing the inscription measures 5′ × 19″ ;[8] in its centre is carved a pillar with apparently a bulbous base and a double bulbous capital ; the shaft of the pillar shows a slight tapering, being 3″ wide at the bottom, and less than 2½″ at the top, its height being about 2′. The capital comprises two oviform members, each 3″ high, the upper one being broader (5½″) than the lower (4½″) at its horizontal axis. This capital is surmounted by an abacus 3″ high above which stand three cones alongside of one another, looking like the battlement of a fortress. Our inscription comprises three lines, two incised to the proper right, and the third to the left of the carved pillar, all lines running from the capital of the pillar to its base.

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[1] Edited from an ink-impression.

[2] Both below *ja* and *sha*, there appear to be some depressions, which appear like traces of subscript letters, now peeled off. They may however be also due to the stone not being well dressed.

[3] Faint traces of the subscript *ya* can be traced in the impression.

[4] The subscript *ṭa* is partly broken.

[5] The letter looks like *tri*, but it is read as *ṇyu* on the analogy of the Baḍvā records. See introduction.

[6] After the numeral 90, there is a symbol here, similar to that occurring on the Baḍvā *yūpa* inscription A.

[7] It is understood that the slab has since been removed to the Taluk office compound, Gurzāla.

[8] This measurement is furnished by Dr. Rama Rao.

The **script** of the inscription is Brāhmī very similar to that of the well-known inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa edited in *Epigraphia Indica* some years ago by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, and may be taken to belong to the third century A. D. The average height of the letters, if we neglect the flourishes, is about one inch. The fourth letter in l. 3 which I read as *ḷu* may be compared with the same letter in a somewhat later Western Chālukya inscription, *viz.*, the Bādāmi stone inscription of Maṅgaliśa.[1]

The three vertical strokes at the end of the last line seem to be an ornamental stop as in G-3 (above, Vol. XXI, plate opp. p. 62) and not a symbol for three which usually comprises similar horizontal strokes. The **language** of the record is Prākrit. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a field by a certain **Noduka-siri** to the **Bhagavān, the Lord of Halaṁpūra**, for securing longevity for the donor. The date of the record is given as the tenth day of the 8th fortnight of summer in the fourth regnal year of *Mahārāja* Siri-**Ruḷupurisadāta**, whose name shows that he is a hitherto unknown king of the **Ikshvāku** line, members of which have left many inscriptions in the neighbourhood from which our record comes. The method of dating adopted is common in Ikshvāku records.[2] The location of **Halaṁpūra** where the temple of the Bhagavān was located is somewhat difficult to determine. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1936-37, it is suggested that Halaṁpūra 'may be identified preferably with Allūru in the Nandigama taluk of the Kistna district which is not far removed from Gurzāla, though there are two villages of the name Alampuram, one in the Nizam's Dominions and the other in the Tanuku taluk of the West Godavari district'. Ālampūr in the Nizam's Dominions seems best to satisfy the requirements of the case by its name and the known antiquity of its monuments. It is situated at the apex of the Raichur Doab on the western bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, a little distance before its junction with the Kṛishṇā. In spite of its distance from the Palnāḍ region, this place must have been easily accessible by river, and it teems with antiquities, temples and other structures, some account of which will be found at pages 7-13 of the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions* for 1926-27.

Another place much nearer Gurzāla and about 20 miles east of it, though not so rich in antiquarian remains, that comes in for consideration here, is Nāgulavaram in the Palnāḍ taluk itself. The name has the same meaning as Halaṁpūra (plough-city), and Sewell noted an old Vishṇu temple and another temple of Śiva in the place and an illegible inscription in the latter. The place has yielded two inscriptions listed in the Madras Collection. It is possible that the Halaṁpūra-sāmin of our inscription is identical with the deity in one of these shrines.[3]

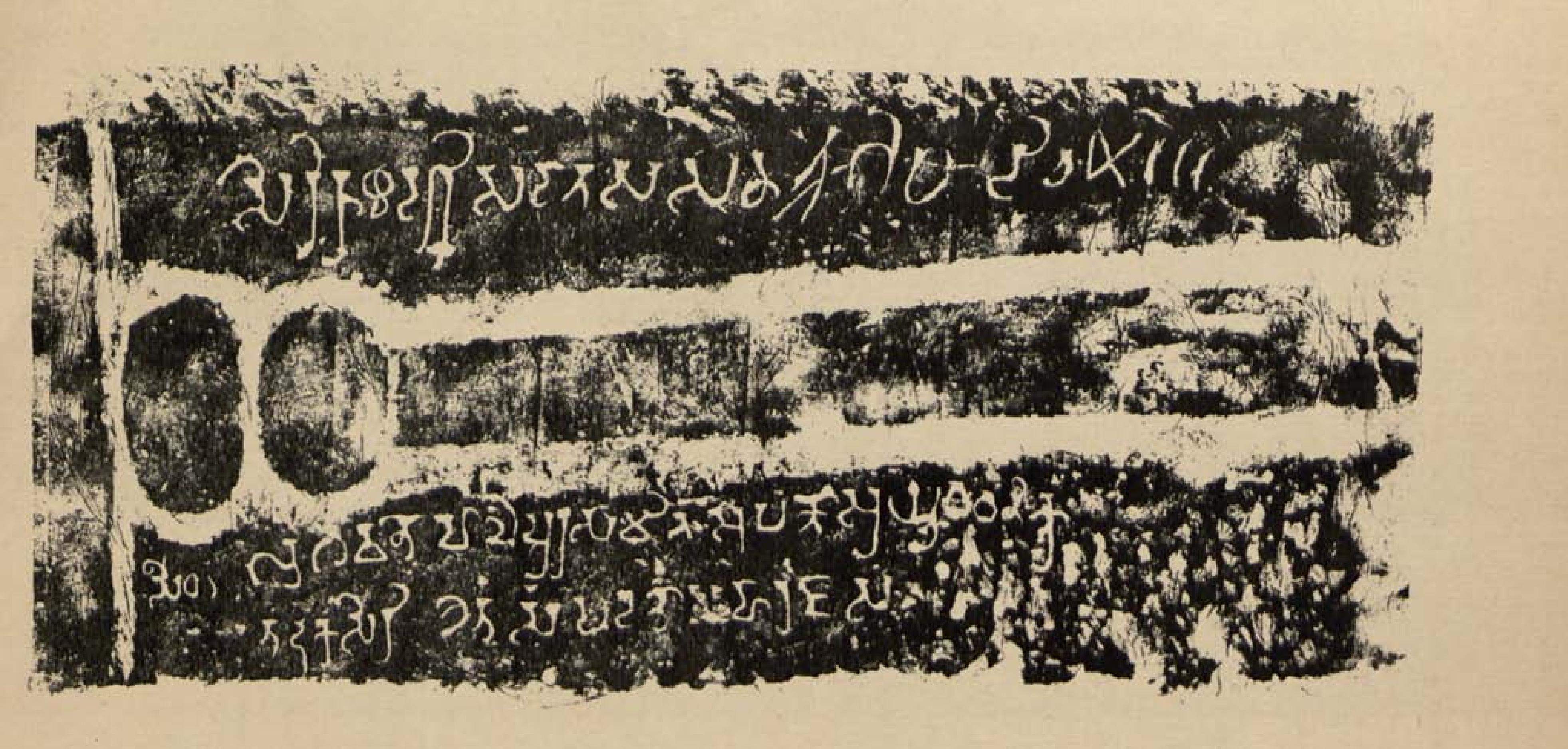
There is nothing in our inscription to indicate that the Bhagavān Halaṁpūra-sāmin to whom the field was given was the Lord Buddha ; and it must be noted that our record differs in some respects from the generality of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in that it does not begin with the usual *Siddham namo Bhagavato* but simply *sidham*, and in that the purpose of the gift precedes the name of the donor. It seems possible that the endowment was not that of a Buddhist. But seeing that some at least of the temples of Ālaṁpūr show traces of having originally been Buddhist structures, perhaps converted later into Hindu temples, the other possibility cannot also altogether be ruled out at present, that is, if the identification of Halaṁpūra with Ālaṁpūr is accepted.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol X, pl. opposite p. 59, l. 4.

[2] See also *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 37.

[3] Sewell, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 61 ; Nos. 216 of 1927 and 306 of 1931 of the Madras Epigraphical collection ; Survey map 56P/NW. (1″=2 miles).

Gurzala Brahmi Inscription.



N. P. Chakravarti.

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

Reg. No. 2075 E'40-280.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

TEXT.

1 Sidhaṁ | Bhagavate Halaṁpūra-sāmine apaṇo ayuvadhinikaṁ[1]

2 Noduka-siri khetaṁ saṁpada[ttāṁ][2] Mahārajasa

3 Siri-Ruḷupurisadātasa sa ta 4 gi 8 diva 10 |||

TRANSLATION.

Success ! To the Bhagavān, Lord of Halaṁpūra, a field was given (*by*) Noduka-siri for the increase of his own life on the tenth day in the eighth fortnight of summer in the fourth (*regnal*) year of *Mahārāja* Siri-Ruḷupurisadāta.

No. 14.—DATE OF ASHRAFPUR PLATE.

BY D. C. GANGULY, M.A., PH. D. (LONDON).

A copper-plate inscription was discovered in 1884-1885 at the village Ashrafpur, in the Narayanganj Sub-Division, Dacca District, Bengal. Mr. Ganga Mohan Laskar published this inscription with a facsimile in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, No. VI. The inscription is dated *Samvat* *Pausha di* :|| Mr. Laskar reads the date as Samvat 10 3 (=13) Pausha 20 5 (=25). Dr. R. C. Majumdar[3] agrees with Mr. Laskar in thinking that there are two symbols expressing the year-number, and two symbols expressing the day of the month. But according to him the first symbol of the year-number is 7, and the second one represents 3 or 9. He thus reads the year-number as 73 or 79, which he refers to the Harsha Era. The day of the month according to him is 20 8 (=28). If Dr. Majumdar's reading is accepted it will follow that in the same inscription both the figure-numerals and letter-numerals have been used side by side. Dr. Basak[4] states that "the first symbol in the reading of the year-number is really a puzzling one".

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[5] discusses this inscription under No. 1394 in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. He accepts with a query mark Dr. Majumdar's reading of the year-number as 73, and refers it to the Harsha Era.[6] In the foot-note he, however, remarks that "it has

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[1] [Reading seems to be *ayuvadhanike*. — N. L. R.]

[2] Cancel the length of the final vowel and read : *saṁpadattaṁ*.

[3] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 375 ff.

[4] *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 203.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 190-191.

[6] Dr. Bhandarkar does not correctly represent Dr. Majumdar's view when he says that Dr. Majumdar reads the year-number of the inscription as 70 3 or 70 9. It has already been pointed out that Dr. Majumdar takes the first symbol as 7, and the second one as 3 or 9, which according to him makes 73 or 79.

perhaps to be read as 60 3". According to him the day of the month is to be read as 20 5, and not as 20 8, as has been suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

On close examination I find that the year-number is expressed by only one symbol in the inscription. This is clearly a symbol for 7.

A comparison of this symbol with the symbol for 7, mentioned in the Damodarpur copper-plate No. 1,[1] and in the Mallasārul copper-plate[2] of Gōpachandra, will convince one of the correctness of my reading.

Thus the date of the Ashrafpur copper-plate should be read neither as 73 nor as 63 but as 7, which is obviously the regnal year of the king Dēvakhaḍga, during whose reign the inscription was issued.

No. 15.—PARASURAMESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. Ghosh, M. A., Patna.

Of the five inscriptions edited here, the principal one is found on the top of the southern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* attached to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at **Bhuvaneswar**, District Puri. It has been noticed in some official publications,[3] but so far as I am aware, the text has never been published before.

The **inscription** occupies an area of 22"×6" and runs to three lines. The **letters** are rather carelessly engraved, many of them being ill-formed; their size ranges from 1¾" to ¾". The **language** is Sanskrit, but there are some **grammatical** mistakes; thus, in the first sentence the nominative has been given a passive form, while the verb is in the active voice. Some grammatical error also makes the last three letters of the second line unintelligible. Rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *naivēdya-āḍhakaṁ* in line 2. A serious **orthographical** mistake occurs at the beginning of the third line, where *apy=āḍhika* appears as *apyi=āḍhika*. In the same line *kaśchin=na* is spelt as *kaśchiṁ na*.

The **script** belongs to about the **first half of the ninth century A. D.**, being somewhat later than the local inscriptions of the Bhaumas[4]; note particularly the somewhat archaic form of the palatal sibilant in the latter set. The temple of Paraśurāmēśvara has, on architectural and other considerations, been regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the temples of Bhuvaneswar.[5] The present inscription, along with those noticed below, sets the lower limit of the date of the construction of the temple.

The **object** of the inscription is to record some daily offering in favour of **Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭaka**, by which word is probably meant the god installed in the temple, as well as of those

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 130.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 155.

[3] *List of Ancient Monuments in the Orissa Division*, Government of Bengal, 1896, p. 64; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 242, where its contents have been wrongly noticed.

[4] Compare, for example, the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara, above, Vol. XIX, p. 263.

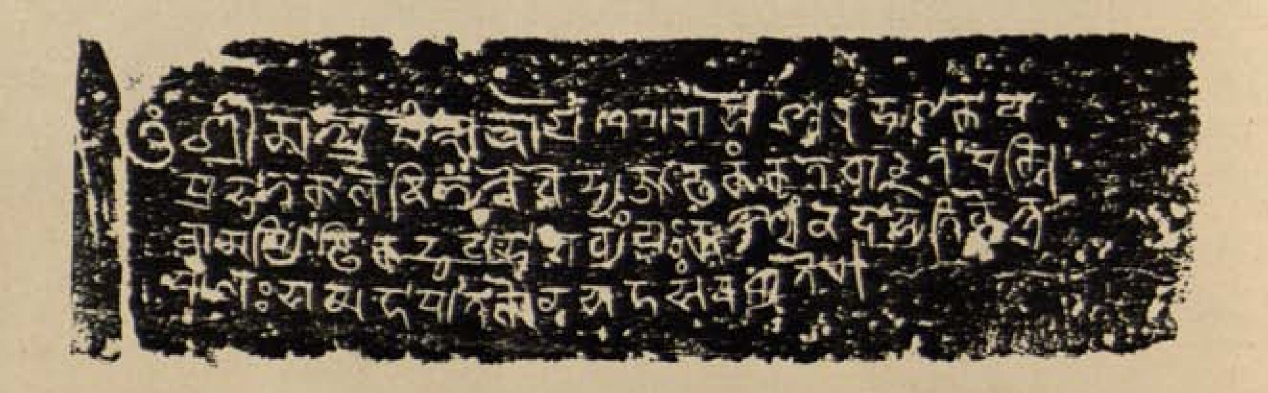
[5] The date of its construction ranges, according to different scholars, from the fifth or sixth century to the eighth century (M. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 273; *Puri District Gazetteer*, p. 241).

2

1

3

4



who were to cook (?) the offering to the god. It should be noted in this connexion that the name of the god (and consequently of the temple) is given here as *Pārāsēśvara* ; if we are justified in amending the word, we may regard *Parēśēśvara* or perhaps *Parāśarēśvara* as the old name of the temple ; surely the correction to *Paraśurāmēśvara*, its present name, would be too daring.

On the eastern wall of the temple there are **a few more short inscriptions** in nail-headed characters of about **the eighth century A. D.** Four of them, reproduced here, read : (1) *Kāṭhadarirdrasya* (Sanskrit *Kāshṭhadaridrasya* ?) ; (2) *Pravēdakāṇam*, followed by a symbol, probably a punctuation mark ; (3)—*prāṇa* ; and (4) *śri-Praśitarapr[ā]ṇa.*[1]

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ śrimat-**Prapittrāchāryēṇa**[2] **Pārāsēśvara-bhaṭṭakāya**

2 prabhāta-kālē nityaṁ naivēdya-āḍhakaṁ kṛitavān [|*] taṁ pakvi-[3]

3 nām=apyi(py)=āḍhika-dvayaṁ dātavyaṁ [|*] yaḥ [kaś]ch[i]ṁ(n=) na dāsyati kshē(?)ttra-

4 pālaḥ sa mahā-pātakēna saha saṁvadhyatē cha[4]|

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ. (*Arrangement*) has been done by the illustrious **Prapittrāchārya** for the offering of an *āḍhaka*[5] (*of grain*) for the Lord **Pārāsēśvara** every morning. Also to the cooks (?) of that (*grain*) two *āḍhikas* are to be given. The keeper of the field (?) who will not give (*them*) (*will be invested*) with great sin and will be bound (or killed).[6]

No. 16.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAITUGI, SAKA 1188.

By H. D. Sankalia, M.A., Ll. B., Ph. D. (Lond.), Poona, and

S. C. Upadhyaya, M. A., Ll. B., Bombay.

This inscription, which is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is now published with the courtesy of (now) the ex-Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, and the Trustees. It is not known whence it came, but, as will be shown below, it must be from the vicinity of Bombay.

The **record** is inscribed on a rectangular stone, 3′5″ × 1′1½″. The inscribed portion, which contains 20 lines, covers a space of 1′8½″ × 1′1″. It is not in a good state of preservation. Several letters are broken and the last five lines cannot be completely deciphered. The average **size of letters is** ¾″. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle, 11″ × 10″, which contains an ass-sculpture, usual in inscriptions of this period from Kōṅkaṇ.[7] Right on the top, the stone is deeply cut into a rectangle, 6″ × 13½″ × 1½″, which contains a representation of the Sun on the right and the Moon on the left and a double *Kalaśa* in between.

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[1] Nos. (3) and (4) are probably identical. The letters of the last one are ornamentally treated.

[2] The correction to *Pavittrāchārya* or *Pramittrāchārya* may be suggested.

[3] I am not sure of the correct reading of this ill-formed letter and conjecturally read it as *kvi*, regarding the word *pakvin* to be an incorrect derivative of the root *pach*. *Taṁ* probably stands for *tat*. [The intended reading may be *tapasvinām* .—Ed.]

[4] [What has been read as *cha* appears to me to be only a part of the mark of punctuation.—B. C. C.]

[5] *Āḍhaka* is a measure of grain ; the word *āḍhika* occurring in the next line is obviously a smaller measure.

[6] [The word *saṁvadhyatē* is evidently meant for *sambadhyatē*, an equivalent of *saṁyujyatē*. According to my reading, the meaning would simply be ' is united with great sin '.—B. C. C.]

[7] *Cf.* above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

The inscription is in prose and the **language** Sanskrit and perhaps old Marāṭhī in the latter part (ll. 15-20). As regards the **script** and **orthography** there is nothing new to note.[1] It is **dated** in **Śaka 1188 Kshaya Saṁvatsara, Māgha Vadi 15, Wednesday**. This would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 26th January A. D. 1266,[2] provided the reading of the date is correct.[3]

The main **object** of the inscription seems to be to **record** the gift of land (unfortunately the details of this cannot be deciphered) to a **Brāhmaṇa Vaidēva**, a *Jyōtishī* (*i.e.*, an astronomer or astrologer) in the reign of **Jaitugi**, who is called *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rāyapitāmaha*, *Kōṅkaṇachakravartin*. The **ministers** of the king were the *Mahāmātya* **Śrī-Udaiprabhu**, *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahī* **Māīnāyaka**, *Śrīkaraṇī* **Chanda(?)prabhu**,[4] and others (whose names cannot be clearly read).

In the absence of the dynastic title it is difficult to identify the king. The tenor of the inscription—*birudas* of the king, names of ministers—would incline one to place the king either among the princes of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kōṅkaṇ or of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri. The grounds for referring the king to the former dynasty are that :—

(1) The king bears the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravarti* which was usually borne by the Śilāhāra kings.[5]

(2) The names of the ministers—*Mahāsāṁdhivigrahī* Māīnāyaka and *Śrīkaraṇī* Chandaprabhu are found among the ministers of the last known Śilāhāra ruler Sōmēśvaradēva ;[6] hence probably the ministers referred to in the inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva and our inscription are identical.

However, there are certain objections against associating Jaitugi of the inscription with the Śilāhāra dynasty. They are :—

(1) Among the Śilāhāras no king of this name is known so far, either from inscriptions or otherwise.

(2) Till now it is supposed, on the authority of Hēmādri[7] (whose account was supported by the absence of epigraphic or other evidence), that Sōmēśvaradēva is the last Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Kōṅkaṇ, for the dynasty was swept out of existence when he was defeated and killed and Kōṅkaṇ annexed by Mahādēva, the Yādava ruler of Dēvagiri.

If, in spite of these objections, Jaitugi is to be considered a Śilāhāra king, then we have to suppose that he was either a son or a descendant of Sōmēśvaradēva, who regained Koṅkaṇ for a brief period,[8] during the closing years of Mahādēva's regime (which may have been a disturbing period for the Yādava empire, for immediately after Mahādēva, before the rightful heir Rāmachandra could succeed him, Āmaṇa occupied the throne for a year or so).[9]

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[1] For the features already noted *cf.* the writers' comments above, Vol. XXIII, p. 270.

[2] S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 16.

[3] *Kshaya* seems to be the most likely name of the *saṁvatsara*, as the first letter looks like *ksha*, the second is illegible, the rest are undoubtedly *saṁvra*, though they cannot be clearly read. For the reading of the date and some other suggestions I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao. (H. D. S.)

[4] [See n. 7 p. 129.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 279-280.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Rājapraśasti*, I, *verse*, 49 ; II, *verses*, 17-18 in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273 and p. 275 respectively.

[8] For soon after this we have Yādava records mentioning Krishṇadēva and Jāidēva as governors of Kōṅkaṇ. See *J. B. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178 and above, Vol. XXIII, p. 282.

[9] *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247 citing *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

However, if the above be accepted, then we will have an hitherto unknown Śilāhāra king continuing the dynasty after Sōmēśvaradēva and in a sense contradicting the account of Hēmādri cited above.

The argument in favour of identifying Jaitugi with one of the kings of the same name of the Yādava dynasty would be, besides the tenor of the inscription, that the name exactly tallies with that of the Yādava ruler.

But no king of this name lived in the period to which the inscription refers itself.[1] Secondly no Yādava ruler is known to have used the title *Kōṅkaṇachakravarti*, though to judge from the victories of Jaitugi I, Siṁhaṇa and Rāmachandradēva, Kōṅkaṇ must have formed a part of the Yādava empire.[2]

Whatever be the dynasty to which Jaitugi of the inscription belonged, the inscription is written after the style of the inscriptions of this period, and must have been issued from a place somewhere in Kōṅkaṇ. The fact, moreover, that it was issued to record a gift to an astrologer affords further evidence of the patronage of such people in Kōṅkaṇ at that time.[3]

Text.

1 ॥ श्री स्वस्ति स(श)कु(क)संवत् ११८८ चय[4]संव-

2 च्छरे माघवदि १५[5] वुधे चद्ये — — — स[म]-

3 स्तराजावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिरा-

4 ज रायपितामह[6] कोंकणचक्रवर्ति श्री-

5 जैतुगिदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये

6 महामात्य श्रीउदैप्रभु° महासां[धि*]विग्रही

7 माड्नायक° श्रीकरणी चन्द[7]प्रभु जस-

8 जिनायक° नागसु[र] थास्थान अधिष्ठा[न*]

9 — [8]महावा[9]दि प्रतिपाठो । — — — — — —[10]

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[1] Unless the reading of the date is doubted. For if the date is read as Śaka 1129, Māgha Vadi 9 (as done previously by us and which corresponds regularly to 24th January A. D. 1207) then the inscription would fall in the reign of Jaitugi I, who is known from his three inscriptions (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-373 and references cited there) to have made extensive conquests. Siṁhaṇa's son Jaitugi II is out of question for he is believed to have predeceased Siṁhaṇa.

[2] The other king of this name is found among the Paramāras of Mālwā, but his dates are V. S. 1292 and 1300 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. XXIII, Appendix, p. 397 and f. n. 14) thus falling outside the two probable readings of the date of the record.

[3] Pātnā Inscription of Siṁhaṇa, above Vol. I, p. 343, verse 18.

[4] This letter is defaced, cf. note 3, p. 128 above.

[5] Doubtful.

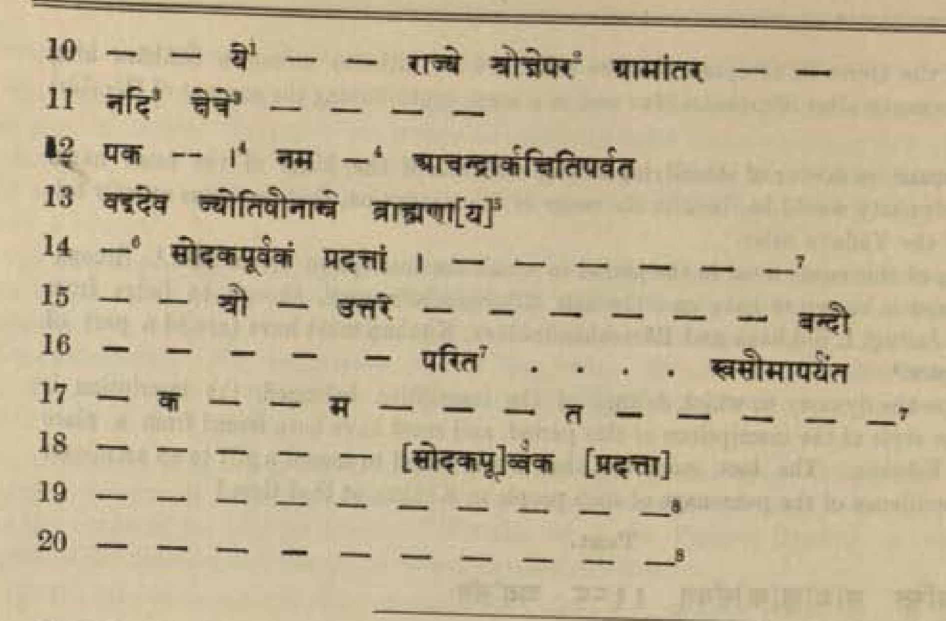
[6] This title is very common. For references see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 150 and 230.

[7] Reading doubtful. [The reading appears to be *Dāda°*.—N. L. B.]

[8] Illegible.

[9] May be *ṇa*.

[10] Letters illegible.



10 — — ये[1] — — राज्ये श्रोभ्रेपर[2] ग्रामांतर — —
11 नदि[3] चेचे[3] — — — —
12 पक -- ।[4] नम —[4] आचन्द्रार्कचितिपर्वत
13 वद्ददेव ज्योतिषीनाम्ने ब्राह्मणा[य][5]
14 —[6] सोदकपूर्वकं प्रदत्तां । — — — — — —[7]
15 — — श्री — उत्तरे — — — — — — वन्दी
16 — — — — — परित[7] . . . . स्वसीमापर्यंत
17 — क — — म — — — त — — — —[7]
18 — — — — — [सोदकपू]र्व्वक [प्रदत्ता]
19 — — — — — — — — — —[8]
20 — — — — — — — — — —[8]

No. 17.—BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA] YEAR 474.

BY S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., BOMBAY.

The stone bearing the subjoined inscription,[9] which is edited here for the first time, was discovered at **Bihar Kotra** in the Rajgaḍh State, Malwa, and is now exhibited in the Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

The document consists of six lines of writing engraved on a stone slab measuring 1′ 4″ × 1′ 2″ × 7″ and is well preserved. The **characters** belong to the Central Indian variety of the Southern alphabet which in its simplest form closely agrees with the Western variety of the same alphabet.[10] The following palæographical peculiarities may be noticed. The most important common characteristics of the Southern alphabet are found in the open top of the letters *gh*, *p*, *sh*, and *s* and also in the retention of the tripartite *y* and of the long stroke on the right of *l*. The letter *m* does not show the ancient form. It has a straight base-stroke in all cases, which indicates the influence of the Northern alphabet.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The **orthography** suggests the following remarks. A consonant is doubled before and after *r* as in *puttrēṇa* (l. 4), *chāturddiśaṁ* and *sarvva* (l. 5). The final *m* of a word remains unchanged and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in *siddham* (l. 1) and *dvitīyāyām* (l. 3).

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[1] The reading may be *vishayē*.

[2] [Reading may be *śrī-Jhēpa*.—N. L. R.]

[3] Reading doubtful.

[4] Letters illegible.

[5] This letter is defaced.

[6] Illegible.

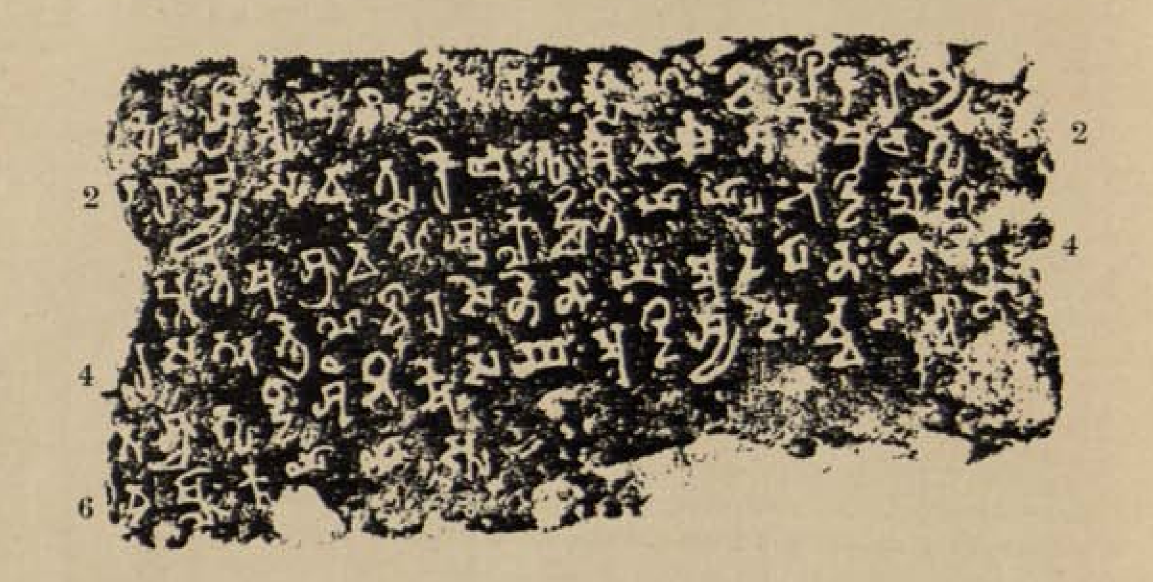
[7] Though some letters are legible, sense cannot be made out.

[8] The whole line is illegible.

[9] It was noticed by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the *Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum* for the year 1938-39, p. 12 and pl. facing p. 12. [This inscription has been noticed by me in *An. Rep. A. S. R.* 1938-39 where I have discussed in detail the question of Naravarman's successors including Vishṇuvardhana.—Ed.]

[10] Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, Eng. ed., pp. 61-2.

BIHAR KOTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN'S TIME; [MALAVA] YEAR 474.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 2083 E'41 -290.

(From a photograph).

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

The inscription **records** the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *bhikshusaṁgha* of the four quarters for the quenching of thirst of all beings. The gift was made by one **Vīrasēna,** son of Bhaṭṭimahara, on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the reign of Mahārāja **Naravarman, when four hundred and seventy-four years had elapsed,** *i.e.*, in A. D. 417-18.

Naravarman is already known to us from the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 461, in which he is mentioned as the son of Siṁhavarman and the grandson of Jayavarman.[1] He is mentioned also in the Gangdhar inscription[2] of his son Viśvavarman of the Mālava year 480. Again, Viśvavarman is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription[3] of his son Bandhuvarman, who was a contemporary and also the feudatory of the Emperor Kumāragupta I. The inscription of Bandhuvarman states that while Bandhuvarman was governing at Daśapura (Mandasor), the guild of silk-weavers built at that city a temple of the Sun in the Mālava year 493 and that the same guild restored part of the temple, which fell into disrepair under other kings, in the Mālava year 529. The entire inscription was actually composed and engraved at the latter date. But it does not give us any information about the successors of Bandhuvarman.[4] Here, the present record comes to our help. Naravarman is described as '*aulikara*'. Now, in the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava year 589, the family of Yaśōdharman or Vishṇuvardhana is mentioned as the lineage that had the *aulikara-lāñchhana*.[5] Evidently, Naravarman of our record and Yaśōdharman belonged to the same family. Thus Yaśōdharman, whose arms penetrated as far as the Himalayas, who was lord of the countries which were not possessed even by the Guptas or the Hūṇas, and to whose feet obeisance was made even by the famous Hūṇa king Mihirakula, can no longer be regarded as a military adventurer of the type of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (first quarter of the seventh century) and Yaśōvarman of Kanauj (first half of the eighth century). For, from the present record we know at least one of his predecessors.

TEXT.[6]

1 [Si*]ddham[7][|*] Śrīr[8]-mmahārāja-**Narvarmmaṇaḥ** aulikarasya[9]

2 rājya[10]-saṁvatsarē **chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatu[ḥ*]-**

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, p. 315. [2] Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 17. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 18.

[4] [Prabhākara of the Mandasor inscription of V. 524 was perhaps the successor, if not the son, of Bandhuvarman.—Ed.]

[5] A satisfactory explanation of the word *aulikara* has not yet been obtained. But *lāñchhana* "is the technical term for the principal emblem impressed by kings on the copper-seals attached to their charters, and is quite distinct from the emblem on their *dhvajas* or banners." Thus, the Kadambas of Banavāsī had the *śikhācharēndra-dhvaja* or *vānara-mahādhvaja*, but the *siṁha-lāñchhana* on the seals of their grants and on their coins. So also the Chālukyas had the *varāha-lāñchhana*. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4. [*Aulikara* may be synonymous with *[illegible]imakara*.—Ed.] H

[6] From the original stone.

[7] The word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2.

[8] The word *śrī*, forming the first part of a compound word, is used with a *vibhakti*. As a separate word it is used in the third case-ending, meaning *saha* or *yukta*. But in the present inscription it is used in the first case-ending. [There are other instances of this usage: *e.g.*, *śrīr-mmahārāj-Ōmavarmmā* in the Dhavalapētā copper-plates of Umavarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 144).—Ed.]

[9] The form of the initial *au* in the present record differs from that occurring in the same word *aulikara* (l. 5) in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśōdharman of the Mālava year 589. In the latter inscription the stroke indicating the length of *au* is attached to the upper part of the letter; in the former the lower part of the letter which expresses the length of the vowel, curves to the left and not to the right as in the Mandasor inscription. [The letter looks more like *ō* than *au*.—Ed.]

[10] There is a vertical stroke before the word *rājya*, which apparently forms part of a letter. What looks like an *ē-mātrā* in *rājya* is merely a scratch.

3 [sa*] **ptatēshu**[1] Śrāvaṇa-śukla-dvitīyāyām Bhaṭṭimaha-
4 ra-sat-puttrēṇa Vīrasēnēn-āyam-udapānaḥ khāni-
5 taś-chāturddiśaṁ bhikshu-saṁgham-uddiśya sarvva-satvānāṁ
6 tṛishṇā-kshayāy-āstu[2] [|*]

No. 18.—DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN.

By R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Calcutta.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were turned up by a farmer while digging his land in the village of **Dhavalapēṭa,** situated about twelve miles from Chicacole in the Vizagapatam District of Madras. The last plate of the set was melted and destroyed by the cultivator under the impression that it was made of gold. Fortunately, however, the remaining two plates of the set ultimately found their way into the hands of Mr. Manda Narasimham, in whose possession they lie at present. The plates were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1937-38[3] and the inscription was published for the first time by the present owner of the plates, Mr. Narasimham[4]. I now re-edit the record from a set of excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **two plates** of copper measuring 6⅝" by 2⅜" and having their edges plain. The plates slide on, through a hole at the proper right margin of each of them, to a copper-ring the ends of which are soldered on to an elliptical **seal,** 3½" by 2½" in size. In the depression of the seal there is inscribed in relief a four-line **legend** in the same characters as those of the plates. The inscription on the seal is, however, in a very imperfect state of preservation. It is just possible that it ends, as in the case of the seal of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant[5], with *Mahārāj-Ōmavarmmasya*. The inscription itself, which is in an excellent state of preservation, runs into twelve lines with four lines given to each of the three plates[6]. The first plate, which has been slightly damaged, is inscribed on its inner side only; while the second one contains writing on both of its faces.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā plates of Umavarman[7] and the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman[8]. Some of their leading features are the following: (1) the initial *a* occurs once in *asty-* (l. 4) and *ā* in *ā-sahasrāṁśu-* (l. 6) and (2) the final forms of *m* and *t*, which are engraved in smaller characters, are found in *karttavyam* (l. 9) and *Sunagarāt* (l. 1) respectively. The letter *chha* occurs in *Chhandōga* (l. 5).

In respect of **orthography,** the following points deserve notice. (1) A consonant has been invariably doubled after *r* and only once before it (*Cf. kkrama*, l. 11). (2) Both *b* and *v* have been indicated by separate signs. The rules of *sandhi* have been faithfully adhered to.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole of the extant portion of the record is in prose. The **inscription is incomplete,** owing to the fact that the last plate of the set had been foolishly destroyed.

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[1] Read *sa-chatuḥ-saptatishu*.

[2] After *āstu* there are faint traces of two slanting strokes. These may be scratches rather than the mark of *pūrṇavirāma, i.e.* full-stop.

[3] C. P. No. 22. [4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143-44 and plates. [5] Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

[6] The complete inscription must have run into 16 lines at least, granting another four lines in addition for the missing plate.

[7] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6 and plates. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3 and plates.

The engraver has done his work neatly. He has, however, left a few evidences of occasional remissness on his part as will be evident from two or three minor corrections in the text of the inscription (*Cf.* lines 4 and 6) which he inserted subsequently.

The **inscription** is one of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. It was issued from Sunagara. It records the gift of the village of Kuttura including the road (passing through it). The village was situated in the Mahēndra *bhōga*. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Khallasvāmin, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*. The gift village was constituted into a free-hold *agrahāra*. After announcing the nature of the gift, the record urges the householders of the village to honour the same. The names of the writer and the engraver of the inscription and, what would have been of outstanding importance to us, the date, have not been preserved owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The chief interest of the record under discussion naturally centres round the personality of its donor. As many as three separate copper-plate inscriptions (including the present one) have come to light up till now, with their provenances remarkably restricted in area. Each of these inscriptions speaks of a king called Umavarman. For convenience' sake, I append the relevant data in tabular form as follows :—

Name of Inscription.	Place of Origin.	Distinctive titles of Donor-King.	Year.	Scribe.
1. Tēkkali[1] (Ganjām District) .	Vardhamānapura	*Mahārāja* . .	9	Kēśavadēva, a resident of Pishṭapura.
2. Bṛihatprōshṭhā[2] (Vizagapatam District).	Siṁhapura[3] .	*Mahārāja, Kaliṅg-ādhipati.*	30	Mātṛivara[4] (name restored).
3. Dhavalapēṭa (Vizagapatam District).	Sunagara . .	*Mahārāja* . .	not preserved.	not preserved.

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54. Also noticed in the *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35 (C. P. No. 13). It is noteworthy that although the plates came from the Ganjām District, the place from which they were issued, *viz.*, Vardhamānapura, has been identified (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.*, p. 52) with Vaḍama situated in the Palkonda *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam District. Further the scribe of this record professes to have been a resident of Pishṭapura, identified with modern Piṭhāpuram in the same district.

[2] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4-6.

[3] Dr. E. Hultzsch's reading of this word as *Sīhapura* (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 1) does not appear to be borne out by the facsimile of the inscription. The correct reading, I believe, is, as elsewhere, *Siṁhapura*. The medial *i* sign of *Si* with an *anusvāra* enclosed in its top loop, is clearly visible in the facsimile. *Cf.* in this connection the word *Siṁhapura* in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 144 line 1).

[4] The Tiritthāṇa Plates of Chaṇḍavarman (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy* for 1934-35, C. P. No. 12), which is being edited by me for publication in the present journal, has for its scribe a person called *Dēśākshapaṭalādhikṛita* Rudradatta, son of Mātṛivara. The damaged condittion of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant prevented Dr. E. Hultzsch from correctly deciphering (Above, Vol. XII, p. 5, *Text*, line 16) the name of the writer of the same. This name has now been happily restored by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu (*Ann. Rep. on S.-I. E.* for 1934-35, p. 51 and *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1934-35, p. 64) as *Mātṛivara*, who has further been identified with his namesake mentioned in the Tiritthāṇa grant as being the father of its writer, Rudradatta. Thus, the Bṛihatprōshṭhā and the Tiritthāṇa grants, between themselves, reveal the existence of a family of scribes who plied their trade in two royal courts of ancient Kaliṅga. The pedigree of this family, or rather a part of it as far as known, may be set forth as follows :—

Haridatta
|
Mātṛivara
|
Rudradatta.

Scholars have widely differed on the question of the identity of the Umavarman of the records mentioned above. Some have sought to differentiate the donor of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant from that of the other two; while others are less sure on the matter.

To be sure, the problem, though admittedly of a ticklish nature, does not seem entirely beyond the range of a solution.

Of one thing we may at once regard ourselves as fairly sure: *viz.*, a decided affinity between the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant and the record under discussion. Both of them come from the Vizagapatam District of Madras. Of more practical importance for our present purposes is the palæography of the inscriptions concerned. They show the same thick-set ductus of writing; the characters have in both cases a tendency to assume a squat and rounded shape. The phraseology, especially in the formal parts of the two records, is almost identical in both. Lastly, the seals of the two grants present the same features.

In short, the Bṛihatprōshṭhā and the Dhavalapēṭa records betray a striking homogeniety and family-likeness which eliminate the supposition of some mere chance or coincidence: a fact which justifies the assumption that the two records may have been drafted under the auspices of an identical ruler, and if not by an identical hand, at least by persons not far removed from each other in point of time. To be more precise, it brings the Dhavalapēṭa grant very near to the date (Year 30) given in the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant. In fact, I believe that the **Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant is** to be regarded as **identical with his namesake of the record under discussion**.

There is also, I think, reason to believe that the Dhavalapēṭa plates were issued immediately before the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant: for, in the latter record Umavarman is made to assume the ambitious (though, at this period, all too common) title of '*Kaliṅgādhipati*', which is absent in the Dhavalapēṭa plates. The Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, therefore, seems to have been issued on the occassion of some notable military success won by Umavarman at the expense of some local ruler.

I am at present not in a position to identify the **localities** mentioned in the inscription.

Palæographically, our inscription has to be referred to the **first half of the 5th century A. D.** As such, it falls into line with such other early records from Kaliṅga as the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman[1], Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman[2], *etc.*

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 [4]Ōṁ Svasti [||*] **Sunagarāt** paramadaivata-bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ā-

2 nudhyātaḥ śrīr-mmahārāj-**Ōmavarmmā Mahēndra-bhōgē Kuttu-**

3 **ra-grāmē** sarvva-samanvāgatān-kuṭumbinas-samājñāpa-

4 [ya]ti [|*] asty-ēsha grāmō-smābhir-ātmana[5][ḥ*] puṇy-āyu[r*]-[6] yaśō-bhivṛiddha-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plates.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281 ff.

[3] From ink-impressions.

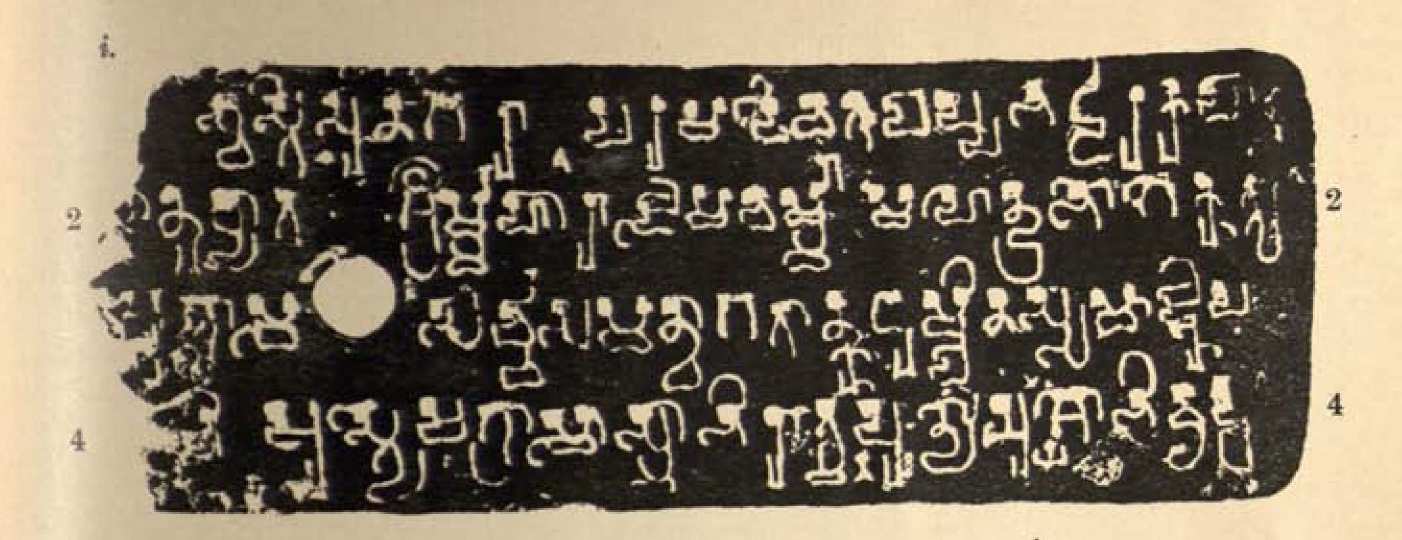
[4] The ornamental symbol representing *Ōṁ* has been engraved at the beginning of line 2.

[5] The letter *na* had been originally passed over by the engraver and was subsequently inserted at the foot of the line.

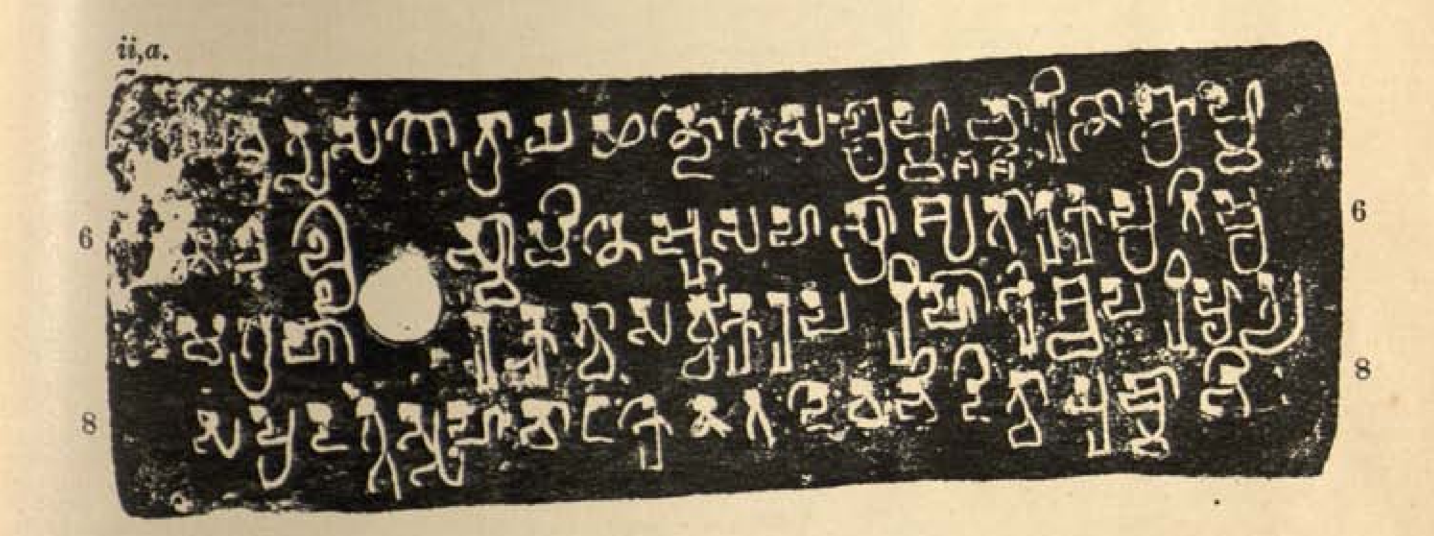
[6] The letter *ya* of *yaśō-* has been engraved below the line, the correction being indicated by a little × mark at the top.

Dhavalapeta Plates of Maharaja Umavarman.

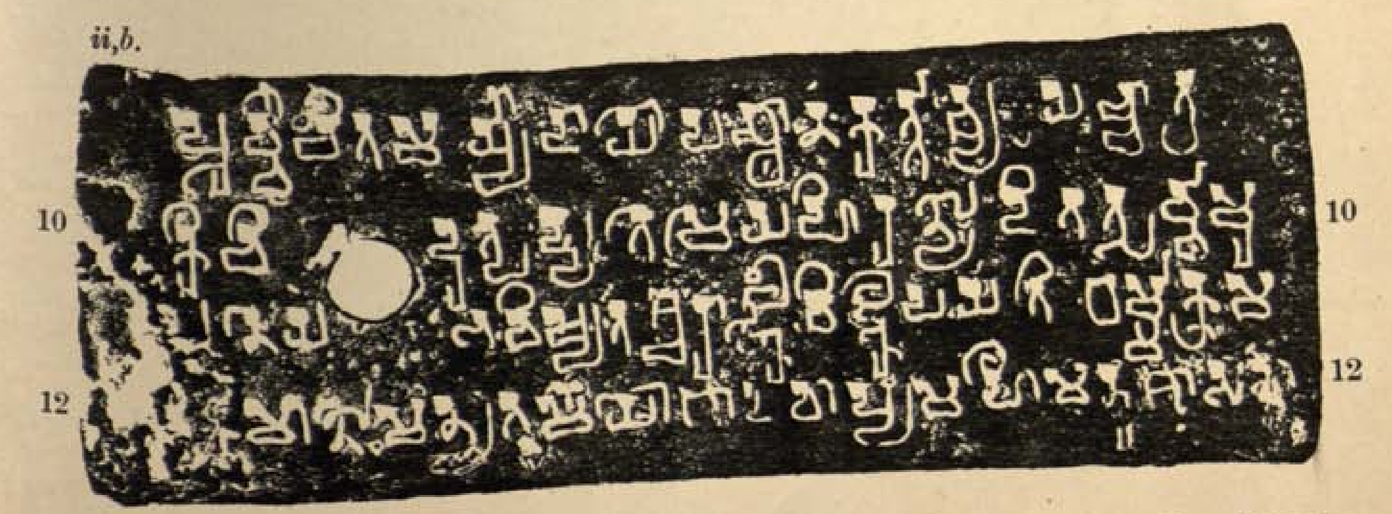
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



SCALE : ACTUAL SIZE.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2095 E'41-290.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Second Plate ; First Side.

5 yē Vatsa-sagōtrāya Chhandōga-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhma-
6 ṇa-Khallasvāminē ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi[1]-tāraka-pratishṭha-
7 m=agrahāra[ṁ] kṛitvā sarvva-kara-parihāraiś=cha parihṛitya
8 sampradattas=saha vāṭakēna[|*] tad=ēvaṁ viditvā yushmābhiḥ

Second Plate ; Second Side.

9 pūrvv-ōchita-maryyādā(da)y=ōpasthānaṁ karttavyam[|*] yach=ch=ātra
10 kiṁchid=utpadyatē mēya-hiraṇy-ādi tat=sarvvam=u-
11 paṇēyaṁ[|*] bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayati[|*] dharmma-kkrama-
12 [vikra]māṇām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anuśāsatā-[2]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) Ōṁ Hail ! From **Sunagara**, the illustrious king (*Mahārāja*) **Umavarman**, who is a devout worshipper of the gods and devoted to the feet of (*his*) father, commands all the householders *en masse* at the Village of **Kuttura** (*which is situated*) in the Mahēndra-*bhōga* (*as follows*) :

(Ll. 4-8) " We have granted this village including the road[3] (*passing through* it), for the increase of (*Our*) own religious merit, life and fame, to the Brāhmaṇa, Khallasvāmin, who belongs to the Vatsa *gōtra* and who is a religious student of the Chhandōga *śākhā*, after making it an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, and exempting it from the liability of paying all taxes.

(Ll. 8-11) " Having known this, you should regard (*this gift*) with the honour as obtaining heretofore ; you should also surrender (*to the donee*) whatever grows on this (*soil*) (*in the shape of*) grain (*mēya*), gold, *etc.*"

(Ll. 11-12) The King further exhorts the future rulers (*as follows*) : " Having obtained possession of the earth either by right, or by succession, or by valour and ruling (*it*).................

No. 19.—SPURIOUSNESS OF THE NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

BY DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., PH.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

There is a controversy over the character of the Nālandā Plate of Samudragupta dated in the year 5. In *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1927-28, p. 138, Dr. Hirananda Sastri says, " As in the latter document (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) so in the one under notice (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate), the epithets of Samudragupta from *Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttuḥ* (line 1) to *Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya* (line 4) are given in the genitive case, but *Kumāradēvyām=utpannaḥ Paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* in the nominative case. Obviously, therefore, this new plate must also be treated as spurious ". Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, points out that " one ungrammatical clause, which is common to both, is not enough to stamp either as spurious. On the other hand, the alphabet of this Plate (*i.e.*, the Nālandā Plate) is really of the time of Samudragupta, though

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[1] This word, which the scribe forgot to engrave, has been inserted at the top of the line.

[2] Following the text of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, one might restore the rest of this sentence as =anuśāsatām=pravṛittakam=idan=dānaṁ sad-dharmmam=anupālyadbhir=ēshō=grahārō=nupālyaḥ[|*].

[3] The other alternative meanings of this word *vāṭaka* such as 'garden', 'orchard', *etc.*, do not seem to be applicable here.

that of No. 1540 (*i.e.*, the Gayā Plate) is of the 8th century"[1]. Thus while Dr. Sastri declares the record to be spurious, Dr. Bhandarkar admits the possibility of its genuineness. Mr. A. Ghosh, who has recently edited[2] the Nālandā plate, is, "on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present Plate is not above suspicion"[3]. Mr. Ghosh rightly points out[4] that the authenticity of the Nālandā record would indicate an abnormally long period for three generations, *viz.*, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. Further, he points out[5] the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* which is *abundant* in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates as a "feature, remarkable for the Gupta period". He, however, does not lay much emphasis on this point. Such use is not found in the genuine records of the early Gupta kings[6]. This characteristic, therefore, appears to suggest that the record is a late forgery.

Samudragupta's epithet *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ* is, again, very suspicious. It is only used in the records of his successors and is conspicuous by its absence from the elaborate description of his achievements in the Allahābād pillar inscription. It is indeed highly improbable that Samudragupta performed the horse-sacrifice before the fifth year of his reign or of the Gupta era.

The most important point in this connection is, in my opinion, the title *Paramabhāgavata* applied to the name of Samudragupta in both the Gayā and Nālandā Plates. That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved beyond doubt by the striking facts that he is nowhere given that title and that several records of the later members of his family mention the names of Samudragupta and his predecessors without that title, but, at the same time, apply it to the names of all his successors. The Gupta genealogy given in the Bhitarī pillar inscription[7] of Skandagupta, may be cited as an example.

That Samudragupta was not a *Paramabhāgavata* is proved not only by the inscriptions, but also by the evidence of coins. The title is found with the names of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta on a number of their coin-types, but not with the name of Samudragupta on any of his numerous types[8].

The above facts prove that as Chandragupta I was the first *Mahārājādhirāja*, so was Chandragupta II the first *Paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta emperors. There is reason to believe that the latter king was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata religion and of such titles as *Paramabhāgavata* from the 4th-5th century A. D. Samudragupta might have been a Vaishṇava[9], but he was evidently not a *Bhāgavata*, *i.e.*, follower of the Bhāgavata form of Vaishṇavism.

There is thus hardly any doubt that the epithets of Samudragupta in the Nālandā Plate were copied from the records of his successors. The Nālandā Plate is therefore forged and is certainly later than "the time of Samudragupta".

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[1] *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2075, n. 1. Dr. Bhandarkar lays great stress on the early script used in the Nālandā Plate. It is, however, always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 50 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 51. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 52. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[6] There is not a single instance of the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* in any of the genuine records of the Gupta kings edited by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III. The earliest use noticed there is in the Khōh grant of Hastin dated in the Gupta year 156 (*Ibid.*, p. 94).

[7] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 52 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225, n.

[8] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 161—62.

[9] The Garuḍa emblem on his coins may suggest that his religion was Vaishṇavism. But this is not beyond doubt. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman was a *Paramamāhēśvara*, but Nandivamran II a *Paramabhāgavata*. They, however, not only used the same Śaivite emblem on their seals, but also advocated their devotion to Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas (Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 84). Such emblems appear to have been connected with the faith of the founder of a particular royal line.

No. 20.—BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

By Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A. and D. B. Mahajan, B.A.

These plates were discovered by Pandit Vasudev Śāstrī Dhānagare at **Bāsim**, the headquarters of the Bāsim *tālukā* of the Akolā District in Berār. They were brought to the notice of scholars at the second session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in December 1939 when Mr. Y. K. Deshpande read an article on them contributed by him jointly with Mr. D. B. Mahajan, B.A., Superintendent of Land Records, Akolā. The article is expected to be published soon in the *Proceedings* of the Congress[1]. We re-edit the inscription here with the consent of Pandit Dhanagare and Mr. Y. K. Deshpande.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 6·1" broad and 3·4" high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1·2" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole ·25" in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal.[2] The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tolas*. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing which are equally distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the South-Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II. As in the latter, the medial *au* is bipartite, see *-pautrasya*, l. 3; *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *likhitaṁ*, l. 29 and *rakkhāpedha*, l. 25, but not in *kkhanaka*, l. 20 and *rakkhadha*, l. 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same looped form, see *=vvachanāt*, l. 5 and *hēmantā*, l. 28; in *anumaṇṇati*, l. 26, on the other hand, *n* appears without a loop exactly like *t*. It is again noteworthy that the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, see *a-hiraṇṇa-dhāṇṇa* l. 20, while in the grants[3] of Pravarasēna II, the Tāḷagunda inscription[4] of Kākusthavarman and other records of the period, the subscript *ṇ* has generally the same form as the dental *n*. Numerical symbols for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text and those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these, the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy; for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual,[5] but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka*. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head, see *=vvachanāt*, l. 5. Finally a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation which is redundant in most cases. The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prākrit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1-5 is in Sanskrit; the formal portion which follows is in Prākrit, but like the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit.[6] It is noteworthy that as in the early Prākrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and

[1] The article has been published since this was sent to the press. See *Proceedings* of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, pp. 449 ff. and plates.

[2] All the complete grants of Pravarasēna II, which have been published so far, have a round seal with a metrical legend, but without any device, see, *e.g.*, the seal of the Tirōḍi plates, above, Vol. XXII, plate facing p. 173.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *suvarṇṇa* in l. 45 of the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 25 and n. 2.

[5] See Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel IX.

[6] In the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.) the expression is *Svasti gō-brāhmaṇa-lēkhaka-vāchaka=śrōtribhya iti*, while in the present grant it is *Siddhir=astu*.

Bṛihatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākāṭakas which is usually given as Vishṇuvṛiddha, appears here in the form Vṛishṇivṛiddha. The former is evidently the correct form, for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works[1] on *gōtras* and *pravaras*. The Prākrit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for, this is one of the few copper-plate grants from South India which contain a detailed portion in Prākrit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, for instance, the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-śānti-vāchanē*, ll. 8-9, *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24 and *a-damyamāṇaṁ*,[2] l. 25, which are inserted in the midst of Prākrit sentences. As shown below, the present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare, see, *e.g.*, *chātuvvejja-ggāma-majjātā*, l. 19, *a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaṇa*, l. 21, *Vidhijjesi*, l. 13, *Sivajjesi*, l. 16, etc. and contrast them with *Revatijesi*, l. 18, *Chāndajesi*, l. 14, etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prākrit grammarians, see, *e.g.*, *tiṇṇā* (Sanskrit, *trayaḥ*) in l. 17 instead of *tiṇṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56; *tissa* in l. 27 instead of *tassa*[3]. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in l. 19 in the sense of *tasya*,[4] *ya* in ll. 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*,[5] and the euphonic nasal in *etthaṅ-gāme* in l. 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the Mahārāshṭrī, see, *e.g.*, *āpuṇo* (for the regular *appaṇo*[6]) in l. 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Mahārāshṭra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī; see, *e.g.*, the softening of *th* into *dh* in *Ādhivvaṇika*, l. 9 and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha*[7] in lines 25 and 26 and *dāṇi*[8] in l. 8. On the other hand, we have hardening of *d* into *t* in *-majjātā*, l. 19, as in the Paiśāchī[9]. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or, *siṁ*) used in the sense of the dative, *e.g.*, *Jivujjesiṁ* (Sanskrit, *Jīvāryāya*), *Ruddajjesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrāryāya*), etc., in ll. 10—18. According to grammarians[10] the dative case has disappeared from the Prākrits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *ssa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prākrit inscriptions. In the present grant, on the other hand, we find the form in *si* (or *siṁ*[11]) used throughout. It

[1] See, e.g., the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp. 44, etc.

[2] [See below p. 153, n. 4—Ed.]

[3] Vararuchi, VI, 6 mentions *tissā* as genitive singular in the feminine.

[4] *Ibid.*, VI, 11.

[5] Similarly *ya* is used in this sense in line 6 of the Mayidavōlu plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 87) and in lines 12 and 14 of the Ellore plates of the Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 58 and 59.

[6] Vararuchi, V, 46. The Hīrahaḍagalli plates have *appaṇa* in l. 8. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attanō*.

[7] Vararuchi, XII, 3. It may be noted that the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman in l. 20 and the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī (above, Vol. VIII, p. 146) in l. 11 have *pariharatha* and *pariharāpetha*.

[8] Hēmachandra lays down *dāṇiṁ* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anusvāra* is optionally dropped (VIII, l. 29). The Hīrahaḍagalli plates (l. 7) have the same form as here, while the Mayidavōlu plates (l. 5) and the Koṇḍamudi plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 317, l. 7) have *dāni*.

[9] It is noteworthy that *-majātāye* occurs in l. 45 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates and *-majādāya* in l. 18 of the Mayidavōlu plates. Both these records are of the same period and come from the same part of South India.

[10] Vararuchi, VI, 64.

[11] *Siṁ* is used only in three or four places in ll. 10-12.

seems to have been modelled on the genitive plural forms of pronouns, *e.g.*, *jesiṁ*, *tesiṁ*, *kesiṁ*, etc., just as the pronominal form *etāṇa* is made on the analogy of *bāmhaṇāṇa*[1] which accompanies it in l. 17. This form in *si* has survived in old Marāṭhī works like the *Līḷācharitra* and the *Jñānēśvarī* and is plainly the source of the modern Marāṭhī affix *sa*. Scholars have long been in doubt about the origin of this affix. Some derived it from the Prākrit affix *ssa*, but as Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out the form in *sa* does not occur in old Marāṭhī works which throughout exhibit only the form in *si*[2]. Other origins of this affix have been suggested. Bhandarkar traced it to the Sanskrit word *sama*[3] and Rajavade to *āsa*[4] (meaning 'near'). The numerous forms in *si* which occur in the sense of the dative in the present inscription leave no doubt that this affix is the real parent of the Marāṭhī affix *sa*.

The only **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma-*, l. 1) and *anusvāra* (in *kata[ṁ]vva*, l. 26 and *sā[ṁ*]vvchchharaṁ*, l. 28), the use of *j* for *y* in *karejja*, l. 26 and *kerejjāma*, l. 28, and the use of the class nasal in place of an *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prākrit words, see, *e.g.*, *Vindhyaśaktēr*, and *Nāndīkaḍasa*, l. 5, *a-chamm-aṅgālika*, l. 22 and *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, l. 24, etc.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *dṛishṭam*,[5] 'seen', the auspicious word *siddham* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman.[6] The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vākāṭaka** king, the *Dharmamahārāja* **Vindhyaśakti**. The **object** of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyaśakti, of the village *Ākāsapadda*[7] which was situated near Tākālakkhōppaka on the road going north from Nāndīkaḍa. The donees were certain Brāhmaṇas of the Ātharvaṇa *charaṇa* or Atharvavēda. Brāhmaṇas of this Vēda, though now practically non-existent in the Central Provinces and Berār, were apparently not so rare in the age of the Vākāṭakas; for, the Tirōḍi plates[8] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II also register the grant of a village in the Bālāghāṭ District of the Central Provinces to a Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvavēda. The names of all the donees mentioned in lines 10-18 end in *ajja* (or, *aja*, Sanskrit, *ārya*) as in the early grants of the Pallavas, Bṛihatphalāyanas and Ānandas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmaṇas and the remaining one to one Brāhmaṇa. The shares of the former, again, were not equal; four of them received only half a share[9] and the remaining four, two shares[10] each.

[1] Forms like *etāṇa* are, of course, recognised by Vararuchi, VI, 4.

[2] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (publ. in 1914), p. 204.

[3] According to Bhandarkar the origin of the Marāṭhī affix *sa* is the same as that of Hindī *sĕ*, Gujarātī *sĕ* or *syũ* and Sindhī *sĕ* or *sā̃*, *ibid*, p. 251.

[4] Rajvade, *Jñānēśvarīchē Vyākaraṇa*, (Marāṭhī), p. 11.

[5] This word does not occur in the beginning of the unfinished Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivishēṇa II (above Vol. IX, p. 270) and the unfinished Drug plate, (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 212.)

[6] In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 42), on the other hand, *dṛishṭam* is written in the margin and *siddham* in the first line.

[7] The name of the village is used in the plural just like *Valūrakesu* in inscription No. 13 at Kārlē (above, Vol. VII, p. 57).

[8] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

[9] The text has *āddhaka* in l. 10, which probably means 'a half'. Compare *aṁsik-āddhā* in l. 21 of the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman (above, Vol. VI, p. 317). *Addhikā* which occurs in l. 39 of the Hirahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, p. 9 and n. 24) has, however, been translated by Bühler as 'labourers'.

[10] *Paṭa* in l. 15 corresponds to *paṭi-bhāga* or *paṭī-bhāga* in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (ll. 12, 13, *etc.*, *passim*). In the Gōrantla plates of Attivarman *paṭṭi* is used in the sense of a measure of land. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. Is *paṭṭi* or *paṭa* identical with *pāṭaka* which is mentioned as a measure of land in the Gunaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta? See *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff.

The plates are **dated** in the 37th year (expressed in numerical symbols) evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Hēmanta. This date does not admit of verification and there is no reference to any era, but that the record must be referred to an early period in the age of the Vākāṭakas appears not only from the use of the Prākrit language in its formal portion but also from the manner of dating it; for such a season-date is met with only in one other Vākāṭaka inscription, *viz.*, the Dudia plates[1] of Pravarasēna II. The present grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu) and was issued from Vatsagulma. Only one other grant is known to have been issued from this place, *viz.*, that recorded in the India Office plate[2] of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna.

Vatsagulma was probably the capital of Vindhyaśakti. It seems to have continued to be the Vākāṭaka capital at least down to the time of Dēvasēna and evidently attained great importance in course of time; for it gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākrit play *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājaśēkhara mentions Vachchhomī (which plainly corresponds to the Sanskrit Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with the Māgadhī and the Pāñchālī. Vachchhomī is clearly identical with Vaidarbhī. The latter form is derived from the name of the country of Vidarbha and the former from that of its capital Vachchhoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. Randle has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the south and that it corresponds to the Vākāṭaka kingdom.[3] Rājaśēkhara also tells us in his *Karpūramañjarī*[4] that Vachchhoma was situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha. The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by the same author in his rhetorical work *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[5] In the third *adhyāya* of it, Rājaśēkhara states that the mythical Kāvyapurusha married the Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. Vatsagulma was evidently known as a centre of learning in the time of Rājaśēkhara. This place is identical with Bāsim where the present plates were found. It is now regarded as a holy *kshētra* and there are said to be as many as 108 *tīrthas* in it, associated with different gods and sages. The place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamaṅgalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*[6] states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakshiṇāpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The local *Māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Since then the place came to be known as Vatsagulma.[7] **Nāndīkaḍa**, which was apparently the headquarters of a district,[8] is probably identical with Nāndēḍ, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Nizām's dominions. **Tākālakkhōppaka** and the donated village **Akāsapadda** which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay on the road going to the North from Nāndīkaḍa. Now, on the road which connects Nāndēḍ with Bāsim which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākaligōhan and Tākali about 40 and 43

[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

[2] *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 180.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 179.

[4] See *Karpūramañjarī* (Harvard Oriental Series ed.), p. 26.

[5] Gaekwad's Oriental Series, ed. (1916), p. 10.

[6] *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇayasāgara Press ed.), p. 295. The *Brihatkathā* also mentions that Vatsa and Gulma were sons of a Brāhmaṇa and maternal uncles of Guṇāḍhya, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

[7] *Akolā District Gazetteer*, pp. 325 ff.

[8] Similar names ending in *kaṭa* (*e.g.*, *Bhōjakaṭa*, *Bennākaṭa*) occur in other grants of the Vākāṭakas as names of districts.

miles respectively from Nāndēḍ. One of these may represent ancient Tākālakkhōppaka. About seven miles to the west of Tākaligōhan there is still a small village named Āsuṇḍ which is possibly identical with Ākasapadda. The identification of Nāndīkaḍa with Nāndēḍ, which is almost certain, shows that Vindhyaśakti was ruling over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the **historical information** furnished by it.

The present inscription gives the following **genealogy** of the donor Vindhyaśakti: **Pravarasēna**, his son **Sarvasēna** and the latter's son **Vindhyaśakti.** In connection with Vindhyaśakti, the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishṭōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishṭōma, Bṛihaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hāritīputra* (a son, *i. e.*, a descendant of Hāritī) and *Dharmamahārāja.*[1] These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākāṭaka king in the present grant only; for, they are nowhere mentioned in any of the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā, Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyaśakti is known to history, *viz.*, the one who is mentioned in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas and in the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[2] The use of the Prākrit language in a portion of this record lent colour to this view; for, all other known Vākāṭaka inscriptions—whether on stone or on copper—are invariably in Sanskrit. The Bāsim plates were therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti. A closer examination of the record has, however, shown that this identification cannot be upheld. The genealogical portion of the grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti[3]. Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasēna I in all other Vākāṭaka grants[4]. It seems therefore that the expressions *śrī-Pravarasēna-*

[1] The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, seems to have been suggested by the analogous one *Dharmamahāmātra* which appears as the title of a high official in the inscriptions of Aśōka. We find it for the first time in the Hīrahaḍagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. It is, however, noteworthy that the title was mentioned in Pallava grants only in connection with the name of the contemporary ruling king; for, in the early Sanskrit grants of the Pallavas which mention three generations (*e. g.*, the Pikira and Māṅgaḷūr grants of Siṁhavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 162; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 155), the title is applied only to the ruling king who made the particular gift. This is probably the reason why the title does not occur in the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, for he was only a *Yuvarāja* when he issued the plates. The Kadambas adopted this title from the Pallavas after whom they rose to power. Their grants, however, mention this title even in connection with the ancestors of the ruling kings, see, *e.g.*, the Bannahaḷḷi plates of Krishṇavarman II, above, Vol. VI, pp. 18 ff. The present Bāsim plates have adopted the same custom; for, as shown below, they mention this title in connection with the name of all the three kings, Pravarasēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti. In some later Kadamba grants we find the title mentioned in connection with the names of old kings only, which shows that it went out of use in course of time. Like the Kadambas the Early Chālukyas also called themselves Hārītīputras, but they rose to power long after the Vākāṭakas.

[2] This view is maintained in the article which was read at the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress.

[3] This was first pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his note on the present plates published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 ff. The repetition may, however, be attributed to the carelessness of the drafter of the record. An analogous instance is furnished by the Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba *Yuvarāja* Dēvavarman, which apply the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* twice to his father Krishṇavarman, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 33-34.

[4] See, *e.g.*, the Paṭṭan plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85. The list is the same except that the Bāsim plates mention *Jyōtishṭōma* in place of *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra*.

pautrasya in l. 3 and *śrī-Sarvvasēna-putrasya* in l. 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* and *śrī-Sarvvasēnasya putrasya*, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvvasēnasya* respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarasēna Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression *Agnishṭōm-āptōryyāma......chatur-aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ* and *Ṣamrāja[ḥ*]* would now qualify *śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, showing that it was he, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title of *Samrāṭ*. This is quite in accordance with the statement in other Vākāṭaka grants. Pravarasēna, who heads the genealogical list in the present plates, would thus be Pravarasēna I who, according to the Purāṇas, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākāṭaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would thus be as follows—

Pravarasēna I
|
(son)
Sarvasēna
|
(son)
Vindhyaśakti II

This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākāṭaka family; for, according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivīshēṇa II, Pravarasēna I was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra who probably did not come to the throne[1].

Let us next consider if we could adduce any other evidence to prove the existence of this hitherto unknown branch of the Vākāṭaka family.

In this connection we would draw attention to the stone inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā. This inscription has been edited thrice before, first by Dr. Bhau Daji with 'a tolerably accurate facsimile' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-74, then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 69-73 and finally by Dr. Bühler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-28. Dr. Bühler's transcript is accompanied by a lithograph of the record from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal[2]. This lithograph has been somewhat worked up by hand. As it is, it seems to show that the inscribed stone is quite smooth where the inscription is well preserved, but those who have visited Ajaṇṭā and seen the inscription *in situ* know that it is just the reverse. This lithograph must therefore be used with caution and important readings of it must be verified from mechanical copies of the record. As we were suspicious about certain readings in the transcripts of Bhagwanlal and Bühler, we requested the Government Epigraphist for India to lend us a fresh estampage of the inscription. We are grateful to him for complying with our request and sending us an excellent estampage[3].

The Ajaṇṭā inscription is very much worn especially in the middle and on the left hand side, but Bhagwanlal has, with his wonted skill, transcribed all that could be deciphered in his days. We give below his transcript of the first nine lines of the record for ready reference.

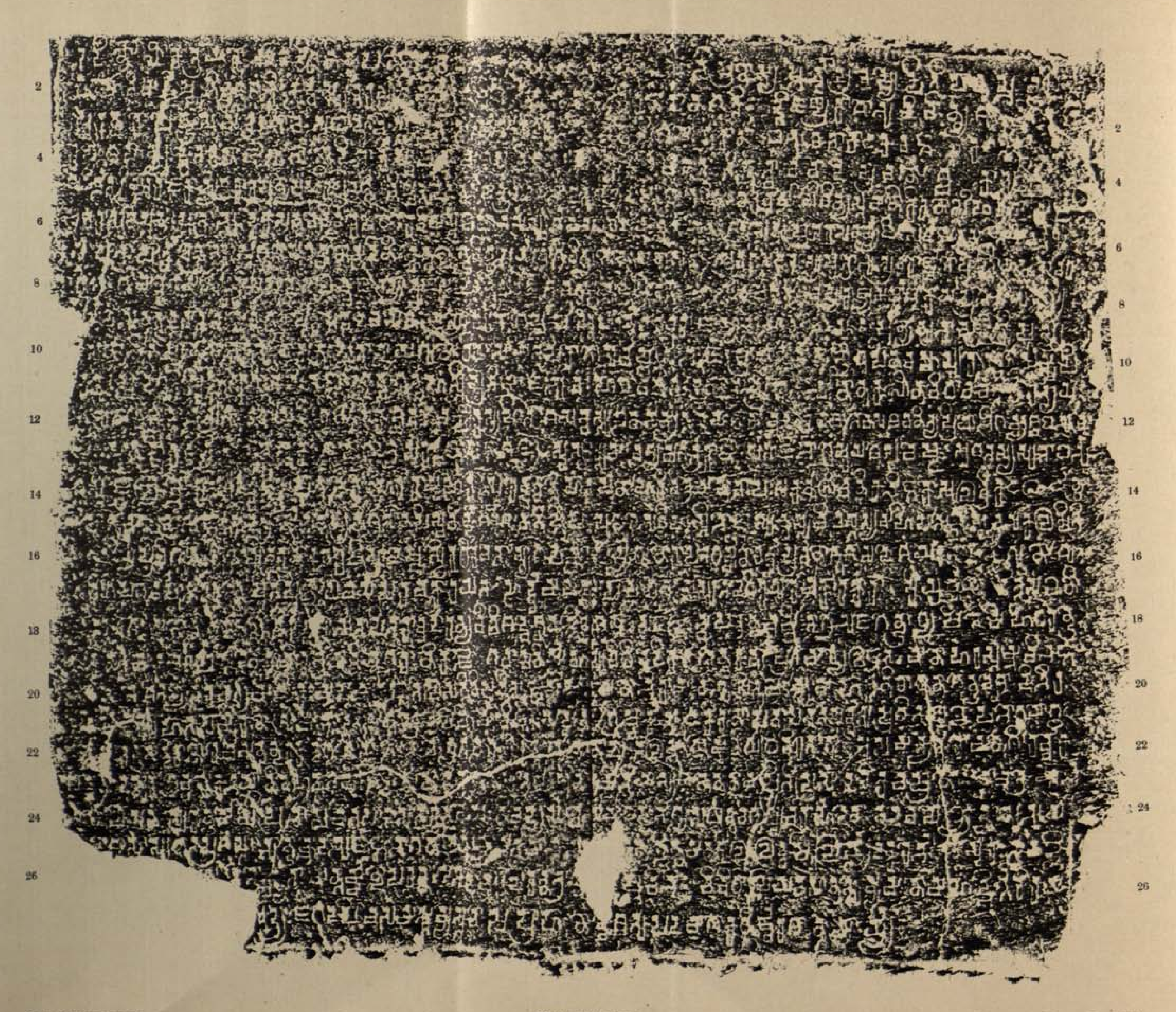
[1] Gautamīputra does not seem to have ascended the throne because in later Vākāṭaka grants the epithet *Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājasya* which invariably precedes the names of ruling kings is not prefixed to his name. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 1.

[2] See *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, Plate LVII.

[3] The estampage is reproduced here with the kind permission of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archæology, Hyderabad State.


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VAKATAKA INSCRIPTION IN CAVE NO. XVI AT AJANTA.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: ONE-FIFTH. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2085 E'41-290.

[१] उदीर्ण्णलोकत्रयदीपवन्हिनिर्व्वापनो[1] . . . .
. . प्रणम्य पूर्व्वां प्रवच्मे चितिपानुपूर्व्वी[म्] [॥]

[२] महाविमर्द्देष्वभिवृद्धशक्तिः क्रुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य्य[वीर्य्यः] [।] . . . .
. . रणदानशक्तिः द्विज×प्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [॥]

[३] पुरन्दरोपेन्द्रसमप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्य्यार्ज्जितस[र्व्वलोकः] [।] . . . .
. . . . [यशो]शुकानां बभूव वाकाटकवंशकेतुः [॥]

[४] रणे[षु] हर्य्युत्थितरेणुजालसञ्छादितार्क . . . . [।] . . . .
. . . . नरातीन्कृत्वा[भि]वादप्रवणाश्चकार[2] [॥]

[५] [विनि]र्ज्जितारि[स्म]र[)]राजकार्य्यश्चकार पुण्येषु परं प्रय[त्नं] [।] . . . .
. . . . नरेंद्रमौलिविन्यस्तमणिकिरणलीढक्रमाम्बुजः

[६] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षण[3]रविमयूख . . . .
[रुद्र ? सेनः] प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्व्वसेनस्सुतोभवत्

[७] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य [प्रशशास] धर्म्मेण मेदिनीम् कुन्तलेन्द्रवि . . . .
. . . प्रवरसेनस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्ज्जितोदारशासनप्रवर[:] [।]

[८] . . . . [॥] तस्यात्मज×कामत . . . .
. . . . [।] . . . . . . मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दको य×प्रशशास
सम्यक् [॥]

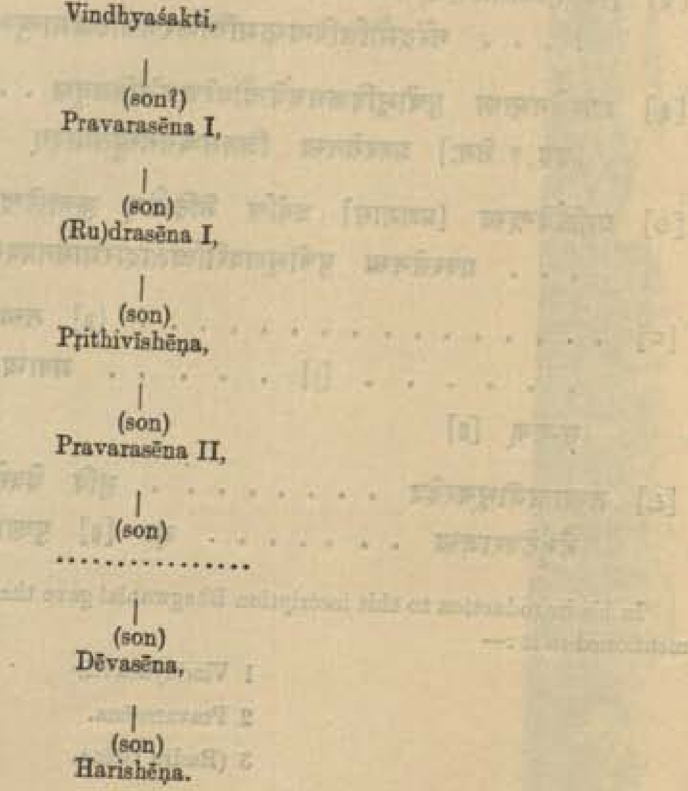
[९] तस्यात्मजोभून्नरदेव . . . . भुवि देवसेन[: ।] यस्योपभोगैर्ल्ललितैर्व्विपाव-
नैर्न्नृदेवराजस्य . . . . भूः [॥] पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य

In his introduction to this inscription Bhagwanlal gave the following list of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in it :—

1 Vindhyaśakti.
2 Pravarasēna.
3 (Rudra ?)sēna.
4 ....
5 Dēvasēna.
6 Harishēṇa.

1 The reading appears to be *vahni-nirvvāpaṇō*.
2 The reading is-*pravaṇāṁś=chakāra* as noted by Bühler.
3 Bühler read [*ari-*] before *narēndra-* in l. 5 and *-ēndīvar-ēkshaṇaḥ* in l. 6. See also, above, Vol VIII, p. 27.

He further remarked,[1] 'From the broken state of the inscription it is not clear whether Pravarasēna was a son of Vindhyaśakti, or, as is probable, of a member of the Vindhyaśakti family.[2] Of his son only *-sēna* is legible, preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name may have been Bhadrasēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc.' Bhagwanlal seems to have adopted the reading Rudrasēna, because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I[3] in the Siwani and Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This list was next revised by Bühler in the introductory note to his transcript of the record in *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. Bühler thought that he could read, in the middle of line 7, the *aksharas pra* (or, *pṛi*)*thivī* which showed a name like Pṛithivīshēṇa. As Rudrasēna was mentioned in the immediately preceding line he identified this prince with Pṛithivīshēṇa, the son of Rudrasēna I, mentioned in the Vākāṭaka land-grants. Again, he proposed to read further on in the same line, *Pravarasē*[*nas=ta*]*sya putrō=bhūt....* in place of Bhagwanlal's *Pravarasēnasya putrō=bhūt*, and this Pravarasēna he identified with Pravarasēna II. According to him therefore the Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription were as follows :—


Vindhyaśakti,
|
(son?)
Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
(Ru)drasēna I,
|
(son)
Pṛithivīshēṇa,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II,
|
(son)
....
|
(son)
Dēvasēna,
|
(son)
Harishēṇa.

He also pointed out that the name of one prince, Rudrasēna II was omitted after Pṛithivīshēṇa.

[1] Burgess and Indraji—*Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples of Western India, A. S. W. I.*, p. 69.

[2] Scholars are now agreed that this Pravarasēna was the son of Vindhyaśakti himself; for, he is evidently identical with Pravīra mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* as the son of Vindhyaśakti. See Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

[3] He was Pravarasēna's grandson.

From the land-grants of Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II we get the following genealogy :—

Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
(Gautamīputra),
|
(son)
Rudrasēna I,
|
(son)
Pṛithivishēṇa I,
|
(son)
Rudrasēna II,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II,
|
(son)
Narēndrasēna,
|
(son)
Pṛithivishēṇa II.

If we compare this list with Bühler's revised genealogy of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription, two discrepancies in the latter at once strike us—(i) Rudrasēna I was not the son of Pravarasēna I, but was his grandson and (ii) Pravarasēna II was not the son of Pṛithivishēṇa I, but was his grandson. Fortunately, the Ajaṇṭā inscription is quite clear in the portions which describe these relationships, so that there is not the least doubt about the readings. In the former case the inscription reads [*Rudra?*]*sēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jita-sarvva-sēnas=sutō=bhavat* in line 6 and in the latter case, [*Pṛithivī ?*]*shēṇaḥ*........*Pravarasēnas=tasya putrō=bhūt=pravar-ōrjjit-ōdāra-śāsana-pravaraḥ*. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed mistakes in describing these relationships or that some of the readings of the royal names given by Bhagwanlal and Bühler are incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely ; for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa's minister and is on the whole very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the names of Rudrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa are supposed to occur and consequently mistakes in reading are not unlikely. On referring to the excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist we found that the reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* was extremely doubtful. Both Bhagwanlal and Bühler also were not certain about it, but Bhagwanlal thought that he saw a faintly traceable form like *dra*. He proposed to read *Rudrasēnaḥ* evidently because Vākāṭaka land-grants mention a Rudrasēna, soon after Pravarasēna I. This reading was also adopted by Bühler. Referring to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature is quite uncertain, but there appears a loop below it. This has evidently been taken to be the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in this lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop ; it is always denoted by a hook open to the left. The estampage of the Government Epigraphist does not clearly show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The reading *Rudrasēnaḥ* is, therefore, to say the least, extremely doubtful.

Let us see if we could restore this royal name. The extant portion of this verse shows that the prince whose name is partially lost was a son of Pravarasēna who has now been identified by all scholars with Pravarasēna I. The Bāsim plates suggest that he might be Sarvasēna and the reading *Sarvvasēnaḥ* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnaḥ*. The latter part of the verse in l. 6 would therefore read *Sarvvasēnaḥ Pravarasēnasya jita-sarvva-sēnas=sutō=bhavat*. The resulting *yamaka* makes this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this Ajaṇṭā inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names[1] as will be seen from the following lines :—

2 प्रभिद्दवशक्तिः . . . . . दानशक्तिः . . . . विन्ध्यशक्तिः ॥

7 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोर्ज्जितोदारशासनप्रवरः ।

10-11 हस्तिभोजः . . . . दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो वभूव ।

14 हरिषेणो हरिविक्रमप्रतापः ।

The description *jita-sarvva-sēnaḥ* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna[2]. The Bāsim plates have now shown that Sarvasēna was a son of Pravarasēna.[3] **This Pravarasēna, with whom the genealogy in the Bāsim plates begins, must therefore, be identified with Pravarasēna I.**

In the middle of the next line (7) Bühler read the *aksharas pra* (or, *pri*) *thivi* and thought that they formed part of the royal name *Pṛithivīshēṇa*. This prince he identified with Pṛithivishēṇa I. Referring to the lithograph used by him, we find that the *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*, for, in other places in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom. See, for instance, *prathitō* in line 15, *prathita-guṇ-ōpabhōga* in line 21, etc. The *akshara* appears to be *śrī* of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct in that lithograph.[4] The following *akshara* is clearly *viṁ*. In the new estampage we find clear traces of *dhya* following *viṁ*. Especially the elongated curve representing subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *sēnaḥ*.[5] The name thus appears to be *śrī-Viṁdhyasēnaḥ*. This prince we identify with Vindhyaśakti of the Bāsim plates.

As regards the remaining names we are in complete agreement with Bühler. They are Pravarasēna, Dēvasēna[6] and Harishēṇa. Between Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna we have lost the name of a prince who, according to the inscription, came to the throne when he was a boy only eight years old. I do not, however, agree with Bühler's view that this Pravarasēna was

[1] For another instance of the use of *yamakas* based on personal names, see the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 66 ff.

[2] Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jita-sarvva-lōkaḥ* or *jita-sarvva-rājaḥ*.

[3] It is possible to read *Sarvvasēnaḥ* from the traces in the new estampage, but we prefer to rely for the reading *Sarvvasēnaḥ* on the wording of the description in l. 6.

[4] Traces of the subscript *r* can be clearly seen in the new estampage.

[5] These *aksharas* were doubtfully read as *shēṇaḥ* by Bühler.

[6] I do not agree with Jayaswal's view (*History of India*, etc., pp. 75 & 79) that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēṇa. The description in l. 13 is intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in other records, see, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXV, p. 14 (line 17 of the text). Harishēṇa is introduced for the first time in the next verse of that inscription.

Pravarasēna II, of whom several land-grants have come down to us. The names Vindhyasēna (or, Vindhyaśakti) and Sarvasēna of his father and grandfather respectively show that he was different from Pravarasēna II, the son of Rudrasēna II and grandson of Pṛithivishēṇa I.

The genealogy of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family can be stated as follows :—

Vindhyaśakti I,
|
(son)
Pravarasēna I,
|
(son)
Sarvasēna,
|
(son)
Vindhyaśakti II (or, Vindhyasēna),
|
(son)
Pravarasēna II[1]
|
son
(Name lost),
|
son
Dēvasēna,
|
son
Harishēṇa.

We know from the *Purāṇas* that Pravarasēna I had four sons who became kings. They apparently divided his extensive kingdom among themselves after his death. Gautamīputra who was probably his eldest son, seems to have predeceased him. Therefore, Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra, succeeded Pravarasēna I. An inscription of this king has been discovered at Deoṭek in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces,[2] not very far from Paunī where an ancient record of a king of the Bhāra clan (the later Bhāraśivas) has been found.[3] He may, therefore, have acquired by inheritance the territory of the Bhāraśivas also. The copper-plates of his great-grandson Pravarasēna II record gifts of land at Chammak near Ellichpur[4] in the Amraoti District, Chandrapura[5] (modern Chāndur) in the Wardhā District, Paṭṭan[6] in the Betul District, Tirōḍi[7] in the Bālāghāṭ District and Brahmapūraka[8] (modern Bāhmni) in the Bhaṇḍārā District. Pravarasēna II was therefore ruling over the northern parts of modern Berār and the territory comprised in the Siwani, Betul, Bālāghāṭ, Nāgpur, Bhaṇḍārā, Wardhā and Chāndā Districts of the Central Provinces. We do not know how much of this territory was acquired by Pravarasēna II or his immediate ancestors. But since the inscriptions of no other branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been found in these districts, we may suppose that the whole of the aforementioned territory was under the rule of Rudrasēna I also. His capital was probably Nandivardhana which is mentioned as the place of issue in the earliest

[1] In a combined genealogy of the two branches the son of Rudrasēna II may be called Pravarasēna III.

[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, Mysore, pp. 613 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 235 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 93.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol XXII, pp. 167 ff.

[8] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 234 ff. and above, Vol. XXII, p. 211, n. 8.

copper-plate grant of this branch, *viz.*, the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā[1] and the Bēlorā plates of her son Pravarasēna II.[2] Later on Pravarasēna II founded Pravarapura and shifted his seat of government there.

Pṛithivishēṇa II is the last known member of this branch. Scholars have long been in doubt about the relation of this Pṛithivishēṇa with Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar thought that the Vākāṭaka family branched forth after Pravarasēna II, Narēndrasēna, the father of Pṛithivishēṇa II, being a brother of the Vākāṭaka prince whose name is lost in the Ajaṇṭā inscription.[3] Jayaswal, on the other hand, identified Narēndrasēna with this latter prince.[4] The foregoing discussion will make it plain that the two branches had separated long before, *i.e.*, after the reign of Pravarasēna I and that Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa belonged to a different line from that of Narēndrasēna and Pṛithivishēṇa II.

Only five inscriptions of this second branch of the Vākāṭaka family have been discovered so far, *viz.*, the present Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Dēvasēna[5] and three stone inscriptions of the reign of Harishēṇa, discovered at or near Ajaṇṭā,—one of his feudatory in Cave No. XVII[6] and two of his minister Varāhadēva in cave No. XVI[7] and the Ghaṭōtkacha cave[8] at Gulwāḍā, about 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā. The provenance of these inscriptions shows that this branch ruled over southern Berār and the northern parts of the Nizām's Dominions. Both the known copper-plate inscriptions of this branch have been issued from Vatsagulma[9] which seems to have continued to be the seat of their government to the last.

According to the genealogy of the Vatsagulma branch fixed above, Vindhyaśakti II and his son Pravarasēna II were the contemporaries of Pṛithivishēṇa I and his son Rudrasēna II of the other branch. From the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā we know that Rudrasēna II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II (A. D. 380-413). He may therefore have come to the throne in *circa* A. D. 400[10]. This is also the approximate date of the close of Vindhyaśakti II's reign. As we have seen, Vindhyaśakti II was the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. In view of the abnormally long reigns assigned in the *Purāṇas* to Vindhyaśakti I and Pravarasēna I[11] and the date, the thirty-seventh regnal year, of the present plates of Vindhyaśakti II, we shall not be wrong if we assign 150 years to the four reigns of Vindhyaśakti I, Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II. Vindhyaśakati I, the founder of the dynasty, seems, therefore, to have risen to power about A. D. 250. Vindhyaśakti II was followed by four kings whose reigns must have

[1] Above, Vol XV, pp. 39 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol., XXIV, pp. 260 ff.

[3] *Annals of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. V, p. 35.

[4] Jayaswal, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 76.

[5] *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

[6] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 128 ff.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. The name of Varāhadēva is lost in this inscription, but line 16 refers to the sons, apparently of Hastibhōja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna, mentioned in l. 10, and Varāhadēva was probably one of them.

[9] This place is identical with Bāsim, see above, p. 140.

[10] Vincent Smith places the marriage of Rudrasēna II with Prabhāvatiguptā at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion against the Śaka satraps of Gujarāt and Surāshṭra 'somewhere about A. D. 395'. *J. R. A. S.* for 1914, pp. 325 ff.

[11] According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti ruled (or, perhaps lived) for 96 years and Pravarasēna I for 60 years.

covered about a century. We may therefore place Harishēṇa, the last of them, about A. D. 475-500.

The present grant is thus the earliest copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas. In its Prākrit portion it has several expressions which in their Sanskrit form were already known from the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā and Pravarasēna II. It is noteworthy that most of them find mention in the Mayidavolu and Hīrahaḍagalli grants of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman as will be seen from the following table[1] :—

No.	Expression in the Bāsim plates.	No.	Corresponding expression in the Hīrahaḍagalli or Mayidavolu plates[2].
1	āpuṇo vijaya-vejayike āyu-bala-vaddhanike	1	appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhanike vijayavejayike (H.)
2	a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayika	2	a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayikaṁ (H.)
3	a-lavaṇa-keṇṇa-kkhanaka	3	a-loṇa-gula-chchhobhaṁ (H.)
4	a-puppha-kkhira-ggahaṇa	4	a-dūdha-dadhi-gahaṇaṁ (H.)
5	a-parampara-go-balivardda	5	a-pāraṁpara-balivadda-gahaṇaṁ (H.)
6	a-chāra-siddhika a-chamm-aṅgālika	6	a-taṇa-kaṭṭha-gahaṇam (H.)
7	a-bhaḍa-ppāvesa	7	a-bhaḍa-papesaṁ (M.)
8	a-khaṭṭā-chollaka-veṇesika	8	a-kara-yollaka-vinesi-khaṭṭā-vāsaṁ (H.)
9	sāvva-jāti-parihāra-parihitaṁ	9	sava-parihārehi parihārito (M.)

The close similarity in many of these expressions is very striking. It shows that the drafter of the Vākāṭaka grant has borrowed the expressions from some earlier Pallava grant. Besides these, we may notice the following points of similarity between the records of the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas: (1) Vākāṭaka grants, when complete, begin with *drishṭam* which corresponds to *diṭhaṁ* seen on the outer side of the first plate of both the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahaḍagalli grants. (2) The Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā[3] begin like the Pallava Sanskrit grants with the words *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*. (3) A number of Vedic sacrifices are enumerated in the beginning of both the Vākāṭaka and early Pallava grants. (4) The words *ājñā svayam* at the end of the Tirōḍi plates recall similar expressions *sayam=āṇataṁ* and *ānati saya tti dattā* at the close of the Hīrahaḍagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

These similarities are surely not accidental. As the rule of the Pallavas never extended to the Central Provinces and Berār, we cannot explain them as due to the employment, by the Vākāṭakas, of the clerks who were previously in the Secretariat of the Pallavas. The striking similarities in several expressions pointed out above clearly presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas and this is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription of a Vākāṭaka householder on a pillar at Amarāvatī in the Āndhra country.[4] That the rule of the

[1] The similarities between the Sanskrit expressions in the Vākāṭaka grants and the Prākrit grants of the Pallavas have been noticed before. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 14, n. 1, and *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 22 ff.

[2] The expressions taken from the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 ff.) are shown as (H) and those from the Mayidavolu plates (above, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.) as (M).

[3] *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, p. 267.

Pallavas extended to the Āndhra country in the north is well known; for the Mayidavolu plates record the grant of a village in the *Aṁdhāpatha* (*Āndhra-patha*) to two Brāhmaṇas. Mere discovery of a pilgrim record at a holy place is, of course, no clear evidence that the pilgrim was a resident of that or even of a neighbouring country, but in conjunction with close similarity in a number of technical expressions such as is noticed nowhere else,[1] it may be taken to point to some sort of connection between the two royal houses. **We shall not therefore be wrong in supposing that the Vākāṭakas had their original home in the South.**

This conclusion is again corroborated by the findspots of Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The earliest known inscription of the Vākāṭakas has been discovered at Deoṭek in the Chāndā District. It records the construction of a *dharma-sthāna* by Rudrasēna who, on the evidence of palæography, has been identified with Rudrasēna I.[2] Besides the present plates, several copper-plate inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II have been discovered in different parts of the Central Provinces and Berār. The only records connected with the Vākāṭaka dynasty which have been discovered in the regions to the north of the Narmadā are the Nachnā[3] and Ganj[4] inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivishēṇa. As Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur Dikshit have shown, he must be identified with Pṛithivishēṇa II on the evidence of palæography. Vyāghradēva is, therefore, probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who, we know, was ruling over the adjoining territory.[5] The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II state that the ruler of Mālwā was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna and it is not unlikely that Pṛithivishēṇa's own authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A. D. The Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, therefore, do not in any way go against the foregoing conclusion about the original home of the Vākāṭakas.

The late Dr. Jayaswal recently advanced the theory that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from Bāgāṭ in the Orchā State.[6] In support of his view he has tried to show that three coins discovered at Kosam and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasēna I, Rudrasēna I and Pṛithivishēṇa I.[7] The first two, according to him, bear the dates 76 and 100 respectively which he refers to the era of A. D. 248. This era, though called by the name of the Chēdi or Kalachuri era, was, according to Jayaswal, really started by the Vākāṭakas. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful.[8] Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākāṭakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākāṭakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years. According to the *Purāṇas* Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra, who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled at two places Purikā and Chanakā.[9] Jayaswal's identification of Chanakā with Nachnā

[1] Two of these expressions occur in some inscriptions (*e.g.*, Nāsik, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4) of the Sātavāhanas from which the Pallavas had evidently taken them. That the Āndhra country had been ruled by the Sātavāhanas before it came under the rule of the Pallavas is well known.

[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

[6] *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 67.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.

[8] Dr. A. S. Altekar has shown that the alleged coin of Rudrasēna has no traces of the letters *Rudra*, but a symbol which looks like a trident or *triratna*. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. II, *Num. Suppl.* No. XLVI, p. 29.

[9] We adopt the reading suggested by Jayaswal, *Bhōkshyanti cha samāḥ shashṭiṁ Purikāṁ Chanakāṁ cha vai*. See *History of India, etc.*, p. 16.

cannot be accepted in the absence of corroborative proof. As for Purikā, it was situated according to the *Harivaṁśa*[1] at the foot of the Ṛikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain and, therefore, in the Central Provinces or Berār. Vindhyaśakti, the first ancestor of the Vākāṭakas, may have been so called because he extended his power to the foot of the Vindhya mountain in the north. There is thus no valid argument against our view that the Vākāṭakas had their original home in the South.[2]

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।*] इष्टम् [।*] वत्सगुल्माद्धर्म्ममहाराजस्या[5]ग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामवाजपेयज्योति-

2 ष्टोमबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क(स्का)चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनस्सम्राज(जो) वृ-

3 ष्णिवृद्ध[6]सगोत्रस्य हारितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपोत्रस्य[7]

4 धर्म्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्व्वसेनपुत्रस्य[8] धर्म्ममहाराजस्य

5 [9]वाकाटकानां ।[10] त्रि(श्री)विन्ध्यशक्तेर्व्वचनात् [।*] नान्दीकडस [11]उत्तरमग्गे

Second Plate; First Side.

6 ताकालक्खीप्पकाब्भासे आकासपदेसु अम्हसन्तका सव्वायोगणि-

7 युत्ता आणत्ति[12]भडा सेसा य सञ्चरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता[13] भाणितव्वा [।*] अम्हेहिं

8 [14]दाणि[15] अपुणो[16] विजयवेजयिके आयुबलवद्धणिके[17] स्वस्ति-

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1 *Vishṇuparvan*, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22.

2 The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti (I) and Pravira at the end of the section about the kings of Vidiśā, but that is probably because like the Āndhras they had extended their power to North India.

3 From ink-impressions. We have derived some help from Dr. D. C. Sircar's transcript of the plates which appeared in the *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 112 ff. while this article was going through the press.

4 This word is written in the margin on a level with l. 3.

5 The mark denoting the length of this vowel is faint.

6 Other Vākāṭaka plates name this *gōtra* as *Vishṇuvṛiddha*. See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 85.

7 Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य,. See above, p. 142.

8 Read श्रीसर्व्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य.

9 Opposite this line in the margin there is a mark for *1*, denoting the number of the plate.

10 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *u*.

12 *Āṇatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is the same as *Dūtaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

13 Compare *ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhikritāḥ* in the Sanskrit grants of the Vākāṭakas. See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. XXII, p. 172.

14 In the margin on the left there is a sign for *2*, denoting the number of this plate.

15 Hēmachandra (VIII, 1, 29; IV, 277) gives both *dāṇi* and *dāṇiṁ* in the Śaurasēnī. *Dāṇi* occurs in the Hirahaḍagalli plates also (above, Vol. I, p. 5).

16 Prākrit grammarians give *appaṇō* as the correct form in the Mahārāshṭrī, see Vararuchi, v. 46 (Bhāmaha's commentary); Hēmachandra VIII, 3, 56.

17 Hultzsch takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the Mayidavolu plates as Māgadhī nominatives. We would prefer to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the Hirahaḍagalli and British Museum plates, the gerund *kātūṇa* or *kātūṇaṁ* follows *-vaddhaniyaṁ* or *vaddhaniye*.

9 शान्तिवाचने[1] इहामुत्तिके धाम्मत्थाणे एत्थग्गामे आधिव्वणिक[2]चर-

10 णस्स आडक ।[3] भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसिं जिवुज्जेसिं कपिञ्चल-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 सगोत्तेसिं[4] । रुद्दज्जेसि । श्राविठायण[5]सगोत्तेसि । भाद्दिदेवज्जेसि

12 कोसि[क]सगोत्तेसि । देवजेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसिं । वेण्हुज्जेसि ।

13 कोसो(सि)कसगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि । पितु-

14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोतेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिकसगोन्ते(त्ते)सि जेट्ठजे-

15 सि । पदे(टे ?)ह्वि दोह्वि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि वुद्धजेसि कोसिकसगोत्तेसि ।

Third Plate; First Side.

16 भाद्दिलज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि

17 हरिण्णजेसित्ति एताण[6] बाम्हणाण भागा तिण्णा[7] ३ कोसिकसगोत्तेसि

18 [8]रेवतिजेसि । भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिचलिको अपुव्वद-

19 त्तीय दत्तो । पुव्वरायाणुमते य से[9] चातुव्वेज्जग्गाममज्जाता[10]परिहारे वित-

20 राम ।[11] तं जथा अरट्ठसंविणयिक । अलवणकेण्ण[12]कुनक । अहिरण्णधाण्ण-

Third Plate; Second Side.

21 प्पणयप्पदेय । अपुप्फकिवरग्गहण[13] । अपरम्परगोबलिवद्दं [।]

[1] Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas.

[2] The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the Śaurasēnī. See also *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *parihārāpedha* in ll. 25—26 below.

[3] The signs of punctuation in lines 10—18 are superfluous.

[4] The *anusvāra* on *si* is very faint, but it is there.

[5] The *gōtra* Śrāvishṭha or Śrāvishṭhāyana is not mentioned in the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, but the Sangoli grant of the Kadamba king Harivarman (above, Vol. XIV, p. 167) names some Brāhmaṇas of the Śrāvishṭha *gōtra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the Atharva-vēda.

[6] The Hirahaḍagalli plates (l. 27) have *etesi bamhaṇāṇam*.

[7] The correct form is *tiṇṇi* in all genders. See Vararuchi, IV, 56.

[8] In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate.

[9] This is genitive singular of *tad*, *ibid.*, VI, 11.

[10] This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the Hirahaḍagalli plates. According to Prākrit grammarians this is a characteristic of the Paiśāchī dialect.

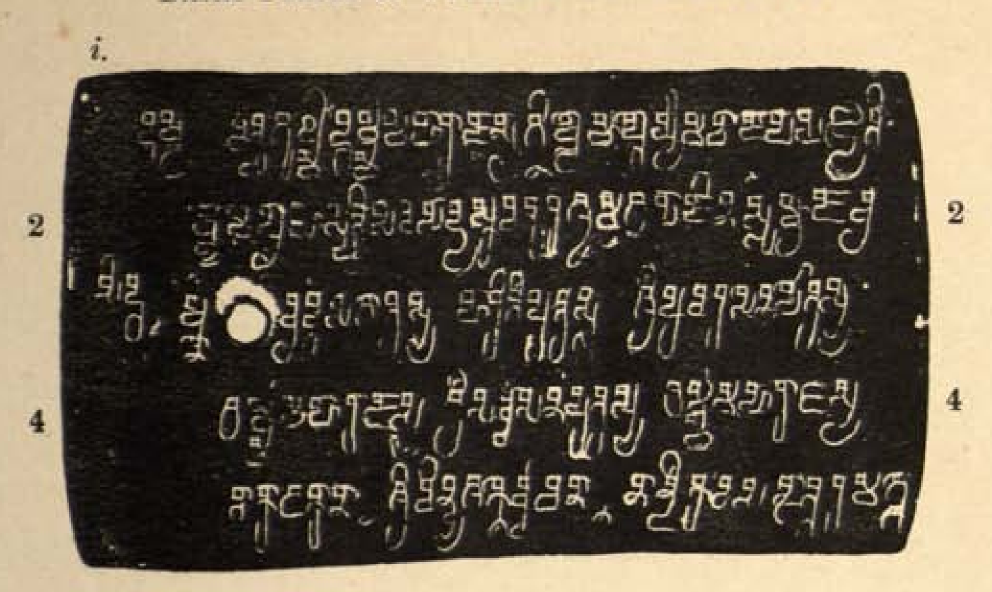
[11] The marks of punctuation in lines 20—27 are superfluous.

[12] This seems to correspond to *krēṇi* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See l. 32 of the Paṭṭan plates, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

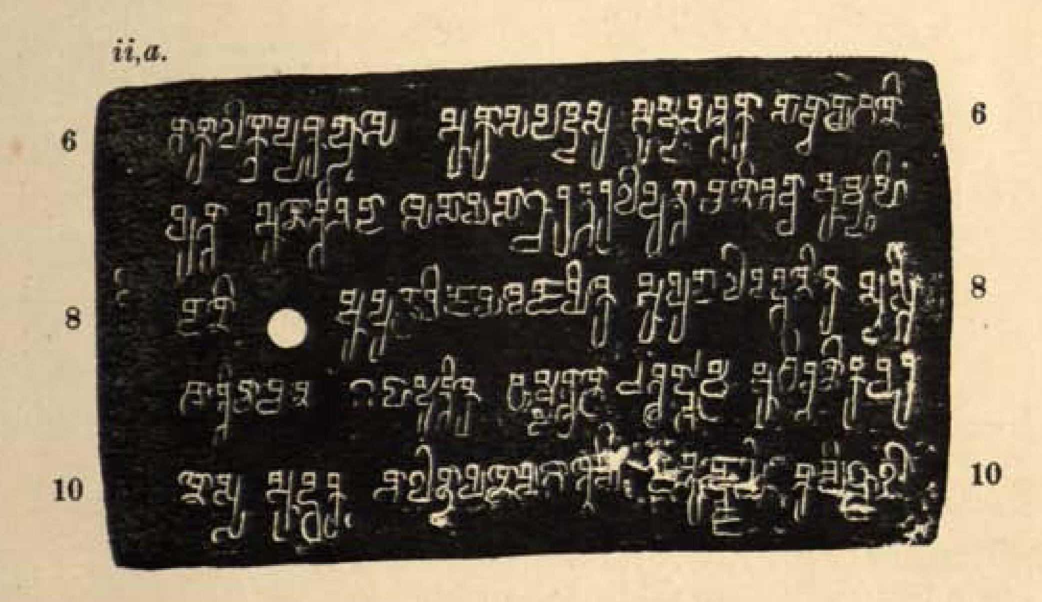
[13] The curve on ṇa seems to have been cancelled.

BASIM PLATES OF VAKATAKA VINDHYASAKTI II.

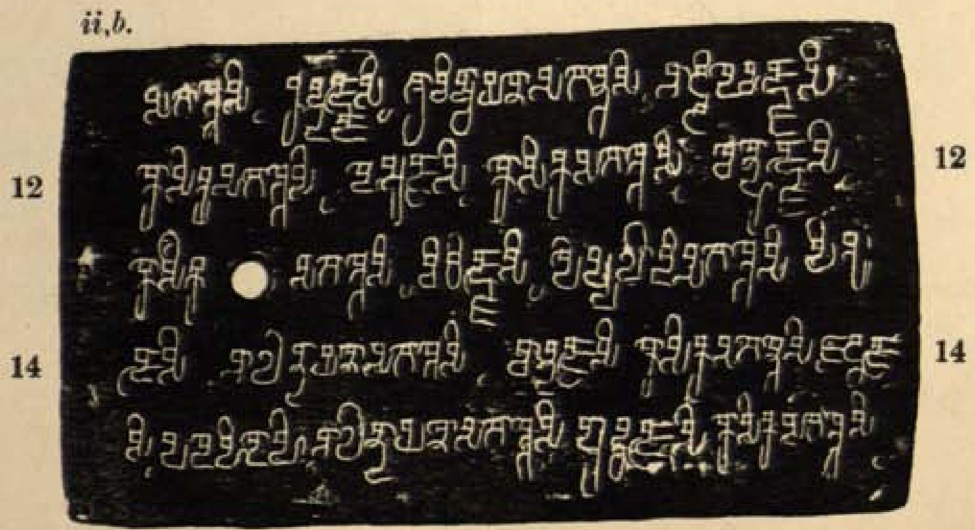
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2074 E'40-290.

iii,a.

iii,b.

iv.

22 अचारसिद्धिक । अच[1]म्मङ्गालिक । अभडप्पावेस अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणे-

23 सिक । अकरद । अवह । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्पन्त[2] ।

24 समच्चमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितश्च [।*] जतो उपरिलि-

25 खित । ग्रासणं[3] चादम्य(म्य ?)माणं[4] करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate.

26 परिहरापेध य [।*] जो तु आबाधं करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति[5]

27 तिस्स[6] एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहिं । ब्राम्हणेहिं । परिकुपितं[7] स[द]ण्ड-

28 [8]नियह करेज्जामेत्ति [।*] साव्वच्छरं २० ७ हेमन्ता(न्त)पक्खं पढमं

29 [दि]व[स] ४ समुपासत्थि[9] लिखितमिमं ग्रास[नं] सेणापतिणा

30 वण्हुण[10] इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ — ॥[11]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1—5) Success! Seen[12]. From **Vatsagulma**[13]——. By the order of the *Dharmamahārāja*,[14] the illustrious **Vindhyaśakti** (II) of the **Vākāṭakas**, (*who is*) the son of the *Dharmamahārāja*, the illustrious **Sarvasēna** (*and*) grandson of the *Dharmamahārāja*,[15] the illustrious

[1] The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*.

[2] This corresponds to *sa-kḷipt-ōpakḷipta* in the Sanskrit charters of the Vākāṭakas. See above Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[3] The *anusvāra* on *ṇa* is very faint in the impression.

[4] [The reading seems to be *śāsaṇa-vādam=pamāṇaṁ karettā*, Skt. *śāsana-vādaṁ pramāṇaṁ kritvā*.—B. C. C.]

[5] One letter after *ma* has been cancelled.

[6] Read *tassa*.

[7] Read *parikupitehi veditassa*. Compare Vol. XXII, p. 173 and Vol. XXIII, p. 87.

[8] In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for *4*, denoting the number of the plate.

[9] The last three *aksharas* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled.

[10] Read *Vaṇhuṇā*.

[11] There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

[12] That is, this engraved charter has been seen and approved. This word is absent in unfinished charters. See above Vol. XXII, p. 168.

[13] That is, this charter was issued from Vatsagulma.

[14] Fleet translated this epithet as 'pious' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 34 ff.) and Kielhorn as 'law-abiding' (above, Vol. III, p. 144). The intended meaning in Brahmanical records must have been 'Defender of the Vedic religion' (*dharma-rakshakō mahārājah*). The expression *Kali-yuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* which is applied to Pallava kings in later Sanskrit charters conveys the same idea.

[15] For the construction, see the discussion above, pp. 141-2.

Pravarasēna (I), the *Samrāṭ* and the son (*i.e.*, a descendant) of Hāritī,[1] (*who was*) of the Vṛishṇivṛiddha *gōtra* and who performed Agnishṭōma, Aptōryāma, Vājapēya, Jyōtishṭōma, Bṛihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas[2]—

(Ll. 5—7) The **Ājñapti**[3] and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments[4] as well as other touring (*officials*) of noble birth in (*the village*) **Ākāsapadda** (*which is situated*) near Tākālakkhoppaka on the northern road from Nāndīkaḍa should be caused to be addressed (*as follows*)—

(Ll. 7—19) For Our victory (*in war*)[5], for the increase of (*Our*) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (*for Us*) and for religious merit in this and the next world, We have now granted this village to (*the following members of*) the Ātharvaṇika *charaṇa*[6] in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (*in the following proportion, viz.,*) three parts, (*in figure*) 3, (*of it*) to these (*following*) Brāhmaṇas—half (*a share*)[7] (*being given*) to Jivujja (Jīvārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddajja (Rudrārya) of the Kapiñjala *gōtra*, to Bhāṭṭidevajja (Bhartṛidēvārya) of the Śrāvishṭhāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Veṇhujja (Vishṇvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vidhijja (Vidhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitryārya) of the Paippalādi *gōtra*, to Chāndaja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, (*and*) to Jeṭṭhaja (Jyēshṭhārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (*and*) two shares (*being given*) to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilajja (Bhadrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivajja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (*and*) to Hariṇṇaja (Hiraṇyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (*in figure*) 1, to Revatija (Rēvatyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*.

(Ll. 19—24) And we grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it (*which are*) incident to a village belonging to Brāhmaṇas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by the former kings, *viz.*, it is to be exempt from (*the entrance of*) the District Police;[8] it is to be exempt from the purchase and digging of salt; it is to be exempt from the presents[9] of gold and grain; it does not entitle (*the State*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milk[10], (*and*) to the customary cows

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[1] Hāritī was a sage from whom the Kadambas and the Chālukyas also traced their descent. See, *e.g.*, the Tāḷagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 31 and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

[2] This record mentions Jyōtishṭōma in place of Ukthya, Shōḍaśin and Atirātra which are mentioned in ot er Vākāṭaka records among the sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I.

[3] *Āṇatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is mentioned at the close of many records and corresponds to the *Dūtaka* who also figures in other inscriptions in the same capacity. He was entrusted with the execution of the royal order.

[4] The usual expression in other Vākāṭaka records is *Sarv-ādhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ* 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent.'

[5] In other Vākāṭaka records *vaijayikē* qualifies *dharma-sthānē* and the whole expression means 'at our victorious place of religious worship'. The Deoṭek stone inscription mentions a *dharma-sthāna* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I.

[6] That is, of the Atharvavēda.

[7] See above, p. 139, n. 9.

[8] We follow Senart in the explanation of *a-raṭṭha-saṁvinayika*, see above, Vol. VII, pp. 65-66.

[9] *Praṇaya* seems to mean a customary present or *nazarānā* offered to the king. See *praṇaya-kriyā* in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 44.

[10] These were taxes in kind paid to the State, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

and bullocks[1]; it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal[2]; it is not to be entered by soldiers; it is not to provide cots, water-pots[3] and servants; it is exempt from taxes; it is not to provide horses[4]; it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes[5] and to platforms and important documents[6](?); and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds.

(Ll. 24—28) Wherefore, you protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, not repressing the order written above[7].

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmaṇas who have taken offence, we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Ll. 28—30) **In the year 30 (and) 7, in the first fortnight of winter, the day 4.** In Our presence[8], this order has been written by the *Sēnāpati* Vaṇhu (Vishṇu).

May there be success!

NO. 21.—KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M. A., NAGPUR.

The existence of these plates was brought to my notice by my friend and former student Dr. W. S. Barlinge who had seen them when they were brought to Nagpur in March 1940. At my request Mr. W. V. Grigson, I. C. S., Joint Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, very kindly caused a search for them to be instituted. They were ultimately traced by Mr. V. H. Mujumdar, Naib Tahsildar of Hiṅganghāṭ, at the instance of Mr. B. A. Smellie, Deputy Commissioner of Wardhā. They were found in the possession of Mr. Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village about 7 miles north by east of

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[1] The expression *a-prampara-gō-balivardda* in l. 21 corresponds to *a-pārampara-balivadda-gahaṇaṁ* of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates and *a-paramparā-baliva[daṁ]* of the Mayidavōlu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes, a small tax, called *prayāṇa-daṇḍa* was levied for the purpose. See *Rāja-sēvakānāṁ vasati-daṇḍa-prayāṇa-daṇḍau na staḥ* in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of Rāmachandra, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 318. But the use of the word *gō* in addition to *balivardda* in Vākāṭaka grants rather indicates that the village was exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. The *Manusmṛiti* (*adhyāya* VII, v. 130) also mentions a tax on cattle.

[2] This and similar expressions which follow exempt the donee from the obligation of supplying grass for feeding horses, hides (which were used as seats, cf. *āsana-charman* in the grants of Pravarasēna II), charcoal for cooking, cots, water-pots, servants and draught cattle, for the royal officers when they were encamped in the village during their tours.

[3] *Chōllaka* is plainly identical with *chōlaka* in the Mayidavōlu plates and *yollaka* in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates. Hultzsch derives *chōllaka* from *chullakī*, a kind of water-pot. *Venesika* corresponds to *vinēsi* in the Mayidavōlu and *vinēsi* in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates. This word is omitted in the translations of Bühler and Hultzsch. We derive it from the Sanskrit *vaināśika* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent, or a subject.' The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here.

[4] Lexicons give *vaha* in the sense of a horse.

[5] See above, Vol. XXII, p. 175.

[6] We are not certain about the meaning of this expression.

[7] [Or 'abiding by the order written above'. *Śāsana-vāda* here and *vachana* in l. 5 above imply the same thing. See p. 153, n. 4.—B. C. C.]

[8] This corresponds to *ājñā svayaṁ* 'Our own order' in the Tirōḍi plates. Cf. *sayam-āṇataṁ* and *āṇati saya-tti dattā* in the Hīrahaḍagalli and Mayidavolu plates respectively.

Hiṅgaṇghāṭ, in the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District. In November 1940 the plates were sent to the Nagpur Museum where they were cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin Expert of the Museum. For the excellent facsimiles which accompany this article I am obliged to Mr. Suboor who copied the plates at the Government Press, Nagpur. I have also to thank Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Nagpur Museum, for his kind help in discovering this interesting record.

The **copper-plates** are **four** in number, each measuring 8″ by 4·11″. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and there is consequently no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185½ *tolas* and that of the ring is 16 *tolas*.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and resemble those of the other grants of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. The following peculiarities may be noted: the box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top, see *mahārāja-* in ll. 7 and 8; in some other cases the box is not added at all, see *mahārāja-* in l. 14; the sign of the *upadhmānīya* which occurs in ll. 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box at the top which is not noticed in other records; final *m* which is written in a smaller size has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *dṛishṭam*, both in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is shown by a crescent and the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; *kh* is without a loop at the bottom[1] in both the places where it occurs, see *khanaka-*, l. 27 and *likhita*, l. 36; the lingual *ḍ* is distinguished from the dental *d* in *daṇḍa*, l. 11, but not in *Maṇḍuki-*, l. 18 and *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 19; the subscript *t* is, in some cases, looped, but as in the Bēlorā plates[2] the loop is elongated in order to distinguish it from *n*, see *bhaktasya*, l. 4 and *vṛittēr=*, l. 12; finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation which is redundant in most cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for an imprecatory verse in ll. 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. Like other Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions it contains some mistakes of grammar and orthography which are corrected in the subjoined text and the foot-notes added to it. As regards **orthography**, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, l. 5 and *mūrddh-*, l. 6; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgīratthy-*, l. 6 and *visarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in ll. 13, 15 and 33.

Like other finished Vākāṭaka grants, the present record opens with the word *dṛishṭam* 'seen'. The plates were issued by **Pravarasēna** II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty from **Nandivardhana**. His genealogy is traced here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta** II being called **Dēvagupta**. It may, however, be noted that the present plates spell some proper names somewhat differently from other Vākāṭaka records discovered so far. The medial *i* of *ti* in *Prabhāvatiguptā*, for instance, is invariably short in all the records discovered till now and the shortening can be justified by a grammatical rule,[3] but the present plates read in l. 15 *Prabhāvatīguptā* quite clearly. Similarly *vī* in *Pṛithivīshēṇa* has a long medial vowel here, whereas it is usually short in other records.[4]

[1] In other grants of Pravarasēna II, *kh* has a loop at the bottom, see, *e.g.*, *likhitaṁ* in l. 35 of the Siwani plates, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXV; but it is noteworthy that in the Chammak plates issued in the same regnal year it is unlooped, see *khanaka-*, l. 28, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 260.

[3] Above, Vol. XV, p. 42, n. 10. See Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63.

[4] In the Bēlorā plates (Set A) the medial *ī* of *vī* is long as here. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 264.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Kōthuraka** which was situated in the territorial division (*āhāra*) of **Supratishṭha**. The village lay to the west of the Umā river, to the north of Chiñchāpallī, to the east of Bōnthikavāṭaka and to the south of Maṇḍukigrāma. The donee was the celibate Brāhmaṇa Kāluṭṭaka who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black Yajurvēda. The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharma-sthānē*)[1] and is dated on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the second regnal year. The *dūtaka* was Chakradēva and the scribe Nāgavarman. Neither of these is known from any other Vākāṭaka grant.

The grant recorded on the Bēlorā plates (Set B), discovered two years ago, was so far the earliest one of Pravarasēna II, being dated in his eleventh regnal year. The present grant is still earlier, as it was made in the second year after his accession. It has fully confirmed some of the conclusions drawn from the Bēlorā plates. **There is now no doubt that Pravarasēna II was different from Divākarasēna**, the *Yuvarāja*, for whom his mother Prabhāvatīguptā was acting as a regent even in the thirteenth year after his accession as a boy-prince.[2] Again, like the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā[3] and the Bēlorā plates (Set A) of Pravarasēna II, the present plates also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, undoubtedly the earlier capital of the Vākāṭakas before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasēna II. As these plates were issued in the beginning of Pravarasēna's reign, they do not enable us to state when the capital was shifted to Pravarapura.

The donee of the present plates is called *gaṇa-yājin*. It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gaṇa-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The term *gaṇa-yāga* can, however, be variously interpreted. It may mean a sacrifice performed for a *gaṇa* or guild. Such sacrifices performed for a multitude of men were, however, discouraged in ancient times. Both Manu and Vishṇu regard the Brāhmaṇas who officiated at such sacrifices as unfit for invitation to a *śrāddha*.[4] As the present grant was made by a king and not by a guild, this meaning of *gaṇa-yāga* is evidently inapplicable here. The *Vāchaspatya* explains *gaṇayajña* as a sacrifice performed by a number of brothers and sisters and cites *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra* 22, 11, 12 and 25, 13, 29 in support of this interpretation. But this explanation also is unlikely in the present case. The *Manusmṛiti* (III, 164) enjoins that the priest who offers sacrifices to Gaṇas should be avoided at a *śrāddha*. The expression *gaṇānāṁ yājakaḥ* is variously taken by the commentators of Manu. Nārāyaṇa and Nandana take it to mean one who sacrifices for *gaṇas*, *i.e.*, many persons or guilds, but such persons are already excluded by *Manusmṛiti* III, 151. Other commentators including Mēdhātithi and Kullūka think that Vināyaka- or Gaṇēśa-hōma may be meant by *gaṇa-yāga*. The *Mānava-Gṛihyasūtra* (II, 14) and the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (I, 271 ff.) mention almost in identical terms a rite for the

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[1] I have pointed out before that this expression invariably occurs in the grants of Pravarasēna II, which were made at the capital. See above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

[2] See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 262.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. Both the Poona and the Bēlorā plates spell the name of this place as *Nāndivardhana* with a long medial vowel in *nā* which led Dr. Randle to think that the place might be different from the Nandivardhana mentioned in the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman (above, Vol. XIX, p. 102). See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 177. The place-name is spelt here exactly as in Bhavadattavarman's plates.

[4] *Manusmṛiti*, III, 151; *Vishṇusmṛiti*, LXXXII, 8-9. A passage from the *Yamasmṛiti* cited in the *Parāśara-Dharmasaṁhitā* (Bom. Sanskrit Series, No. XLVIII, p. 358) mentions *śrēṇi-yājaka-yājakāḥ* in the same context.

propitiation of Vināyakas,[1] but it is not known if the priest who performed the rite incurred any guilt. Dr. Bühler's suggestion,[2] therefore, that the reference in *Manusmṛiti* III, 164, may be to the *gaṇa-hōmas* mentioned by *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* appears to be preferable. Baudhāyana lays down the following procedure for the performance of the *gaṇa-hōmas.*[3] A person who has purified himself by certain restraints should after fasting for three days and nights commence the performance of the sacred rite, making offerings of boiled rice and clarified butter and reciting certain *mantras* in the morning, at midday and in the evening. At the end of one week during which these *hōmas* are continued, he should feed Brāhmaṇas, and distribute to them cows, land, sesamum and gold. These *gaṇa-hōmas* are to be performed by a person for himself. A Brāhmaṇa is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else. If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Baudhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that 'through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it; a man need not torment himself.' This means, as explained by the commentator Gōvindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt.[4] This explains why the priests who performed *gaṇa-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha*. Naturally few people must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward. The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse.[4] The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gaṇa-hōma* for Pravarasēna II from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** has already been identified with Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Rāmṭek in the Nāgpur District. **Kōthuraka,** the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to be occupied by Mangaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions. Thus **Chiñchāpallī** is Chicholi which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Mangaon; **Bōnthikavāṭaka** is now called Bōthaḍ and **Maṇḍukigrāma,** Māṇḍgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Mangaon. The *Wardhā District Gazetteer* records a tradition that Māṇḍgaon is named after one Māṇḍo Ṛishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river.[5] The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place was Maṇḍukigrāma. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the **Umā** river which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā. No place exactly corresponding to **Supratishṭha,** the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which these villages were situated, can now be traced, but it seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil*. This *āhāra* was already known from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, but no clue to its identification was so far available. It is now furnished by the present plates

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism* etc., pp. 147 ff. Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, adhyāya II (Sudhākar Dwivedi's ed., Vol. I, p. 91) also mentions *gaṇa-yāgas* which the commentator Bhaṭṭōtpala explains as *guhyaka-pūjana*, the worship of the demigods called *guhyakas*.

[2] See his *Laws of Manu*, S. B. E., Vol. XXV, p. 106.

[3] *Baudhāyana-Dhrmasūtra*, Praśna IV, adhyāyas 7 and 8. See Bühler's translation in S. B. E., Vol. XIV, pp. 329 ff.

[4] See Gōvindasvāmin's commentary on *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 8, 9.

[5] *Wardhā District Gazetteer*, (1906), p. 250.

which show that Prabhāvatīguptā's plates, though discovered in far-off Poona, originally belonged to the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsil*.[1] These plates record the grant of the village Daṅguṇa which was situated in the Supratishṭhāhāra and lay to the east of Vilavaṇaka, to the south of Śirshagrāma, to the west of Kadāpiñjana and to the north of Sidivivaraka. None of these places have been identified so far. Two of them I have been able to trace in the vicinity of Hiṅgaṇghāṭ. Vilavaṇaka seems to be Vaṇi, about 2½ miles to the west and Kadāpiñjana may be Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hiṅgaṇghāṭ. Hiṅgaṇghāṭ seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village Daṅguṇa. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hiṅgaṇ in course of time, *ghāṭ* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā. It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavaḍghāṭ on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāṭ*.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 द्रि(दृ)ष्टम् [।*] सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्त(स्ति) नन्दिवर्द्धना[त् ।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यतिरात्र-

2 वाजपेयबृहस्य(स्प)तिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः[3] विष्णुवृद्ध-

3 सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[4] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो[5]

4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ॥[6] अंसभार[7]सन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-

5 [द्व]हनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम् पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-

6 रथ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाताना(नां) भारशिवानां

Second Plate; First Side.

7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।[8] वाकाट-

8 कानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य ॥[8]

9 सत्यार्ज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व)-

10 पात्रगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्म्मल्यादिगुणैस्समु-

[1] The coppersmith with whom the plates were found originally hailed from Ahmednagar. See above, Vol. XV, p. 39.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[4] Read *Samrājō*.

[5] Read *sūnōḥ sūnōḥ*.

[6] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[7] The *anusvāra* is misplaced. Read *aṁsa-bhāra*.

[8] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 येतस्य ॥[1] व[र्ष]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-

12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[:] युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवी-

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 सेनस्य[2] सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेᳵप्रसादा(दो)पार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

14 महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

15 सुताय(यां) प्रभावतीगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ॥[1] शम्भोᳵप्रसादधृति(त)कार्त्त-

16 युगस्य ।[1] वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-

17 स्य वचना[त्*] । सुप्रतिष्ठाहा(हा)रे ।[1] उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे । चिंचापल्या[3]

18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।[1] बोन्विकवाटकस्य ।[1] पूर्व्वे पार्श्वे ।[1] मण्डुकिग्रामस्य

Third Plate; First Side.

19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।[1] कोथुरकन्नामग्रामः कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।[1] तैत्तिरिक[4]गणयाजि-

20 कालुद्दकब्रह्मचारिणे दत्ताः[5] [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वाध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ता

21 आज्ञासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भट्टा[6]श्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञापयि-

22 तव्या[7] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्म्मायुर्व्वलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि-

23 वृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धम्म(र्म्म)स्थाने अपूर्व्वद-

24 त्या(त्त्या) उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः [।*] यथास्योपचिता[8] पूर्व्वराजानुमताश्चातुर्वैद्य-

Third Plate; Second Side.

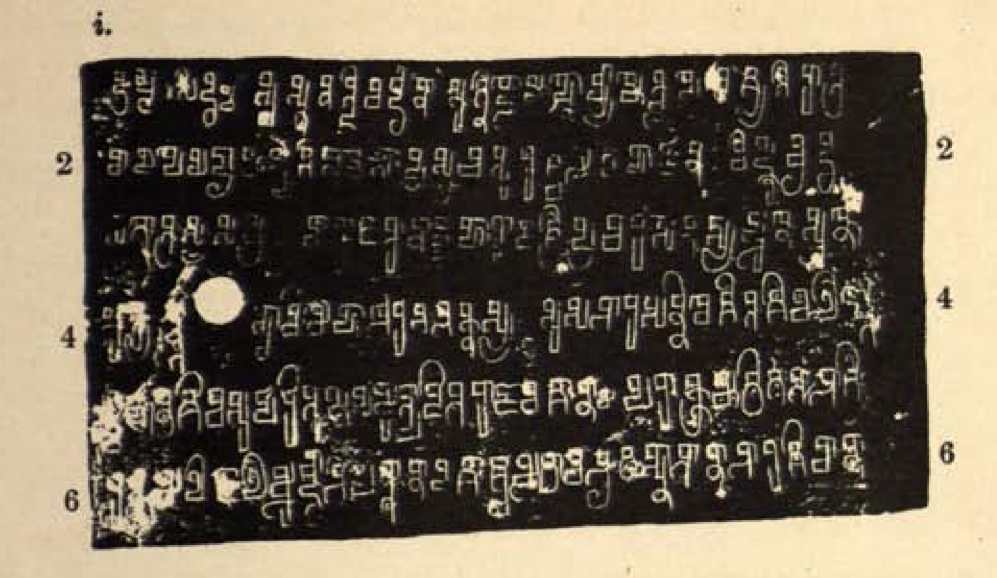
25 ग्राममर्य्यादान्वितराम[9]स्तद्यथा अकरदायि[10] अभटच्छत्र[11]प्रावेश्य[:] अपा-

26 रम्परगोवलवर्द्द[:][12] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[:*] अचा(चा)रासनचर्म्माङ्गार[:*] अल-

[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[2] Read *Śrī-Pṛithivīshēṇasya*.
[3] Read *Chiñchāpallyā*.
[4] Read *Taittirīya-*.
[5] Read *dattaḥ*.
[6] Read *bhaṭā-* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
[7] Read *viśruta-pūrvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyāḥ*.
[8] Read °*sy=ōchitām*.
[9] Read *maryyādām vitarāmas=*.
[10] Read *akara-dāyī*.
[11] Read *-chchhātra-* as in other Vākāṭaka grants.
[12] Read *-balīvarddaḥ*.

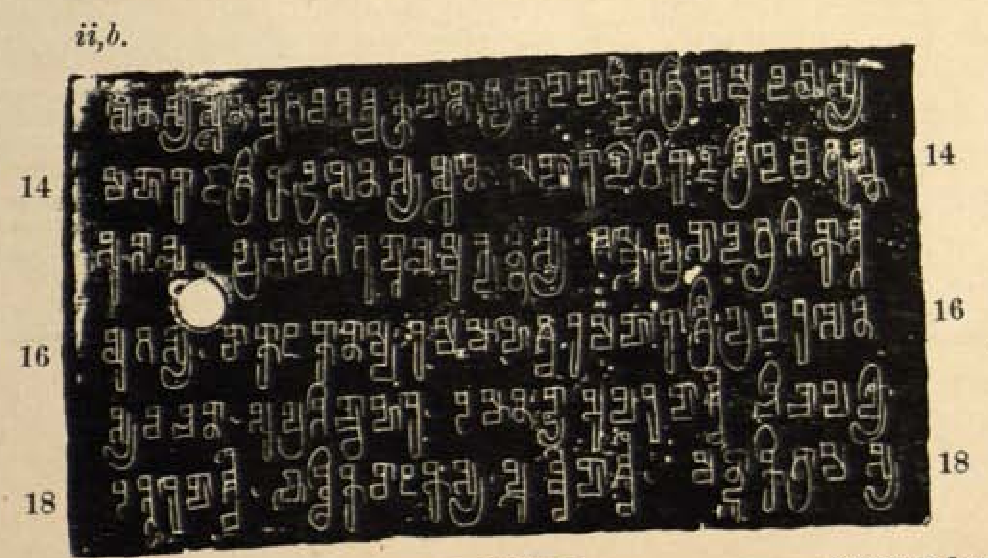
KOTHURAKA GRANT OF PRAVARASENA II.

i.



ii,a.

ii,b.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2087 E'41-290.

iii,a.

iii,b.

iv.

27 वणक्लिक्लेनीखनकः[1] सर्व्ववेष्टिसपरिहार[2]परिहृतः सनिधिः

28 सोपनिधि[:*] सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त[3][:] आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(लो)यः पुत्रपौत्रानु[गा*]-

29 मिकः भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्यः सर्व्वक्रयाभि[4]स्संरचितव्य[:*]

30 परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्चा(श्च) [।*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाधां

Fourth Plate.

31 कुर्य्यात्कारयित वा[5] तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डं निग्रहं कुर्य्याम ॥

32 अस्मिंश्च धर्म्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन[6]

33 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयामः [।*] व्यासगि(गी)तश्चात्र श्लोक≻≺प्रमाणी-

34 कर्त्तव्य[:] [।*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा[म्*] । गवां शत-
सहस्रस्य

35 हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतं(तम्)[7] । [।१॥*] संवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुज[8]मासशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्यां) ।[9]

36 चक्रदेवदूतकः[10] नागवर्म्मणा लिखित[म्*] । ॥ * ॥[11]

No. 22.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF THREE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS.

By the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

Indra III—A. D. 915-27 (?)

The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III had the distinctive title of 'Nityavarsha', while his son Gōvinda IV had the titles of 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha'. The earliest record in which this Prabhūtavarsha (*i. e.*, Gōvinda IV) figures is one from Daṇḍāpur[12] in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, which is dated in Śaka 840 (expired), Pramāthin, Makara-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding

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[1] Read *-krēṇi-khanakaḥ.*
[2] Read *sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra.*
[3] Read *sa-kḷipt-ōpakḷiptaḥ.*
[4] Read *sarvva-kriyābhir=.*
[5] Read *kārayēd=vā.*
[6] Read *-rāja-datta-sañchintana-paripālanaṁ.*
[7] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[8] Read *Āśvayuja-*
[9] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
[10] Read *Chakkradēva-dūtakaṁ.*
[11] There is a floral design between these two sets of *daṇḍas.*
[12] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 222, and B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

to A. D. 918, December 23, while the latest date Śaka 857 (wrong for Śaka 856), Vijaya, corresponding to A. D. 933-34 is furnished by three records[1] from Honnāḷi in the Mysore State. On the strength of these, Mr. Altekar has concluded[2] that Indra III had died in about A. D. 917 and that Gōvinda IV, who succeeded him, probably after a short rule of one year of his elder brother Amōghavarsha II, had actually reigned for about 15 years from A. D. 919 to 934.

This statement seems to require modification in the light of some other inscriptions of Indra III which have been copied from the Bellary and Cuddapah Districts of the Madras Presidency and from Bombay-Karnāṭak. One of these from Kuḍatani[3] in the Bellary District is dated in Vikrama, which corresponded to Śaka [842], (=A. D. 920-21). Another from Kaḍabagere[4] in the same district belonging to the reign of Nityavarsha Indra-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 844, Chitrabhānu, corresponding to A. D. 922, September 9. A third from Asundi[5] in the Bombay-Karnāṭak, belonging to a Nityavarsha, bears the Śaka year 847 and the cyclic year Pārthiva (=A. D. 925-26). One other record[6] of the same Nityavarsha from Hālaharavi in the Bellary District is stated to be dated in the same cyclic year Pārthiva, but the Śaka year appears to have been wrongly quoted therein as 854. Yet another record[7] recently copied from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District, furnishes for Nityavarsha Indra-narēndra the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva, Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa. The actual wording is as follows :

Svasti[||*] **Nityavarsha** Pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārakōttarōttarābhivṛiddhi-pravardhamāna-vijaya-Mahāraṭṭa-rājyado]=**Indra-narēndrana** rājyaṁ saluttire Pallavadhīram Muḷki-aynūruvan=āḷuttire Svasti samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda mahāsāmantaṁ vikrānta-Rāman vikrānta-Bhīman.........Svasti Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsarañgaḷ=eṇṭunūṟa-nālvatt-eṇṭaneya Pārtthiva-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise tadvarsh-ābhyantar-ōttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāntiy-andu etc.

The full astronomical details of the date are not given, but the date may be equated to A. D. 925, December 23. From the Bombay-Karnāṭak come two records[8] belonging to a Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha, of which one from Gadag in the Dharwar District is dated in Śaka 840, Bahudhānya, corresponding to A. D. 918, July 18. From the distinctive title 'Nityavarsha',[9] it may be assigned to Indra III himself, for whom therefore the new title of 'Nirupama' appears to be indicated in this epigraph. If this is accepted, the other record of the same king Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha from Haḷeritti dated in Śaka 850, Sarvadhāri, Pushya=A. D. 927, December, may also be considered to belong to Indra III, in which case Śaka 850 will be the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hn. 21 to 23.

[2] *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 105.

[3] No. 47 of 1904 of the Madras Epigl. collection.

[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 57.

[5] B. K. No. 162 of 1926-27.

[6] No. 540 of 1915 of the Mad. Epigl. colln. In *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 62, this record has been taken to be one of Gōvinda IV, taking the Śaka year as correct and the cyclic year Pārthiva as wrong ; but the latter has been taken as correct above, the Śaka year 854 being considered as wrongly quoted instead of Śaka 847.

[7] No. 235 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

[8] Nos. 184 of 1932-33 and 47 of 1933-34 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection.

[9] In para. 38 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1916, it has been suggested that Nityavarsha was probably a title of Gōvinda IV, like that of his father Indra III, on the consideration that No. 540 of 1915 dated in Śaka 854, Pārthiva, could belong to the former only. Taking Pārthiva as correct and equating it to Śaka 847 and not 854, the record may be taken to belong to Indra III, for whom the Kamalāpuram inscription (No. 235 of 1937-38) furnishes the date Śaka 848, Pārthiva. There does not seem to be therefore any necessity for postulating the title of 'Nityavarsha' to Gōvinda IV, for whom the titles known are 'Prabhūtavarsha' and 'Suvarṇavarsha' only.

latest date known so far for him. It is therefore possible that **Nityavarsha Indra III, whose date of accession[1] was February 24, A. D. 915, actually reigned till at least the end of A. D. 927.** He may have continued for some time longer.

Gōvinda IV (A. D. 930-34).

The Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV[2] dated in Śaka 852=(May 10, A. D. 930), contain an important item of information which, in the light of the facts noted above, receives a new significance. It is stated therein that when the king, having come from his capital Mānyakhēṭa, was staying at a village called Kapitthakā on the day specified, on the occasion of the *paṭṭabandha* festival, he performed the great *tulābhāra* ceremony and also made munificent donations to Brāhmans and temples. In fact his gifts to Brāhmans are stated to have been as many as 600 *agrahāras* and 3,00,000 *suvarṇas*, while those to temples aggregated to 800 villages and 4,00,000 *suvarṇas* and 32,00,000 *drammas* in coin. Even allowing for an excusable exaggeration in regard to these details, such exuberant liberality was hardly rivalled by any other Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign.

Dr. Bhandarkar who has edited these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*[3] has argued that the *paṭṭabandha* cannot refer to a royal coronation ceremony, for the reasons that Gōvinda figures in an inscription of A. D. 918, that it is unnatural to expect that the king will have gone to a village away from his capital for the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, and that the period of 11 years from A. D. 919 to A. D. 930 is too great an interval for Gōvinda to have continued simply as an heir-apparent. In view, however, of the discovery of distinct records dated in A. D. 922 and 925, and possibly also in A. D. 927 for Indra III, as pointed out above, the event glorified in the Cambay plates may very reasonably be considered to have been the coronation of Gōvinda IV himself, the magnitude of the gifts detailed therein indicating clearly an occasion of considerable importance. It may be noted that Indra III also celebrated his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony at a village named Kurundaka, as stated in the Nausārī copper-plate grant[4] of this king dated in A. D. 915, and that even longer terms of heir-apparency are not unknown, for to quote but one instance, the Chōḷa prince Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1018-53) was a crown-prince for over 26 years till A. D. 1044, before he became the reigning king. The inference seems therefore to be warranted that Indra III continued to reign as king till at least A. D. 927, and that Gōvinda IV succeeded to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne in May, A. D. 930, after a short interval of a year or so, in which his elder brother Amōghavarsha II had perhaps reigned, as indicated by the statement in the Bhadana plates[5] of Aparājita-Śilāhāra.

In this case, one small point seems to require elucidation as to why, while an elder son was living, the younger Gōvinda should have been chosen heir-apparent in about A. D. 918, whereas Amōghavarsha's claim for succession should have been recognised only later at the time of Indra's death. It must have been this acknowledgment of the rightful claim of Amōghavarsha that appears to have incited the darker traits in Gōvinda's character; for if the sententious denials made in the Sāṅgli plates that Gōvinda 'did not act cruelly towards his elder brother' mean anything, they seem to indicate that Gōvinda may have indirectly helped in the removal of his elder brother, whose existence had barred his way to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne.

[1] Nausārī copper-plate referred to in the *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27, f. n. 2.

[4] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 415. According to the Bagumrā plates, Indra III performed a *tulāpurusha-dāna* at a village named Kurundaka (*ante*, Vol. IX, p. 24).

[5] Quoted in Altekar, *loc. cit.*, p. 105.

The actual reign of Gōvinda IV is thus reduced to a short period of about four years only—**from May, A. D. 930 to the middle of A. D. 934.** Owing to his wicked life, this king, it is stated, was very unpopular, and his ministers and feudatories[1] conspired to oust him. The Eastern Chāḷukya king Bhīma II claims to have defeated the army of Gōvinda IV in about the year A. D. 934[2]; and this defeat must have been the signal for the discontented elements at the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital to flare up into activity. The result was that Gōvinda was deposed, and Amōghavarsha III, an uncle of Gōvinda in a collateral line, a religious man already well-advanced in years,[3] was chosen by the feudatories to be the king. It is not definitely stated anywhere that Gōvinda died on this occasion—he may perhaps have lived some years longer; but his career as a Rāshṭrakūṭa king probably ended with A. D. 934.

Kṛishṇa III (A. D. 939-67).

The records of Kṛishṇa III found in the Kannaḍa country are most of them dated in Śaka years, while his numerous Tamiḻ records in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, following apparently the procedure in vogue in the Tamiḻ districts, mention only his regnal years. However, an inscription from Pādūr[4] in the Tirukkōyilūr Taluk of the South Arcot District is of interest in this connection, as quoting his **regnal year 26**, coupled with the astronomical details—**Vṛiśchika, ba. 3, Wednesday, Mṛigaśirsha.** Even here the omission of the Śaka and the cyclic years is unfortunate, but the English equivalent can, however, be calculated.

Now, Amōghavarsha III, the father and predecessor of Kṛishṇa III, was alive on December 3, A. D. 939.[5] So the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of this date, and his 26th year would fall in the interval between A. D. 960 and 970. On verification it is found that **A. D. 964, October 26, Wednesday,**[6] and no other date in this interval, agrees so well with the given details. This being a day in the 26th regnal year of the king, the **date of his accession must have been some day between October 27, A. D. 938 and October 26, A. D. 939.**

As stated already, Kṛishṇa's predecessor Amōghavarsha was alive on December 3, A. D. 939. If so, how can the date of accession of his successor Kṛishṇa III be some date prior to October 27, of the same year? For this to be possible, we shall have to suppose that Kṛishṇa had been formally anointed *yuvarāja* during the last days of his father himself; and when we take into consideration the fact that Amōghavarsha III was already a man of advanced age with a deeply religious bent of mind at the time of his selection as king, there is nothing out of the ordinary in his having associated his son Kṛishṇa along with himself in the administration, and in his having actually anointed him some time prior to his own demise. A record[7] from the Sorab Taluk of the Mysore State furnishes Śaka 861 (=A. D. 939), December 23rd, as the earliest date for Kṛishṇa III with the imperial titles. The Dēōlī plates[8] dated approximately on 30th April A. D. 940, mention that Kṛishṇa succeeded to the throne only after Amōghavarsha's death and

[1] Among such feudatories the Chāḷukya chieftain Arikēsarin, the patron of the poet Pampa, was one—*Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 34

[2] The Kaluchumbarru grant of Ammarāja II, *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 177.

[3] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 111.

[4] No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] Isāmudra inscription dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin=A. D. 939, December 3 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 77).

[6] According to the *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* was current till ·54 and the *nakshatra* till ·48 of the day. (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1936-37, p. 47).

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 476. The details are Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇa, Monday=A.D. 939, December 23, Monday.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 188.

this statement is not in conflict with what had been said above ; for Kṛishṇa's actual coronation as 'king' must have occurred only after the death of Amōghavarsha sometime towards the end of A. D. 939, though he may have been anointed *yuvarāja* a few months earlier, and calculated the subsequent dates of his reign retrospectively from this initial date.

The two limits, namely, October 27, A.D. 938, and October 26, A. D. 939, between which the date of accession of Kṛishṇa III fell may therefore be accepted. They may, however, be narrowed down somewhat.

As Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has shown above, Vol. XXI, p. 262, Kṛishṇa must have passed away a short time prior to February, A. D. 967, (*i.e.*) towards the end of A.D. 966 or in the beginning of A. D. 967. It may therefore be inferred that the accession of Kṛishṇa III was calculated from August or September A.D. 939, though his actual coronation as 'king' took place only in December of that year, that he reigned for 27 full years and a portion of the 28th year, and that his death may have occurred in about December, A. D. 966, or January A. D. 967.[1]

No. 23.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN.

By C. C. Das Gupta, M.A.

This set of copper-plates was found in a village of the Badakhimedi estate in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency and was acquired, along with eight other similar sets, for the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi. Two of the nine sets belong to the Gaṅga king Indravarman[2], one of which has already been edited by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharyya of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum[3]. The other I edit here, with the kind permission of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Officiating Superintendent of the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

This set consists of **three copper-plates**, each measuring 7″ × 3½″, strung together by means of a copper-ring at their one end which was held by a **seal** of 1⅛″ diameter marked with the figure of a couchant bull. Altogether they weigh 89 *tolas* including the ring. The first plate is engraved on one side only, the second and third on both their sides. The inscription consists of 40 lines, each side of the plates containing 9 lines except the last which contains only 4 lines.

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[1] In a long footnote Mr. Altekar has tried to fix the period of Krishṇa's reign (*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 122, 123) ; but he has taken the Kīḷūr record to be dated in the 30th year (instead of 20th, as revised). He has also equated the details of the Koḷagallu record (No. 236 of 1913) to A. D. 968, February 17th, instead of A. D. 967, February 17th, as calculated in *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 262. It may be noted that an inscription from the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Hoḷalkere 23) of the reign of Akālavarsha Prithivīvallabha is dated in Śaka 891, Vibhava. The astronomical details therein do not work correctly for Vibhava. Further as Kṛishṇa is stated to have died at the time of the Koḷagallu inscription (17th February, 967) the Hoḷalkere record of a later date for him is inexplicable. There seems to be some mistake either in the actual year quoted in this document, or there must have been some jumbling of the southern and northern cycles of reckoning. Records of Khoṭṭiga dated in Śaka 890, Prabhava, and Śaka 890, Vibhava, are known (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531 and *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50).

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 110, F. & G. Of the nine sets of copper-plates the other eight have already been edited. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff., pp. 78 ff., pp. 141 ff., pp. 261 ff., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 120 ff.).

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

The **characters** used in this inscription belong to the South Indian Nāgarī type and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D.[1] With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be pointed out that *ē, t, th, p* and *v* have two signs each, as found in the following examples: *vishaē* (l.9) and *ētad* (l.13); °*vataś=* (l.1) and °*nātaḥ* (l.22); *nātha* (l.6) and °*thivi* (l.9); *parama* (l.8) and *prati*° (l.28); °*vataś=* (l.1) and °*vāsinaḥ* (l.3). Besides *d* and *n* have three forms each, as found in the following examples: *pādā*° (l. 6), *khātādi* (l. 15) and *parada*° (l. 28); *nivā*° (l. 3), *nichaya* (l. 4) and °*nēka* (l. 7). So far as the medial vowels are concerned, *ā* has five signs as found in *Śvētkā* (l. 1), *kāraṇa* (l. 2), *bhaṭṭā*° (l. 3), *sāmanta* (l. 4), °*dhyātō* (l. 6); *i* three signs as found in *svasti* (l. 1), *shatki* (l. 4), *giri* (l. 6); *ī* two signs as in *Kalī*° (l. 5), *kīrti* (l. 18); *u* three different signs as in *bhuja* (l. 4), °*mātyu*° (l. 11), *bhutvā* (l. 26); *ē* three signs as found in *Śvētkā* (l. 1), *śēsha* (l. 4), *madhē* (l. 15); *ai* two signs as found in *kaidi*° (l. 15), *vāruṇai* (l. 30); *ō* six signs as found in *gurō* (l. 1), *hētōr=* (l. 2), *Kōlāula* (l. 6), *grāmō*° (l. 13), *Gōśvā*° (l. 17), *yōnyāñ=* (l. 30); *au* two signs as found in *gauravāt* (l. 22), *gau*° (l. 22). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except that eight of the customary verses occur in ll. 23—34. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: (1) In certain cases *a* is used instead of *ā* as in *akshēptā* (l. 27). (2) *u* has been wrongly placed instead of *au* as it is found in *ubhaū* (l. 29). (3) In *vishaē* (l. 9), the vowel *ē* is substituted for *yē*. (4) Sometimes the letter *ñ* is wrongly used instead of *ś*, as in °*tañ=cha* (l. 14). (5) In l. 12 the form *rāṭṭra* has been used for Sanskrit *rāshṭra* apparently due to the influence of the local dialect. (6) Sometimes *ṭ* has wrongly given place to *ṭh*, as in *śashṭhim* (l. 26). (7) *n* is used instead of *ṇ* as in *Gōkarnē*° (l. 3). (8) As in many other inscriptions of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. (9) *ś* is wrongly used for *s* and *sh* as in °*kaśya* (l. 3) and *śashṭhim* (l. 26) respectively. (10) *sh* is wrongly used for *ś* and *s* as is found in *shatki* (l. 4) and *shalila* (l. 20) respectively. (11) *s* is wrongly used for *sh* and *ś* as in °*ghōsa* (l. 7) and *dasa* (l. 15) respectively. (12) *Anusvāra* is wrongly dropped as in *bhavatā* (l. 13) and also wrongly used as in *saṁṅkā* (l. 24). (13) In the like manner *visarga* is sometimes omitted, as after *nichaya* (l. 4) while it is also wrongly used as in *vahubhiḥ* (l. 23). Other errors in writing have been noticed in the text or the footnotes accompanying it.

Indravarman mentioned in this inscription is the same as Indravarman noted in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates[2] on account of the following reasons. First, the script used in both these inscriptions is exactly the same. Secondly, the drafts of both these inscriptions are of the same nature. Thirdly, both were issued from Śvētaka, written by Śrī Sāmanta and engraved by Svayambhu. If we study the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman,[3] the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman[4] and the present record, then we can form the following genealogical table:—

Mahīndravarman
|
Pṛithivīvarman
|
Indravarman=Gōsvāminī

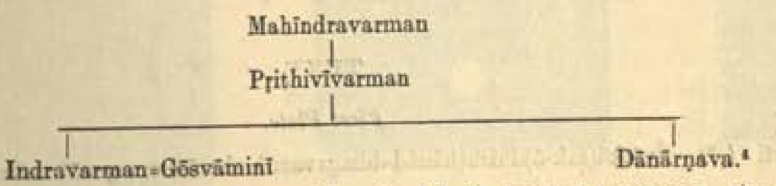
[1] There is a great similarity between this inscription and the plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 265 ff.) which, from the palæographical point of view, have been rightly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. The Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.) who is the father of Indravarman mentioned in this and the other set of copper-plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) should necessarily be ascribed to the 10th or the latter half of the 9th century A.D. and not to the 12th or 13th century as suggested with a doubt by Kielhorn nor to the 12th century as held by Mr. Bhattacharyya.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.

The fact that Indravarman had a younger brother named Dānārṇava who succeeded him to the throne may be proved in the following way. It is apparent that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of Bhaṭṭa Bōdhana of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the *Chhāndōgya charaṇa*, the donee in one of the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman[1] is the same as *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant, coming likewise from the Badakhimedi estate[2], as the names of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* are the same as in the former. The grantor in the first record is Indravarman while in the second it is Dānārṇava, both of them being the sons of Pṛithivīvarman. From the above facts it may be concluded that Indravarman and Dānārṇava are brothers. There is still further evidence to show that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava. In the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman the writer and the engraver of the grant are respectively *Saṁdhivigrahin* Śrī Sāmanta and *kāṁsyakāra* Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu.[3] These two persons also figure in the same capacity in both the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman, one of them being under discussion, but not in the grant of Dānārṇava. This proves that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava, because had it been exactly opposite, then the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant would have been those whom we have found in the Ganjām plates of Pṛithivīvarman. Thus the genealogy of this royal family taking the grant of Dānārṇava into consideration will be as follows :—



The **object** of this inscription is to record a gift of land, by **Indravarman**, situated in the village **Bhēṭhiśriṅga** in Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-*vishaya* on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna for the benefit of his parents and self, to Lōkamādhava, Svayambhukēśvara and some other Brāhmaṇas named Kēśava, Dāupa, Sōmapā, Viṭhu, Madhusūdana, Dhanaśarman, Gaṇapati, Bhṛigudeva, Dēvaśarman, Savarapa and Durgakhaṇḍi.[5]

The places mentioned in this inscription are **Śvētaka, Nandagiri, Kōlāulapura, Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa**-*vishaya* and **Bhēṭhiśriṅga**. As regards Śvētaka, Mr. R. Subba Rao has observed, " It would apppear from the *Sthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Pushkaraṇi* (*sic*); and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam."[6] Mr. Sarma, however, identifies it with the modern Chīkaṭi Zamindarī in the Sōmpeṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.[7] Kōlāulapura has been identified by Rice with the modern Kolar in the east of Mysore and Nandagiri with Nandidrug, the well-known fortified hill to the west of the Kolar District, Mysore.[8] He proposed these two identifications in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore ; but if we accept them in connection with the Gaṅgas of Orissa, then we presume that the Gaṅgas

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 264.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 198 ff.

[4] I am wholly indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lugd.), for kindly permitting me to make full use of an unpublished article of him regarding this genealogical point. This valuable paper of his will be ere long published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. [It has since been published, above, Vol. XXV, p. 240—Ed.]

[5] It may be that this Durgakhaṇḍi is the same as Durgakhaṇḍin mentioned in the other Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 78 ff.) and the grant of Dānārṇava (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII p. 264).

[6] *J. A. H. R S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

[7] *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58.

[8] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 32.

of Orissa migrated from Mysore region. Regarding this point Dr. H. C. Roy has observed, "From the fact that they occasionally describe themselves as lords of the city of Kōlāhala it is clear that they considered themselves to be a branch of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the story of their migration and settlement from Kolar to Ganjām and the details of their subsequent history must in the present state of our knowledge remain shrouded in considerable obscurity. ......In the first half of the 11th century we find another series of kings claiming descent from the same line as the above....... That they also traced their descent from the Gaṅgas of Kolar is proved by the Vizagapatam grant of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, which clearly mentions Kōlāhala, the founder of Kōlāhalapura, in the Gaṅgavāḍi-vishaya, as one of his ancestors. The same inscription distinctly says that Kāmārṇava, a distant descendant of Kōlāhala, leaving Kōlāhalapura with his brothers, came to the Mahēndra mountain, and having conquered Bālāditya through the favour of the god Gōkarṇasvāmin, took possession of the Kaliṅga countries"[1] and Vajrahasta (the earliest Gaṅga prince for whom we have any authentic record) is the seventeenth prince from Kāmārṇava. This shows that there is sufficient ground for holding the theory of the migration of the Gaṅgas of Orissa from the Mysore region. But for the distance one would feel tempted to identify Bhēṭhiśriṅga with Barsinga on the Brāhmanī river.[2] I cannot suggest any identification for Paṭaṇikhaṇḍa-*vishaya*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm[3] svasti (|*) Śvētkā(tak-ā)dhishṭhānād=bhagavataś=charāchara-gurō[4] śakala-sasāṅka[5]-śrē (śē)-

2 khara-dharaśya[6]||[7] sthity-utpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr=Mahēndrāśchala[8]-śikha-

3 ra-nivāsinaḥ śrīmad-Gōkarnē(rṇē)śvara-bhaṭṭārakaśya(sya) charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-

4 punya(ṇya)-nichaya[ḥ*]||[7] shatki(śakti)-trayaḥ[9]-prakarsh-ānurañjita-śēsha[10]-sāmanta-chakra[ḥ*]||[7] śva(sva)-bhuja-va(ba)-

5 la-parākram-ākrānta||[7] -sakala-Kalī(li)ṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] paramamāhēśvarō mā[tā]-

6 pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] śrī- Nā(Na)nda-giri-nātha[ḥ*] Kōlāulapura-pa-

7 ṭṭaṇa-vinī(ni)rgata-kāmvalya-varaya-ghōsa(shaḥ) ||[7] ma(a)nēka-jaya-jayā(ya)-sadva[11]-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍi-

8 ta[ḥ*]||[7] mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-para[12]mabhaṭṭāraka- śrī-rājā **Indravarmadēva[ḥ*]** kusha(śa)-

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[1] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 448-49.

[2] I am wholly indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S. B., for this identification.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Read *gurōḥ*.

[5] Read *śaśāṅka*.

[6] Read *dharasya*.

[7] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

[8] Read *Mahēndr-āchala*.

[9] This *visarga* is not required ; read *traya*.

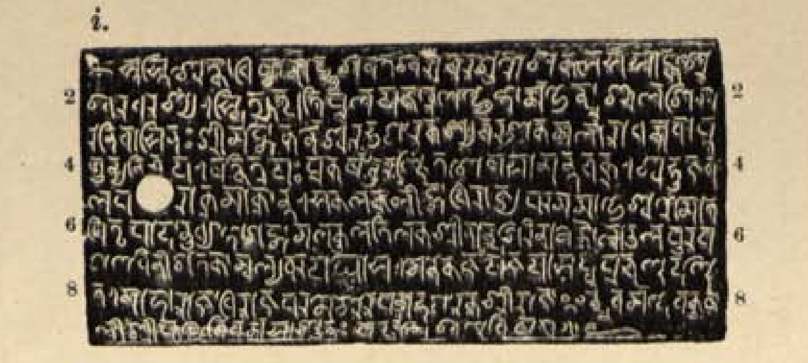
[10] Read *-ānurañjit-āśēsha*.

[11] Read *śabda*.

[12] This *ra* appears below the line.

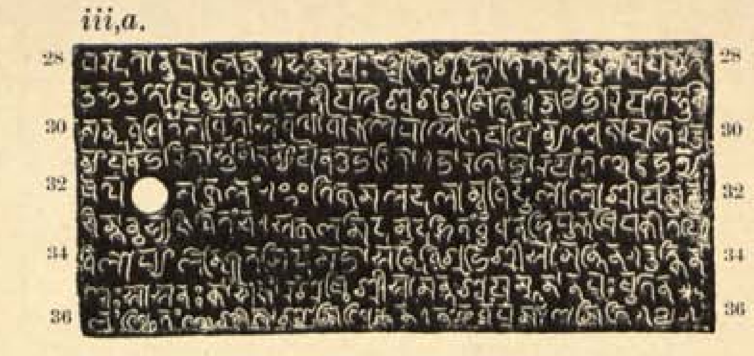
INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN.

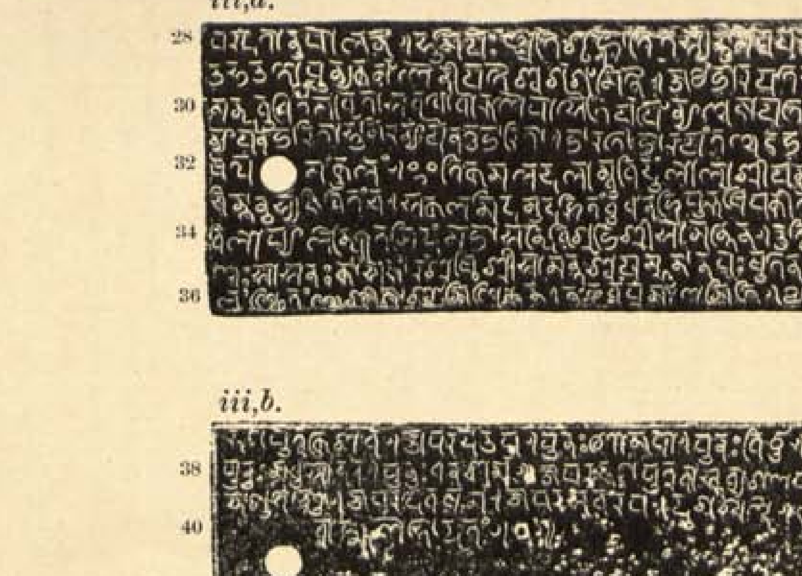
i.



ii,a.

iii,a.





ii,b.



iii,b.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

REG. No. 2094 E'41. 310.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

9 li śrī-**Pṛithivi(vī)varmasya(ṇaḥ)** śu(su)taḥ Paṭaṇi[1]-khaṇḍa-vishaē(yē)|||[2]

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-mahāsāmanta ||[3] -śrī-sāmanta ||[3] -rājanaka-rā[ja*]putra-kumara(mārā)-||[3]

11 māty-utpari[4]-daṇḍanāyaka-vishayapati-gā(grā)mapati(tīn)||[3] anyā(nyāṁ)ś=cha chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-

12 sāmanta-rāṭṭrakuṭa-kuṭumvina[5] ||[3] janapadānaḥ(dān) samādisha(śa)ti viditam=astu

13 bhavatā[m*] ētad-vishaya-samandha[6]-grāmō-ya[ṁ*] ||[3] **Bhēṭhiśriṅgō** nāma sa-jala-sthal-ārā-

14 nya[7] chatuḥ-si(sī)m-ōpa-adhasrōtra-śahitēna | lakshitañ(taś)[8] =cha ||[3] Ara[9]paduṇi-grā-

15 m-ārdhdha(rddha)-Pārāpadra-khātādi-khāṁbhāra-samitēna ||[3] tasya madhē[10] bhu(bhū)mi-dasa(śa)kaidi-

16 mēkaṁ=ñchaḥ[11] śrī-Lōkamādhavasya[12] dataṁ[13] ||[3] apara-ardhdha-ansa[14]-bhaṭṭāraka-Svayambhukē-

17 sarasya[15] ||[3] apara-ardhdha-ansa[14] vrāhmaṇānāñ=cha[16] || śrī-Gōśvā(svā)maṇikasya jē(jyē)-shṭhapu-

18 traḥ śrī-Gāṅga-Svayambhukasya rāgni[17] śrī-Ēlā ||[3] tasya dharma-kīrti[r]-jagati

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 paristhāpitaṁ=ñcha[18] ||[3] ih=aiva Phālguṇa-māsa-sulka[19]-paksha -chaturdaśi(śī) ||[3] parili —

20 kshitaṁ=ñcha[20] ||[3] mātā-pitō(trō)r=ātmanaś=cha ||[3] punyā(ṇya)-pavardhayōḥ[21] sha(sa)lila-dhārā-puraḥsa-

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[1] [The letter read as *ṭa* looks more like *dra* or *du*. The name of the *vishaya* may thus be *Padraṇi* or *Paduṇi*, more probably the latter which also occurs below in line 14 as the name of a village. See below f. n. 9.—B. C. C.]

[2] *Daṇḍas* unnecessary. There is a symbol after the *daṇḍas*, which resembles the symbol of *ōm* in the beginning.

[3] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

[4] Read *-ōparika-*.

[5] Read *rāshṭrakūṭa-kuṭumbinaḥ*.

[6] Read *saṁbaddha*.

[7] Read *-āraṇyaś=*.

[8] Possibly we have to read *chatuḥ-sīm-ōpalakshitaḥ*. [The reading *adhasrōtra* obviously corresponds to *adhaś=ch=ōrdhva*.—B. C. C.]

[9] This *ra* appears below the line. [Can it be that the intended reading is *aparaṁ Paduṇi-grām-ārdha*—etc. ? See above f. n. 8.—B. C. C.]

[10] Read *madhyē*.

[11] Read *mēkaṁ cha*. [Can the intended reading be *ēk-āṁśaḥ* ? —B. C. C.]

[12] Read *Lōkamādhavāya*.

[13] Read *dattaḥ*.

[14] Read *apar-ārddh-āṁśaḥ*.

[15] Read *-śvarāya*.

[16] Read *brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha*.

[17] Read *rājñī*.

[18] Read *pratishṭhāpitāś=cha*.

[19] Read *śukla*.

[20] Read *parilikhitañ=cha*.

[21] Read *pravṛiddhayē*.

21 rēṇa[1] ||[2] chandr-ārka-sthiti-sama-kāla[ṁ] a-kari(rī)-kṛitya pratipāditō=smābhiḥr=yataṁ[3] ||[2]

22 śāsana-darashanā[ta]ḥ dharma-gaura[4]vāt=asmād-gauravā cha[5] ||[2] na kēna=chipta(t=pa)-ripanthina(nā)

23 bhavivya[6] || tathā cha paṭhyatē dharma-shā(śā)strē Va(Ba)hubhiḥ[r](bhir)=vaśu(su)dhā datā[7] rājāna[8] Sagar-ādi-

24 bhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[ḥ*] ||[2] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Mā bhuya (bhūd=a)phala-saṁ(śa)ṅkā va[ḥ*]

25 para-datāti[9] pārthivā[ḥ*][10] || Sha(Sva)-datām(ttāṁ) para-datām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō harēti(ta) vashu(su)ndharā[m*] | śa(sa) vishṭhāyā[ṁ*]

26 kṛimi[r=*] bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē || Śashṭhim=varisha(Shashṭiṁ varsha)-śa(sa)haśrā(srā)ṇi śvargaṁ(svargē) mōdati bhu(bhū)-

27 mida[ḥ*] | a(ā)kshēptā ch= ānumantyā(ntā) dhā(cha) [tāny*=] ē[11]va narakaṁ vrajētaḥ(t) [||*] śva(sva)-dānāt=phalaṁ kuryā-pa[12]

Third Plate ; First Side.

28 para-datā(tt-ā)nupālanaṁ [||] Bhu(Bhū)mi[ṁ*] yaḥḥ(yaḥ) pratigṛihnā(hṇā)ti tasya[13] bhu-(bhū)mi[ṁ] prayachchhati [|*]

29 ubhaū(bhau) tau punya(ṇya)-karmāṇau nī(ni)yatau śva(sva)rga-gāminau || athaṁ(Yas=tu) hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[ṁ*]

30 mandavudhi(buddhis=)tamā(mō)vṛitā(taḥ) [|*] sa vadhō[14] vāruṇai[ḥ*] pāsai(śaiḥ) tirya[15]-yōnyāñ=cha jāyatē || A-

31 nyāya(yē)na hari(hṛi)tā bhu(bhū)mir=anyāyēna tu hāritā || hāratē hārayaṁtañ=cha[16] dahaty=ā

32 shatpaṁmaṁ(saptamaṁ) kulaṁ || Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-viṁduṁ(bindu)-lōlā[ṁ] śrī(śri)yam=anu-

33 chintā(ntya) [ma*]nusya(shya)-ji(jī)vitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udahri(dāhṛi)taṁ [cha*] vudhā(buddhvā) na hi purushai[ḥ*] pa[ra*]-kīrtayō

34 vilōpyā[ḥ||*] likshi(khi)tam=idaṁ mahāsaṁ(sa)ndhivigrahi-śrī-Sāmantēna || utkirna-(tkīrṇa) -

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[1] Read *puraḥsaraṁ*.

[2] The sign of punctuation is unnecessary. The sign somewhat resembles the modern Nāgarī letter *ga* without the top bar.

[3] Read *bhir=yataḥ*.

[4] This *ra* appears below the line.

[5] Read *darśanād=dharmma-gauravād=asmad-gauravāch=cha*.

[6] Read *bhavitavyaṁ*.

[7] Read *dattā*.

[8] Read *rājabhiḥ*.

[9] Read *para-datt=ēti*.

[10] Second half of the verse missing here but occurs in ll. 27-28.

[11] This *ē* is initial.

[12] Read *phalam-ānantyaṁ* as found in many instances. This half of the verse should occur in l. 25, as noticed above.

[13] Read *yaś=cha*.

[14] Read *baddhō*.

[15] Read *tiryag*.

[16] Read *haratō hārayataś=cha*.

35 ñ-chaḥ[1] śāsanaḥ[2] kāṁsa(sya)kāra- śrēshṭhi -śrī -Sāmanta- Śva(Sva)yambhunā Napaḥ[3] shu(su)tēna ||

36 lāñchhitaṁ(ta)ñ-cha śrī Gōśvā(svā)miṇikēna || tachharvam[4] pramāṇam-iti || [chha] ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

37 Bhaṭṭaputra Kēśava || apara Dāupa || punaḥ Śō(Sō)mapā || punaḥ Viṭhu |||

38 punuḥ(naḥ) Madhusā(sū)dana || punuḥ(naḥ) Dhanaśarma || apara Bhaṭṭaputra-vāstavya-Gaṇapati ||

39 Bhṛigudēvaś-cha || apara Dēvasha(śa)rma || apara Savarapaḥ || Durgakhaṇḍi || ēbhi(bhyō)

40 brāhmaṇēbhō(bhyō) dataṁ(ttam) || o ||

No. 24.—A BUDDHIST TRACT IN A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CUTTACK MUSEUM.

By A. Ghosh, M.A., Patna.

The **stone-slab** containing the following inscription is housed in the Provincial Museum of Orissa, Cuttack. Professor G. S. Das, the Secretary of the Museum, informs me that there is no record in the Museum to show the findspot of the inscription or the year of its discovery. My thanks are due to Professor Das for his permission to edit the inscription in the pages of this journal.

The **inscription** is engraved on both sides of a slab of stone, 1′6″×1′2″×4″, there being 11 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse. The **letters** are neatly and clearly engraved, their average size being ⅞″. The **characters** belong to about the tenth century A. D. and do not call for any special remarks. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to (1) the use of the *avagraha* sign in *likhitvā-'bhyaṁtaraṁ* (l. 12); (2) the non-duplication of the consonant after the superscript *r* in *sarva* (l. 2 et passim), *mārga* (l. 6), *dharma* (l. 17), *āṁtarya* (l. 19); contrast, however, *chūrṇṇa* (l. 15); (3) the use of *anusvāra* for the class-nasal in *maṁtra* (l. 7), *abhyaṁtaraṁ* (l. 12), *gaṁdha* (l. 14), *bhavaṁti* (l. 16), *saṁgha* (l. 17), *Ānaṁda* (ll. 18 and 21), *maṁda* (l. 18) and *āṁtarya* (l. 19); and (4) the use of *v* for *b* throughout.

The **text** of the inscription is a quotation of some Buddhist *dhāraṇī* followed by a discourse on the use and virtues of the *dhāraṇī*. The tract purports to have been uttered by the Buddha himself to his disciple Ānanda, though I have not succeeded in locating it in the Buddhist texts that I have consulted. It is said in the text that the *dhāraṇī* should be written and thrown inside a *chaitya*, by which act one acquires the virtue of erecting a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas*. We have archæological evidence that this practice of enshrining sacred texts was followed all over India. At Nālandā, for instance, besides some bricks inscribed with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*[5] or its shorter version *yē dharmā*, etc., there have been found a large number of terracotta tablets bearing on them the text of some *dhāraṇī*[6]. The minuteness

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[1] *Visarga* is superfluous. Read °*ñ-cha*.

[2] Read *śāsanaṁ*.

[3] Are we to read *Nṛipa*? [This Napa may be identical with Napa, the engraver of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman; see below p. 176, text l. 25.—Ed.]

[4] Read *tat-sarvam*.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 20ff.

[6] *Cf. An. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1915-16, p. 36.

of the characters on these tablets often forbid an accurate decipherment of the inscriptions. But on examining some of them on which the inscriptions are somewhat clear, I found that at least two give the same *dhāraṇī* as is contained in the present inscription, together with a few extra lines at the beginning and at the end.[1]

The practice of immuring sacred objects including inscribed religious texts inside votive *stūpas* took a somewhat different form in some Buddhist sites. At Nālandā and Paharpur[2], for instance, hoards of lumps of clay, encasing two plaques with figures of Buddha, Tārā, etc., or inscribed with the Buddhist formula, have been found within the core of single votive *stūpas*. The origin of this custom seems to be explained by a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*[3] in which the Buddha enumerates the different ways of worshipping a *chaitya*, *viz.*, by circumambulation, *throwing a lump of clay*, placing a heap of *mukta*-flowers, putting a garland, dedicating a lamp and anointing with perfumes.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 धर धर । हर हर । प्रहर प्रहर । महावो(बो)धिचित्तधरे ।

2 चुलु चुलु । शतरश्मिसंचोदिते । सर्वतथागताभि-

3 षेकाभिषिक्ते । गुणगणमते । वु(बु)द्धगुणावहासे ।

4 मिलि मिलि । गगनतलप्रतिष्ठिते । नभस्तले । श-

5 म शम । प्रशम प्रशम । सर्वपापप्रशमने । सर्व-

6 पापविशोधने । हुलु हुलु । महावो(बो)धिमार्गसंप्रस्थि-

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[1] The tablets referred to here are two of the six hundred tablets that were found together in 1915-16 in Stūpa Site No. 2 and are now in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā, bearing the register numbers 2-42 and 2-193. The text of the former is given below :

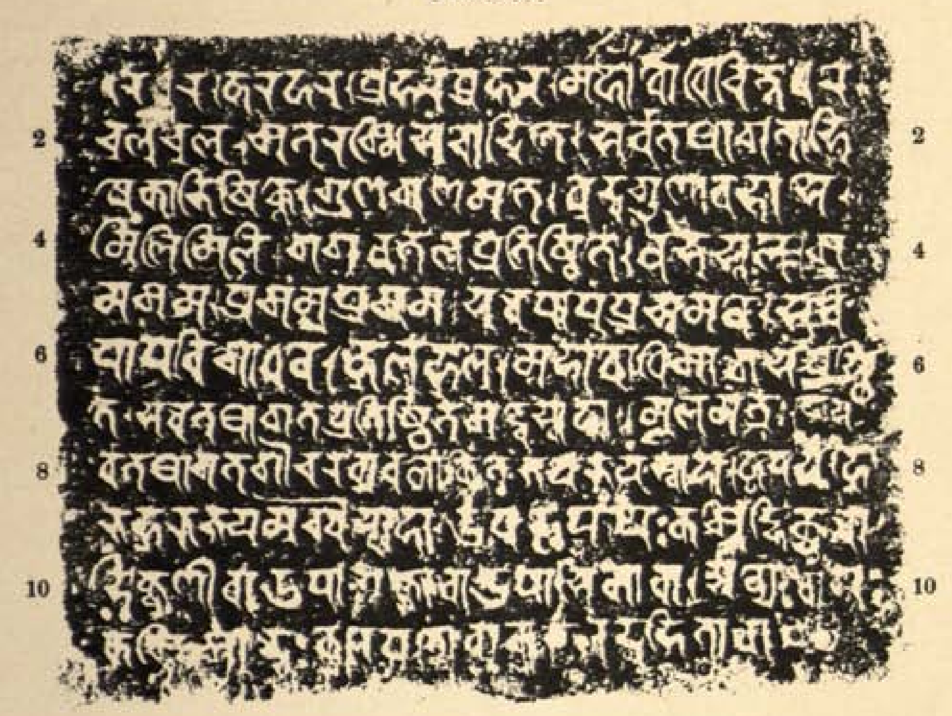
1 ōṁ namō bhagavatē vipula-vadana-kāñchan-ākshi-
2 pta-prabhāsa-kē(?)tu-pūrvva-tathāgatāya namō bhagava-
3 tē Śākya-munayē tathāgatāy=ārhatē samyak-saṁvu(bu)ddhāya
4 tad=yathā ōṁ vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi vō(bō)dhi sarva-tathāgata-gōchara dhara
5 hara hara prahara prahara mahā-vō(bō)dhi-chitta-dharē chulu chulu śata-raśmi-saṁ-
6 chōditē *sarva-tathāgat-ābhishiktē* guṇa-gaṇa-matē vu(bu)ddha-guṇ-āvahā-
7 sē mili mili gagana-tala-*sarva-tathāgat-ādhishṭhitē* na-
8 bhas-talē śama śama *sarva-pāpa-praśamanē* sarva-pāpa-viśōdhanē
9 hulu hulu mahā-vō(bō)dhi-mārga-saṁprasthitē sarva-tathāgata-pratishṭhita-
10 śuddhē svāhā *sarva-tathāgata-vyavalōkitē* jaya jaya svā-
11 hā huru huru jaya-mukhē svāhā ēka-chaitya-kritēna
12 lakshā(ksham) kritā bhava[ṁ]ti pratītya-samutpādatā
13 five illegible letters, followed by a symbol denoting *vajra*.

The portions italicized above are somewhat different from the corresponding portions of the text appearing in the stone inscription edited here. No. 2-193 gives the same text in 11 lines, the only difference being that the word *dhara* (l. 4 above) is repeated twice and that after *jaya-mukhē* (l. 11 above) it repeats the Buddhist formula *yē dharmā*, etc., instead of the portion beginning with *ēka-chaitya-kritēna*.

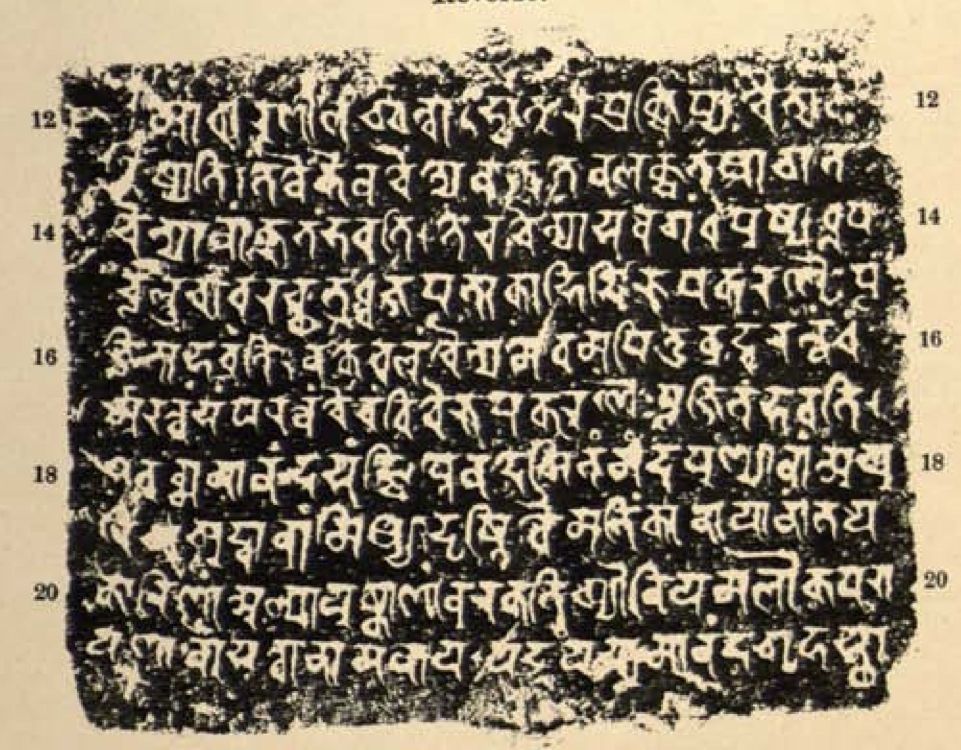
[2] *Excavations at Paharpur*, Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 55, p. 83.

[3] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 78-79.

Obverse.



Reverse.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
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7 ते । सर्वतथागतप्रतिष्ठितशुद्धे स्वाहा ॥ मूलमंत्रः । स-

8 र्वतथागतगोचरव्यवलोकिते जय जय स्वाहा । हृदये । हु-

9 रु हुरु जयमुखे स्वाहा । उपहृ[द*]यं [॥*] यः कश्चिद्भिक्षुर्वा

10 भिक्षुणी वा उपासको वा उपासिका वा । अन्यो वा । श्रः(यः?)

11 क[श्चित्] श्राद्धः[1] कुले पुत्रो वा कुले दुहिता वा[2] ———

Reverse.

12 [इ]मां धारणी['] [लि]खित्वाऽभ्यंतरं प्रक्षिप्य चैत्य['] क-

13 [रि]ष्यति ।[3] तेनैकेन चैत्येन कृतेन लक्षं तथागत-

14 चैत्यानां कृतं भवति । ते च चैत्या[:*] सर्वगंधपुष्पधूप-

15 चूर्णचावर[4]च्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिदि[5]रुपकरणैः पू-

16 जिता भवंति । न केवलं चैत्यमेवमपि तु बु(बु)द्धरत्नं ध-

17 र्मरत्नं संघरत्नं चैवंविधैरुपकरणैः पूजितं भवति ।

18 एवन्म(म्म)यानंद संक्षिप्तेन देशितं मंदपुण्यानां श्रयु-[6]

19 रि—शुद्धानां मिथ्यादृष्टिवैमतिकाना(नां) यानांतर्य-

20 कारिणां अल्पायुष्काणां[7] नरकति[र्य*]ग्योनियमलोकपरा-

21 यणानां सत्वा(त्त्वा)नामर्था(?)य य—सा(?)मानंद गृहस्था[नां*?) [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 9-21)[8] Whichever person, *(be he)* a monk or a nun or a male lay-worshipper or a female lay-worshipper or any son of a noble family or a daughter of a noble family having faith, constructs a *chaitya* after having written this *dhāraṇī* and thrown it inside—by the construction of that single *chaitya*, a lac of *Tathāgata-chaityas* will have been constructed by him.

[1] Read कश्चिच्छ्राद्धः.

[2] Read कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा.

[3] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[4] Read °चामर°

[5] Read °पताकादिभि°

[6] Read °पुण्यानामपु°. [Intended reading seems to be °*m=apariśuddhānām*. The letter after *ri* seems to be a malformed *śu* scord out.—Ed.]

[7] Read °कारिणामल्पायुष्काणां

[8] Lines 1-9 give the text of the *dhāraṇī* which it is not possible to translate.

Those *chaityas* are worshipped with the accessories of all perfumes, flowers, incenses, powders, *chowries*, umbrellas, flags, banners, etc. Not only a *chaitya*, but the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Law, and the Jewel of the Order are worshipped with such accessories. O Ānanda, thus has been indicated in brief by me, for the sake of persons who have small virtues, ...who are of a wrong disposition due to false sight, who create obstacles (?) in the Vehicle, who have a short life, whose refuge is in hell, in a birth as a lower animal or in the world of Yama, (*and*) O Ānanda, ...(of?) householders.

No. 25.—TEKKALI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN; GANGA YEAR 358.

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M. A., CALCUTTA.

The plates forming the subject of the present paper were received for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Rājā Bāhādur of **Tekkali** in the Ganjām District of Madras, in whose ownership they lie at present. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*[1] for the year 1935-36. I now edit the inscription for the first time from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

According to the information kindly supplied by the office of the Government Epigraphist, these are **three sheets** of copper measuring approximately 5⅝" by 2⅞". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a **ring-hole**, about 1/16" in diameter, through which the plates slide on to a copper **ring** about ½" thick and 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered on to the protruding bottom of a small circular **seal** about ⅞" in diameter. It bears in relief on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a bull facing proper left. The **weight** of the plates along with the ring and the seal is 57 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets with a sprinkling of northern forms here and there. They generally resemble those of the Alamaṇḍa plates of Anantavarman[2], the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman[3] and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman[4]. An important palaeographic feature of the present inscription is that some of the letters show two alternative forms: such, for example, are *n* (*Cf. bhavana* and *anēka*, l. 4), *bh* as in *prabha* (l. 9) and *bhavana* (l. 4), *m* as in *amara* (l. 1) and *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 5), *v* as in *vara* (l. 10) and *vinaya* (l. 12), and *s* as in *samasta* (l. 9). The conjunct *śrī* in l. 16 (in both cases) is also noteworthy.

Among **orthographical features** worth noticing are the following: (1) both *s* and *ś* have been promiscuously used throughout, (2) medial signs like *ā* and *ē* have often been omitted, (3) consonants before or after *r* are occasionally doubled, and (4) *anusvāra* or *visarga* have been left out in a large number of cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit[5]; with the exception of a verse and a half coming at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. The composition is extremely faulty. There are altogether three plates of which the first and the third are engraved on their inner sides only, while the second one bears writing on both of its faces. Each of the inscribed plates, except the last one

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[1] No. 3 of 1935-36; pp. 5 and 59 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff. and plate.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff. and plate.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff. and plate.

[5] Stray cases of vernacularisation such as *savachhrara* (l. 23), *athavanāśād* (l. 24) or *śilāśā* (l. 26) that occu r are a far too common feature of inscriptions of this age from Kaliṅga.

which has eight lines, contains seven lines of writing, the complete record thus running to twenty-nine lines. Both the scribe and the engraver have executed their work very carelessly. The inscription is however on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The **inscription** apparently records the gift of the village of **Siṇicharaṇa** (no district has been mentioned) to a Brāhmaṇa called Viṭhubhaṭa (Vishṇubhaṭṭa), son of Harichandra, belonging to the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*. The donor was the king **Anantavarman**, son of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, who belonged to the Gaṅga *kula*. The gift, which was issued from Kaliṅganagara, was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The writer of the record was the *Sāmanta* Mātṛisiri and the engraver was the *Akshaśālin* Napa.

The **date** given (in words) is the Year 358 of the prosperous victorious reign of the Gaṅgas.

The chief interest of the present record lies in the date and the personality of its donor. As has been mentioned above, the record belongs to Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman, and is dated in the Gaṅga Year 358. This date precludes any possibility of identifying the father of the donor of the present record with any other person than Dēvēndravarman, father of Satyavarman. For the last-named, we have an inscription dated in the Year 351[1] of the Gaṅga era. This last date again is fairly near to that of our inscription, *viz.*, 358. I, therefore, suggest that Anantavarman of the present inscription was a brother[2] of Satyavarman of the Chicacole plates. This satisfactorily adjusts the date of the inscription and finds a place for its donor in the Gaṅga pedigree in the following fashion :

[3]Dēvēndravarman (III)

Satyavarman (Year 351)	Anantavarman (III) (Year 358)

Of the **localities** mentioned, Kaliṅganagara occurs frequently in inscriptions of Gaṅga kings. It has generally been identified with modern Kaliṅgapatam or with Mukhaliṅgam. I am however unable at present to locate the village granted.

Palaeographically, the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman may be referred to the **third quarter of the 9th century** A.D.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[5] Svasty(ti) [||*] Amarapur-ānukāriṇa[ḥ*] śa(sa)rv-artu-sukha-rama-

2 ṇi(ṇī)yād=vijayavata[ḥ*] **Kaliṅganagarā**dhdhivaśaka[6] Mahē-

[1] I follow the revised reading reported (D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 203 and f. n. 4) to have been suggested to Dr. E. Hultzsch by Mr. Ramamurti, *viz.*, *-śata-tray-aikapañchāśa(śa)t*. The palaeography of the inscription absolutely contradicts such an early date as the Year 151 as suggested (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 12, text, 35) by Dr. J. F. Fleet. This seems to me to be a definite case of remissness on the part of both the engraver and the scribe.

[2] [This relationship has already been pointed out in the *An. Rep. on S.-I. Epigraphy*, 1935-36, p. 6.—Ed.]

[3] Dēvēndravarman, the father of Satyavarman, and, as I have shown, also of Anantavarman of the present record, has variously been called as D° III or D° IV (see, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 75 and f. n. 7). In my genealogical scheme, I have followed D. R. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 386, column 2, No. 14) and R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234) in taking Dēvēndravarman of our inscription as D° III and his son as Anantavarman III.

[4] From ink-impressions.

[5] Denoted by a symbol.

[6] The intended reading seems to be *Kaliṅganagar-ādhivāsakāt*. The word *adhivāsaka* should, however, be corrected into *vāsaka*.

3 dr(ndr)-ācha[l-ā]mala-si(śi)khara-pratiṭi(shṭhi)taśi(sya) sa-chara(rā)cha[ra*]-
4 gurō[ḥ*] sakala-bha(bhu)vana-nirmma-anēka[1]-sūtra-
5 dhārasi(sya) śasā(śā)ṅka-chu(chū)ḍāma[2]ṇi-bhagava-
6 tō Gōkarnnasamina[3]=charaṇa-kamala-ju(yu)gala-
7 praṇama(ṇāmā)d=vigata-kali-kāla-kalaṅka[ḥ*] anēk-ā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 hava-sachhō(ṅkshō)bha-janita-jaya-sanda[4] pratāpa(p-ā)vana-
9 ta-samaśta(sta)-samasta[5]-śama[6]-chakrē(kra)-chūḍḍaṇī[7]-prabba[8](bhā)-ma-
10 ñjari(rī)-puja(ñja)-rañjita-vara-charaṇa[ḥ*] sita-kumuda-
11 kudēdvu(nd-ēndv-a)vadāta-yashē(śā) dhvaśt-arati[9]-kula(l-ā)cha-
12 lō naya-vinaya-daya(yā)-dāna-dāñchakshinya-sarja-
13 dārjya-śati-tyōg-adhvi[10]-guṇa-sampadā[m=ā*]dhāra-bhū-
14 tō(taḥ) paramamāhēśvarō ma(mā)tā-pitri(tṛi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

15 pād-ānudhvā(dhyā)[tō] **Gaṅg**-āmala-kula-tilakō mahāra(rā)-
16 ja-śrī-Dēvērtra(ndra)varmma-sūnu-śrī-**Anantavarmma**-
17 **dēvaṇa(vēna)** udaka-pūrvra(rvva)[ṁ*] kṛitvā sūrjya(ryya)-grah-ōpara(rā)gē
18 sapradata[11] | [12]Kāṇḍilya-gōtra-Harichandra-sū-
19 nu-**Viṭhubhaṭēṇa(na)** upā[r*]jitaṁ vā[i?] |
20 **Siṇicharaṇa**-gra(grā)mō=[13]ya[ṁ*] rō[ka?]-kuṭuvina[14]
21 ..i sada-hala-bhūmi-chaturaṅghaṭa(r-āghāṭa)- [15]chhēda-

Third Plate.

22 si(śi)l-āṅkitaṁ taṭākēna śa(sa)hita[ṁ*] | **Ga[ṅ*]gēya-va[ṁ*]**-
23 **śa-pravadhvamana-vijutya[16]-rājya-savachhrara[17]-sa(śa)ta-**
24 **rtṛiṇi-aṭhavanāśād[18]** || likhitam=idaṁ **Mātṛisiri-śa-**
25 matēṇa[19] | utkirnnaṁ[20] akhasālina[21] **Napēṇa** | ada-

[1] Read *-nirmmāṇ-aika-*.

[2] Note the northern form of *m*.

[3] Read *Gōkarṇṇasvāminaś=*.

[4] Read *-śabdaḥ*.

[5] The word *samasta* is repeated needlessly.

[6] Read *-sāmanta-*.

[7] Read *-chūḍāmaṇi-*.

[8] Note the northern form of *bh*.

[9] Read *dhvast-ārāti-*.

[10] Read *-dākshiṇya-śaury-audāryya-satya-tyāg-ādi-*.

[11] Read *sampradattaḥ*.

[12] This might be restored as *Śāṇḍilya* rather than as *Kauṇḍinya*.

[13] The letter *ya* was subsequently inserted, rather below the line of writing.

[14] Read *kuṭumbinaḥ*. [Reading may be *Rō[kū]kuṭuvina dui-sada*, etc., *i.e.* in addition to the village, the gift seems to have consisted of 200 *halas* of land belonging to the cultivator Rōkū (?) and also a *taṭāka*.

The name of the village appears to be Vāisiṇicharaṇa. In fact the mark after *Vāi* would show that the word is meant to be continued in the next line. Perhaps it was meant to be an agrahāra village which was mostly inhabited by the Brahmins of the White Yajurveda belonging to the Vājasanēyī charaṇa.—Ed.]

[15] This word appears to have been engraved somewhat above the proper line of writing.

[16] Read *-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-*.

[17] Read *-saṁvatsara*.

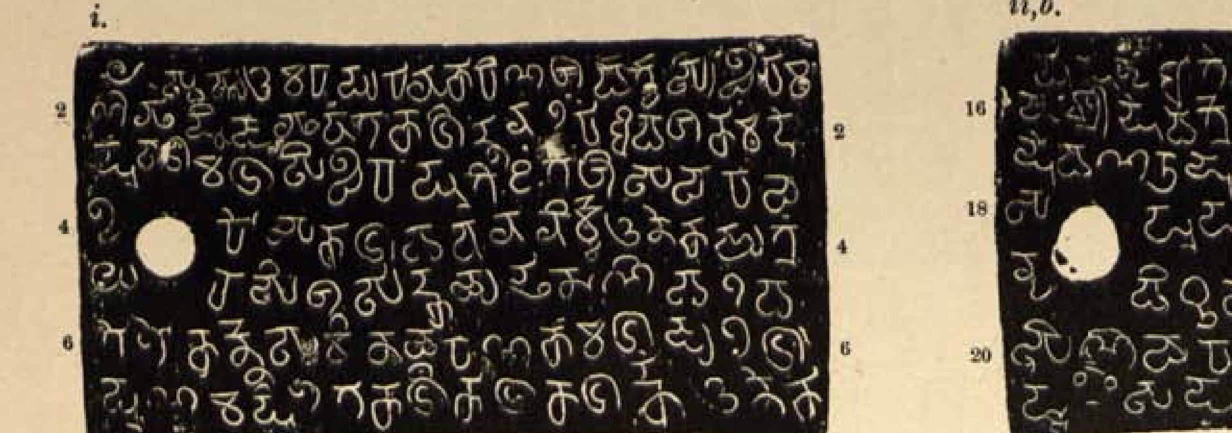
[18] Read *-tray-āshṭapañchāśat*, or better *-trayaṁ s-āshṭapañchāśat*.

[19] Read *-sāmantēna*.

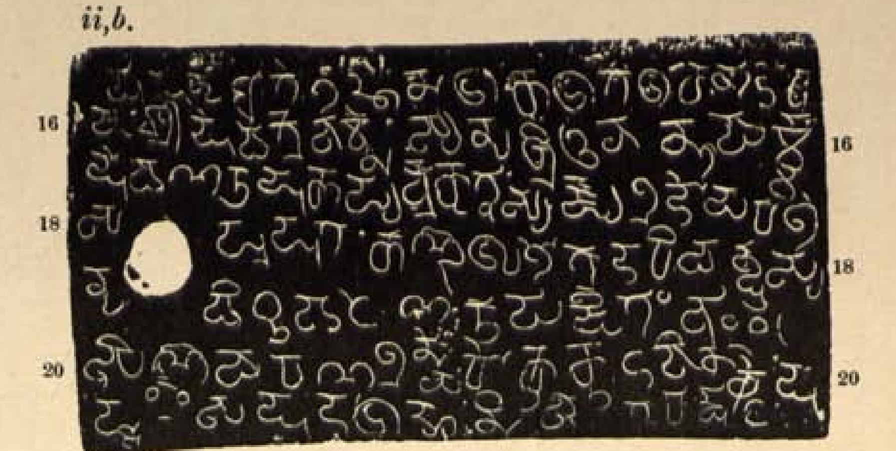
[20] Read *utkīrṇṇaṁ*.

[21] Read *akshaśālinā*.

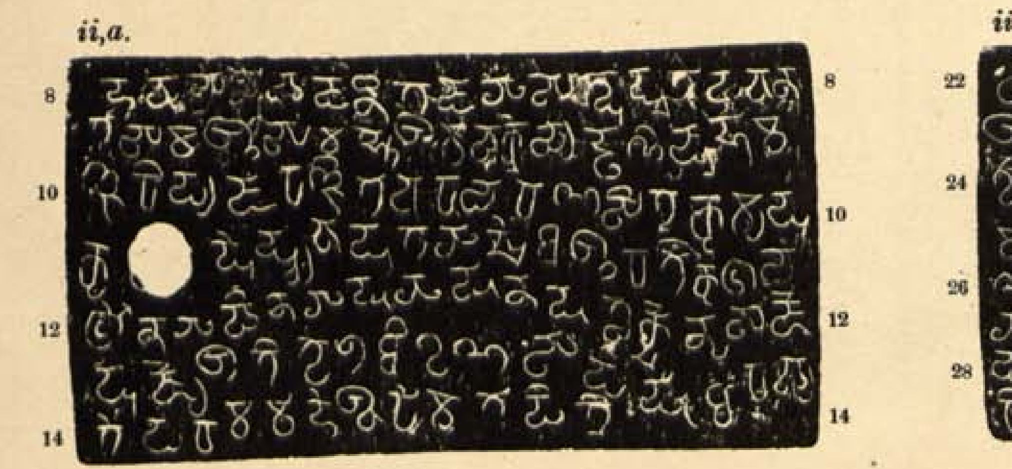
i.



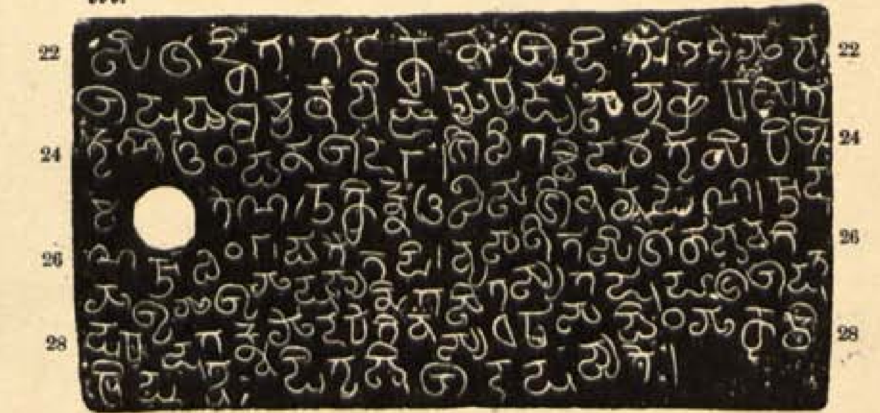
ii,b.



ii,a.



iii.



SCALE: THREE-FOURTHS.

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26 ṇa achaṁ || vātōtapi | Vya(vyā)sa-gītā-silōkā bbuvati[1] [|*]
27 [2]Yaśya(sya) yaśya(sya) yada(dā) bhūmi tasi(s-tasya) tasya tadā phala[m*] [||*] [3]Sa-data
28 para-datarm=vā[4] yō harēti(ta) vasu[n*]dharā[m*] [|*] sa viṭhayā[5] kṛimi-
29 ri putvā[6] pitṛibhi[ḥ*] śa(sa)ba da(pa)chyatē (||)

No. 26.—DONGARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDEVA ; SAKA 1034.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

In October 1939 Mr. M. G. Deshmukh, M.A., my former student and a research scholar of the Nagpur University, told me about a stone inscription at **Ḍōṅgargāon**, a village about 10 miles from Pusad in the Yeotmal District of Berar. I gave him the necessary materials for taking an estampage of the record. He copied it with the assistance of Mr. Tatvavadi, Tahasildar of Pusad. His estampage, though not perfect, was sufficiently clear to show that it was a record of the time of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, which had not been noticed in the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*. I published a short note on its contents and historical importance in the local papers in February 1940. As the estampage taken by Mr. Deshmukh was not sufficiently good for reproduction, I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to copy the record for me. In compliance therewith Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra kindly supplied me with excellent estampages from which I edit the record here.

Ḍōṅgargāon is, as its name signifies, situated on a hill. There are two old temples here, one of which is in a fair state of preservation. The other one is very much dilapidated. Its *maṇḍapa* alone is now standing, the *garbhagṛiha* having fallen into ruins. The present inscription is incised on the architrave of the door of the old *garbhagṛiha* of this temple. The writing covers a space 4′ 3½″ broad and 7½″ high, and consists of eight lines. It has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather, some *aksharas* in the first and last lines and at either end of the remaining ones having now become almost illegible. Besides, the stone was not originally well dressed and the technical execution of the record also is not satisfactory. It is, however, possible to read with patience and perseverance almost the whole of it except about a dozen *aksharas* which have become altogether illegible in lines 1, 5, 7 and 8. The **characters** are Nāgarī, regular for the period to which the record refers itself. The size of the letters is ·7″ in the first six lines, but is reduced to ·6″ in the seventh line and to ·5″ in the eighth for want of space. Worthy of note is the use of double *pṛishṭha-mātrās* in several places. In other inscriptions of the same period, one of the two *mātrās* denoting the medal *ai* and *au* is usually placed on the top of a letter, while the other becomes a *pṛishṭha-mātrā*. This is noticed in the present inscription also in *puṇy-ōdayāy=aitat* in l. 7. But in all other cases both the *mātrās* of the medial *ai* and *au* appear as *pṛishṭha-mātrās*.[7] In many cases the letters *p* and *y* as well as

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[1] Read *ślōkā bhavanti*.

[2] The engraver has carelessly left out the first half of this oft-repeated verse, *viz.*, *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ*.

[3] Read *Sva-dattāṁ*.

[4] Read *-dattāṁ vā*.

[5] Read *vishṭhāyāṁ*.

[6] Read *kṛimir=bhūtvā*.

[7] I have noticed a similar use of double *pṛishṭha-mātrās* in an old Marāṭhī manuscript of the Mahānubhāva sect from Berar.

t and *n* have closely similar forms; *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is indicated in one place by a rectangular sign almost identical with that for *p*, see *babhūva*, l. 2; in all other cases, it is denoted by the sign for *v*. The sign of the *avagraha* occurs twice in l. 4. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is, on the whole, correctly written. It evinces here and there the poet's fondness for alliteration. Except for the customary obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the usual imprecation, the particulars of the date and the name of the writer at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. It contains fourteen verses, all of which are numbered. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant following *r* and the use of *v* for *b*.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Paramāra** prince **Jagaddēva.** The object of it is to record that Jagaddēva granted the village **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa **Śrīnivāsa** and that the latter erected there a temple which he dedicated to Śiva for the religious merit of his father Śrīnidhi. The inscription was written by Viśvasvāmin. The **date** is given in the last line as the full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1034 (expressed in decimal figures only), the cyclic year being Nandana. This date corresponds to Friday, the 15th March A. D. 1112. It does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1034 was Nandana according to the southern lunisolar system. This is the only dated record of the reign of Jagaddēva and the only Paramāra inscription found in Berar. Another inscription[1] of Jagaddēva's reign was discovered some years ago at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions, but it is undated.

By way of introduction the inscription gives the genealogy of the king Jagaddēva. Like other Paramāra records it mentions that the royal family was descended from the eponymous hero Paramāra who was born from the sacrificial fire of Vasishṭha when the latter was enraged by Viśvāmitra forcibly seizing his *kāmadhēnu*. In his family which by its noble warlike deeds surpassed the solar and lunar races, was born Bhōja who resembled Rāma by his noble qualities. We are next told that when the Mālava country sank under the attacks of three enemies, Udayāditya, the brother (*bhrātā*) of Bhōja, came to its rescue. This is the first record in which the relationship of Udayāditya to Bhōja is so clearly stated. Some Paramāra inscriptions[2] describe Udayāditya as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but they do not mention how he was related to Bhōja. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription[3] dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1161 has indeed been known for a long time to refer to Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhōja, but as *bandhu* signifies in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayāditya was supposed by scholars to be remotely related to Bhōja.[4] The aforementioned Jainad inscription mentions Bhōja as the *pitṛivya* (uncle) and Udayāditya as the father of Jagaddēva. This clearly implies that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōja, but as a stone inscription[5] at Udayapur gives an altogether different genealogy for Udyāditya from that of Bhōja, namely, that he was the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōṇḍala and great-grandson of Śūravīra of the Paramāra family, it was supposed that Udayāditya belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra clan and was a distant cousin of Bhōja.[6] The present inscription which uses the word *bhrātā* to indicate the relationship leaves no doubt that Udayāditya was Bhōja's real brother. The evidence of the Udayapur inscription which is a very late record[7] has to be rejected in view

[1] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.

[2] See, *e.g.*, the Shērgaḍh inscription of Udayāditya, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 132 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

[4] This view was first expressed by Prof. Kielhorn and has since been adopted by others.

[5] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 56.

[7] It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1562. See D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 134.

of the testimony of three very early documents, *viz.*, the Nagpur Museum, Jainad and Ḍōṅgargāon inscriptions.

The present record states in verse 5 that Udayāditya rescued the Mālava country when it was attacked by three kings. The invaders are not specifically mentioned here, but from verse 32 of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription we learn that two of them were Karṇa and the king of Karṇāṭa.[1] As I have shown elsewhere,[2] this Karṇa was the homonymous Kalachuri king, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva, who ruled from A. D. 1041 to *circa* 1072. Karṇa invaded Malwa twice. In this first invasion which occurred soon after the death of Bhōja, his ally was the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujarāt.[3] Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The latter sent his son Vikramāditya VI who turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasiṁha. About fifteen years later,[4] Karṇa again attacked Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother Vikramāditya VI and therefore must have readily allied himself with the mighty Kalachuri Emperor Karṇa and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription states that the lord (*svāmin*), who was plainly the Paramāra king Jayasiṁha, was submerged when the Karṇāṭa king, Karṇa and other princes joined (one another from different sides) like mighty oceans. Kalachuri inscriptions do not generally mention this event, because they nowhere give a detailed account af Karṇa's conquests. The recently discovered Rewah stone inscription[5] of the time of Karṇa also does not mention it, though it describes Karṇa's campaigns against other kings, but that is evidently because the event occurred long after A. D. 1048-49 which is the date of that inscription. Karṇa's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is however mentioned in an Apabhraṁśa verse to which I have drawn attention elsewhere.[6] The Chālukya records are not altogether silent about this achievement of Sōmēśvara II. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (A.D. 1075) mentions the Chālukya king as 'a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas'.

It is nowhere specifically stated who was the third invader of Malwa. But it seems probable that the reference is to the Western Gaṅga chief Udayāditya. From several records[7] in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayāditya and the valiant Hoysaḷa prince Ereyaṅga joined Sōmēśvara in his attack on Malwa. Ereyaṅga in particular is said to have

[1] Above, Vol. II, p. 185. In verse 32 of this inscription Kielhorn read *mah-ārṇṇav-ōpama-milat-Karṇṇāṭa-Karṇṇa-prabhum=urvvīpāla-kadarthitām*. Kielhorn's edition of the inscription is not accompanied by a facsimile of the record, but the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya ingeniously suggested that the correct reading should be -*Karṇṇāṭa-Karṇṇa-prabhṛity-urvvīpāla*-. (See his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 169–70, n.) I have examined the original in the Nagpur Museum. The medial vowel of the *akshara* following *pra* is clearly *ṛi*, not *u*, and the following *akshara* also is *tyu*, not *mu* as read by Kielhorn. It is plain therefore that the Mālava country was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 107, n. 1.

[3] Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, tr. by Tawney, pp. 74 ff.

[4] As shown below, Karṇa's ally this time was Sōmēśvara II who ascended the throne in Śaka 991. Karṇa was succeeded by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa in *circa* A.D. 1072. His campaign in Malwa must therefore be dated in *circa* A.D. 1070.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

[7] D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* p. 128.

trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's hill fort and burnt and devastated Dhārā. Jayasiṁha succumbed to this powerful attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom was completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country on this occasion is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which likens it to the catastrophe of world-destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In this hour of need Udayāditya, the brother of Bhōja, rose to the occasion. He routed the enemies' forces and rescued the Mālava country just as the Primeval Boar had uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The latter part of the Udayapur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya,[1] which has recently been discovered, states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Ḍāhala who could have been none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa.

The present inscription states further that though Udayāditya had several sons[2] he longed to have one more who would be after his heart. He therefore devoutly prayed to Śiva and by the god's favour obtained the son Jagaddēva. After Udayāditya's death, the inscription proceeds to state, Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parivitti*[3] (*i.e.* marrying before an elder brother marries). Two other sons of Udayāditya are known from inscriptions, *viz.*, Lakshmadēva and Naravarman who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddēva is mentioned in certain Hoysaḷa records[4] as the king of Malwa. As his name is not mentioned in other Paramāra inscriptions, he was supposed to be identical with Lakshmadēva[5] whom the Nagpur Museum stone inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayāditya. The present inscription, however, makes it plain that Jagaddēva was different from both Lakshmadēva and Naravarman and that, though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva.

Jagaddēva was probably the youngest son of Udayāditya. The description in verse 8 suggests that he was a favourite son of his father and was nominated by him as his successor. According to the *Rās Mālā*[6], Udayāditya had two wives, one of the Wāghelā clan and the other of the Sōḷaṅki. The former bore to him a son named Raṇadhavala and the latter Jagaddēva[7]. Raṇadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddēva was younger by two years. As Udayāditya was completely under the influence of Raṇadhavala's mother who ill-treated Jagaddēva, the latter left Malwa and took military service under Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt. He served him for eighteen years, but when he came to know that Siddharāja was planning an invasion of Malwa, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father who nominated him as his successor. After his father's death, Jagaddēva ascended the throne of Malwa and ruled for 52 years.

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1925-26, p. 13. This clearly shows that the king Karṇa who was responsible for the destruction of Jayasiṁha was the Kalachuri and not the Chaulukya king of that name.

[2] The text has *tasya satsv=api putrēshu* which shows that Udayāditya had at least three sons at the time.

[3] *Parivitti* is used here in the sense of *parivēdana*, for the word generally denotes an elder brother who remains unmarried. See *Manusmriti*, adhyāya III, v. 171. Manu says that in such cases both the elder and younger brothers, the girl married by the younger brother, the person who gives her in marriage and the officiating priest all go to hell. *Ibid.*, adhyāya III, v. 172.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

[5] D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 142.

[6] *Rās Mālā*, ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

[7] The editor of the *Rās Mālā* spells the names as Rindhuwu and Jug Dev.

The foregoing account of Gujarāt bards cannot, of course, be accepted in its entirety, but it is to a certain extent corroborated by the present inscription. The tenor of the description in verse 6, for instance, suggests that Jagaddēva was a half-brother of Lakshmadēva who perhaps bore the *biruda* of Raṇadhavala. He seems also to have been nominated by Udayāditya as his successor, but the present inscription leaves no doubt that he never ascended the throne of Malwa[1].

When Jagaddēva relinquished his claim to the throne of Malwa in favour of his elder brother Lakshmadēva, he seems to have gone to Kuntala in search of 'fields and pastures new'. The present inscription states in verse 9 that the king of Kuntala treated Jagaddēva very affectionately. He called him the first among his sons, the lord of his kingdom, his right arm, nay, his very self. This king of Kuntala was plainly the contemporary king of the later Chālukya dynasty who was Vikramāditya VI (A. D. 1076-1126). He seems to have appointed Jagaddēva to govern the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī which he had then recently wrested from the Paramāras. This territory was for some time the battle ground of contending powers. During the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas the Narmadā was apparently the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. When Sīyaka attempted to invade the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory, he was opposed by Khōṭṭiga, the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa king, on the bank of the Narmadā[2]. The latter was however defeated by the Paramāra king who followed up his victory and stormed the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa. Subsequently the Gōdāvarī seems to have been fixed as the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. This state of things continued for some time even after the last Rāshṭrakūṭa king had been overthrown by Tailapa II, the founder of the later Chālukya dynasty. This appears plain from the account of Mēru-tuṅga who states that when Tailapa harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country and the latter determined to march against him, his prime minister Rudrāditya advised him to make the river Gōdāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it[3]. After Muñja was defeated and taken captive, the Chālukyas seem to have advanced northward and conquered much of the territory previously held by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but they were soon driven out by Sindhurāja, the brother and successor of Muñja. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of the Paramāra king's court-poet Padmagupta describes this achievement of Sindhurāja in the following words :—'who (*i.e.*, Sindhurāja) with his sword red with missiles recovered his kingdom (*svarājya*) which had been occupied by the lord of Kuntala who overran all directions just as the sun, whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes possession of the day that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions[4].' The *svarājya* recovered by Sindhurāja must have been the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom including the northern parts of Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha which had been annexed by Tailapa. Since then we get some Paramāra records from that part of the country. A copper-plate inscription found at Kalvan in the Nāsik District records a grant of land to a Jain sage at the *tīrtha* of Kālakālēśvara, 10 miles west of Kalvan, while the surrounding country was governed by Yaśōvarman, a feudatory of Bhōja[5]. Towards the end of Udayāditya's reign the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI made an incursion into Vidarbha and occupied parts of it for some time. A stone inscription

[1] The authors of the aforementioned Hoysaḷa inscriptions also had apparently no accurate knowledge of the status of Jagaddēva.

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 47.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 33.

[4] *Nava-sāhasāṅkacharita*, Canto I, v. 74.

[5] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff. The inscription does not indicate any anarchical state of things as supposed by the editor.

dated Śaka 1008 (A. D. 1087) found at Sītābaldi, a suburb of Nagpur, states that the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhāḍībhaṇḍaka was governing the country as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI[1]. Curiously enough this is also the last known date of Udayāditya's reign. When Jagaddēva came to the court of Vikramāditya VI, he seems to have been placed by the latter in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizam's Dominions. As already stated, there is another inscription of his reign, namely that found at Jainad in the Adilābād District of the Nizam's Dominions. Jainad is only 65 miles almost due east of Ḍōṅgargāon.

The territory to the east of the Wardhā river was however soon reconquered by the Paramāras. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription which seems originally to have belonged to Bhāndak in the Chāndā District[2] mentions that Lakshmadēva, the son and successor of Udayāditya, endowed a temple, evidently at Bhāndak, with the gift of two villages. The surrounding country continued in the possession of Naravarman, the brother and successor of Lakshmadēva, as the Nagpur Museum stone inscription belongs to his reign. It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1161 (A.D. 1104-5), *i.e.*, about eight years before the present inscription of Jagaddēva's reign.

From other records also we know that Jagaddēva was an ally of Vikramāditya and took an active part in his military campaigns. Mērutuṅga states that Jagaddēva, though honoured by Siddha (*i.e.*, Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt), was earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin and so he went to the country of Kuntala.[3] It is well known that Paramardin was a *biruda* of Vikramāditya VI. The Jainad inscription mentions Jagaddēva's victories in Āndhra, Chakradurga and Dōrasamudra which were evidently won in the cause of Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is attested to by Hoysaḷa inscriptions also. We are told that the Emperor (Vikramāditya VI) sent Jagaddēva at the head of a large Chālukya army to invade the Hoysaḷa country.[4] He penetrated as far as Dōrasamudra, the Hoysaḷa capital, but was there defeated by Ballāla I, Vishṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, the valiant sons of the Hoysaḷa king Ereyaṅga.

The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddēva made him far-famed. 'There is no country, village, world or assembly where Jagaddēva's fame is not sung day and night,' says the present inscription. That this is not an altogether empty praise is shown by the numerous tales about his bravery and munificence which are recorded by Gujarāt chronicles.[5] The *subhāshita* No. 1261 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* seems to praise the liberality of this very Jagaddēva.

According to the *Rās Mālā* Jagaddēva lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he is said to have placed his son Jagaddhavala on the throne, but no records of his reign have yet come to light. The Paramāras, however, continued to hold parts of the Central Provinces long after the time of Jagaddēva. Their capital was Chāhanda which is probably identical with Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. Two stone inscriptions[6] found at Ambā near Mōminābād in the Bhīr District of the Nizam's Dominions mention a Paramāra king named Bhōja,[7] the ruler of Chāhanda, who was defeated by Khōlēśvara, the

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.

[2] Hiralal thought that the inscription originally belonged to Bilhāri, but this is incorrect. See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 117, n. 5. As I have shown there, some of the places mentioned in it can be identified in the Chāndā District.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's tr., p. 186.

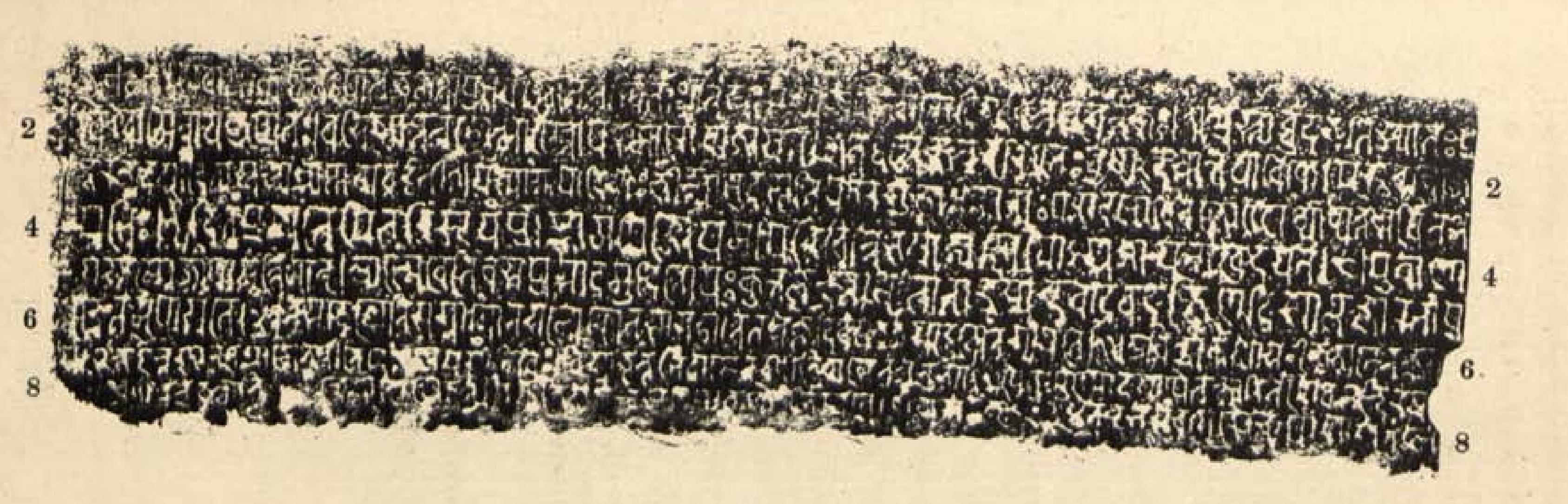
[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

[5] See, *e.g.*, *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, pp. 186 ff.

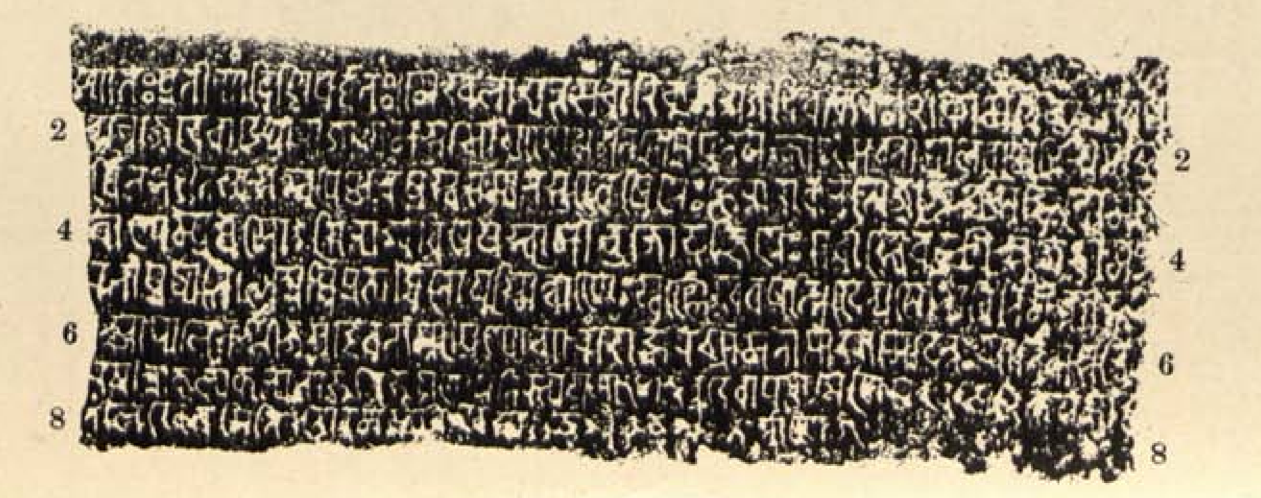
[6] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

[7] This Bhōja is different from the homonymous Śilāhāra prince, the ruler of Kolhāpur, who was overthrown by Siṅghaṇa. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 524.

Left side.



Right side.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2100 E'41-290.

general of the Yādava Emperor Siṅghaṇa. One of these inscriptions is dated Śaka 1150 (A.D. 1228-29). Another stone inscription written in old Marāṭhī has been discovered at Bhāndak (called Bhadrapura therein), now a village 16 miles north-west of Chāndā. It records the *jīrṇōddhāra* (renovation) of a temple dedicated to Nāga-Nārāyaṇa. The name of the Rāṇā Pavāra (Paramāra) who was ruling there is now illegible. The inscription contained a date in the Śaka era, but the last two figures of it are now lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right hand corner of the stone. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally read it as 1308.[1] This is the last record of the Paramāras found in the Central Provinces and Berar.

There is only one place-name in the present inscription, *viz.*, Ḍōṅgaragrāma which is plainly identical with Ḍōṅgargāon where the inscription has been found.

TEXT.[2]

1 [ओं[3]] नमः शिवाय । कुर्व्वन्वः पातु जगतां प्रभवस्थितिसंक्षि(क्ष)ती: । तिस्रः ⏑⏑⏑——⏑ विश्वं यत्र [सु]वर्त्तकः[4] ।१। अस्त्यर्व्बु(र्बु)द इति ख्यातः प्रतीच्यां दिशि पर्व्वतः मेखलाद्यन्तसंचारिकूर्मराजदिवाकरः ।२। कामधेनुं [हृतवतें]

2 विश्वामित्राय कुप्यतः । वसिष्ठात्तत्र होमाग्नौ परमारो व्यजायत ।३। तदन्वये[5] चत्रचरितैः पुष्फ(ष्प)वन्तान्वयाधिके । बभूव भोजदेवाख्यो राजा रामसमो गुणैः ।४। ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्मग्नां मालव[मेदिनीम्] । उ-

3 दरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्धत ।५। यस्याच्छया दिशः कीर्त्त्या भुवनानि परैर्गुहाः । [काष्ठाः] परा व(ब)लादेव काव्यैर्व्याप्यन्त चार्थितः ।६। तस्य सत्स्वपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्मतसुतैषिणः । हराराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो म[ही]-

4 पतिः ।७। दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तामपि श्रियम् । परिवित्तिभयात्त्यक्ता योऽग्रजाय न्यवेदयत् ।८। पुत्राणामग्रमोऽस्ति राज्यविषयस्वामी भुजो दक्षिणः सर्व्वास्वेव हरित्सु जङ्गम [दु]-

5 यत्सीमा जयो मूर्त्तिमान् । आत्मैवेति च सप्रसादमुदितो यः कुन्तलक्ष्माभृता तादृग्यन्दधदेव दक्षिणदिशालङ्कारतां पुष्यति[6] ।९। अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो यस्मिन्वा(न्बा)णैः स्वर्णैश्च वर्षति । दैन्यसैन्य[निधिं] मुक्ता — —[7]

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[1] In his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* Hiralal gives the date as Friday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in the Śaka year 13[08] bearing the name Kshaya which he says corresponds to Friday, the 16th November A.D. 1386. But my personal examination of the stone has shown that the reading is incorrect in one respect, *viz.*, that the *tithi* was of the *bright* fortnight. The date, if the reading of the year is correct, would correspond to Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1386.

[2] From inked estampages.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Metre of verses 1—8 : *Anushṭubh.*

[5] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[6] Read तर्द्धि.

[7] Read तेऽत्र—.

6 [ह्रि]तमुपासते[1] ।१०। न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा ।
न तन्नर्त्तादिवं यत्र जगद्देवो न गीयते ।११। आचन्द्रार्कं शासनीकृत्य तेन
क्ष्मापालेन श्रीजगद्देवनाम्ना । पु[ख्याधा]रे[2] डोङ्गरग्रामनामा ग्रामो दत्तः
श्रीनि[वा]सद्वि-

7 जाय[3] ।१२। तद्दत्तडोङ्गरग्रामे श्रीनिधे[:] श्रेयसां निधेः । विद्याहृत्तनिवासेन
श्रीनिवासेन [सू]नुना[4] ।१३। पितुः पुण्योदयायैतत्कारितं शिवमन्दिरम् ।
आकल्पं कल्पतां भूमिभूंषणाय निरत्ययम् ।१४। अत्र देवाय ग्रामे[क्षि]न्यत्र
[श्रीनिवासप्रह्वि-?]

8 [व्याघातं] कृत्वातिच्छिप्य —[5] यो हर्त्तुमिच्छति स पञ्चमहापातकैर्लिंप्यते । शकसंवत्
१०३४ नन्दनसंवत्सरे चैत्र्यां शासनं लिखितमिति । लेखको विश्वस्वा[मी]
[।*] १०३४ तयांके १५ [।*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm ! Salutation to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May Śiva, causing the three states of the creation, maintenance and destruction of the worlds.........protect you !

(V. 2) In the western quarter there is a mountain known as Arbuda, round the girdle (*i.e.*, the middle part) of which from one end to the other revolve the lord of tortoises[6] and the sun.

(V. 3) Through Vasishṭha who became angry with Viśvāmitra who had taken away (*his*) *kāmadhēnu* (cow of plenty), there was born Paramāra from the sacrificial fire on that (mountain).

(V. 4) In his family which by its heroic deeds surpassed the races of the sun and the moon[7] there was born a king named **Bhōja** who resembled Rāma in excellences.

(V. 5) After (*him*) there flourished his brother **Udayāditya** who uplifted the earth which had sunk under the attacks of three enemies.

(V. 6) The quarters and worlds were perforce occupied by his pure fame, the caverns by his enemies and the farthest directions by the poems of his supplicants.

(V. 7) To him who, though he had (*several*) sons, desired to have (*another*) son after his heart, was born the king **Jagaddēva** through (*his*) devotion to Hara.

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[1] Metre of verses 10 and 11 : *Anushṭubh*.

[2] Read पुण्याधारे·

[3] Metre : *Śālinī*.

[4] Metre of verses 13 and 14 : *Anushṭubh*.

[5] One *akshara* is illegible here. [The text form अत्र देवाय to हर्त्तुमिच्छति seems also to be in verse.—Ed.]

[6] *I.e.* Vishṇu in his tortoise incarnation.

[7] *Pushpavanta* means both the sun and the moon, see above, Vol. XXII, p. 60.

(V. 8) When his father went to heaven, he, renouncing for fear of (*incurring the sin of*) *parivitti*[1] Royal Fortune who had offered herself to him, presented her to his elder brother.

(V. 9) 'You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions, (*nay*), my very self'—He who was thus graciously addressed by the lord of Kuntala, is adorning the southern direction, having attained that very position.

(V. 10) When he showers gold and arrows on (*his*) supplicants and enemies, they giving up their treasure of poverty and forces (*respectively*), wait upon him without any apprehension.

(V. 11) There is not that country, that village, that community, that assembly (*or*) that (*place*) where Jagaddēva is not praised day and night.

(V. 12) That king, named the illustrious **Jagaddēva**, has granted by means of a charter (*and*) as a source of religious merit, the village **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa (*to be enjoyed by him*) as long as the moon and the sun will endure.

(Vv. 13-14) In that Ḍōṅgaragrāma granted by him, Śrīnivāsa, the abode of learning and character, (*who*) is the son of Śrīnidhi, the store of blessings, has caused (*this*) temple of Śiva to be constructed for the attainment of religious merit by (*his*) father. May it, faultless as it is, serve to adorn the earth until (*the time of*) world-destruction.

(Lines 7-8) He who would desire to appropriate after causing obstruction and snatching away what has been given by Śrīnivāsa to the god in this village, would be contaminated by the five great sins!

In the **Śaka year 1034**, the cyclic year Nandana, on the full-moon day of Chaitra, this charter has been written. The scribe is Viśvasvāmin. (*In the year*) 1034 (*on the fifteenth tithi of Chaitra*), also in figures 15.

No. 27.—SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI.

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The six copper-plate grants, which I am editing here, were discovered early in 1936 near **Ghumli** in the Nawanagar State of Kathiawar in the course of digging on the road side. They were briefly noticed by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for the year 1936-37, pp. 102-05. M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has published their text along with brief notes in his *Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly sent to me a good set of the ink-impressions of these plates with a request to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, made to me a number of valuable suggestions in connection with the present paper, which have been incorporated in it. I am grateful to him for his kind help.

The twelve copper-plates found at Ghumli contain the six records edited here, A consisting of three plates, C of one, and B, D, E, and F of two each. All of them record grants made by the rulers of the **Saindhava** family, which is at present known to have been ruling at ancient **Bhūtāmbilikā** or modern Ghumli from *c.* 740 to 920 A. D. The original name of the capital, which is uniformly spelt as Bhūtāmbilikā in our records, used to be popularly

[1] *I.e.* marrying before an elder brother marries. A man who did so was believed to go to hell.

contracted into Bhūmilikā, as shown by the Dhīnīki plates of Jāikadēva.[1] Bhūmilikā was later on contracted into Bhumli, and the present name Ghumli is a mere variant of it.

As very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas of Ghumli, it will be convenient to discuss it here in a connected manner in the light of the valuable information supplied by the present six charters and other contemporary epigraphs. This will obviate the necessity of repetition, while editing the different charters. The dynasty was ruling in Western Kāthiāwār, with its capital at Bhūtāmbilikā or Ghumli, which is situated about 25 miles north-east of Porbandar in a gorge of the Barda hills. Though once the capital of a fairly prosperous dynasty for about two centuries, its present site is nothing but a heap of ruins. All is now a jungle, where once a multitude of human beings resided. Very little remains at present as evidence of its former glory save a few remnants of a royal palace, a huge image of Hanumān with a large bathing reservoir by its side and some ruins of insignificant temples[2]. To judge from the present ruins, ancient Bhūtāmbilikā was about a mile in length and about half a mile in breadth. Its population may, therefore, have been about 15,000. The ground-plan of the town resembles a widespread fan. The ramparts of the town were strong and massive and were surrounded by a deep ditch.

Before the discovery of the present plates, very little was known about the Saindhavas of Saurāshṭra. The earliest reference to them is in a grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśī Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era, corresponding to A. D. 738-9, where they are mentioned among the kings defeated in the Arab raid that was repulsed at Naosari by the Chālukyas[3]. The next reference to them is in the Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhōjadēva, the 8th verse of which describes the Saindhavas as being overwhelmed by the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa[4]. Nothing, however, was known about the precise locality of the Saindhava kingdom or the history and achievements of any particular ruler of the house. The Morbi plate, issued by king Jāika whom we can now assign to this dynasty, was known,[5] but as the plate recovered was the second one of the set, it could not be ascertained to which dynasty the grantor belonged.

The discovery of the present copper-plates now enables us to state definitely that the Saindhavas, who are referred to in the above records, were ruling in Western Kāthiāwār. Charter F of the present set, issued by Jāika II in Gupta Era 596 or A.D. 915-6 gives us the longest genealogy of the family. According to it, king **Pushyadēva**, who flourished seven generations earlier, was its founder. The name of the family is given here as *Jayadratha-vaṁśa* (l. 2). All the other charters, however, state that *Saindhava* was the name of the family. This discrepancy can be easily explained. According to the *Mahābhārata* king Jayadratha, the son-in-law of Dhṛitarāshṭra, was a ruler of the *Sindhu-dēśa* or Sindh. So those rulers who claimed descent from him could be described both as hailing from Sindh (Saindhava) and as ornaments of the Jayadratha family (*Jayadratha-vaṁśa-śēkhara*). In the earlier charters the first name is preferred, while in the latest one, the last one is introduced. The reason for this is not far to seek. As will be shown presently, Pushyadēva was probably an immigrant in Kāthiāwār from Sindh; so though he himself claimed to be descended from Jayadratha, he was known to his contemporaries as a Saindhava ruler. This name, therefore, was long in vogue. Later on when the tendency to claim an origin from a Puranic hero became quite

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, (1839), pp. 73-80.
[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 109.
[4] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 281.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8.

common in the 9th and 10th centuries, Jāika II reverted to the original name of the family, *viz., Jayadratha-vaṁśa.*

The time of Pushyadēva, the earliest ruler of the dynasty, can be only approximately determined. His grandson's great-grandson has issued Charter A in G. E. 513 (A. D. 832-3); he may, therefore, be presumed to have ruled from *c.* G. E. 415 to 435 (*c.* A. D. 734—754).[1]

We have now to consider the question whether this Pushyadēva is to be identified with the chief **Pushyēṇa** whose clay seal was found at Wala (ancient Valabhī) in Kāthiāwār. The legend on this seal reads as follows :—

1 *Ā Jayadrathād-avyavachchhinna-rāja-*
2 *vaṁśasya śrīr=mmahā [r]āj-Ā[h]ivarma[ṇaḥ]*
3 *sūnō[r]-mahārāja-mahā[sēnā-]*
4 *pati-Pushyēṇa[sya]*[2]

It will be seen from the above legend that the seal belonged to *Mahārāja Mahā[sēnā]pati* **Pushyēṇa,** son of *Mahārāja* **Ahivarman,** who claimed an uninterrupted descent from Jayadratha. Pushyadēva, the founder of the dynasty which has issued the present charters, is also described as an ornament of the Jayadratha family in Charter F. The name Pushyadēva of our charter is merely a paraphrase of the name Pushyēṇa of the seal, as both the terms *ina* and *dēva* indicate a lord or a king in Sanskrit. The variation in the spelling of the name need not therefore be regarded as throwing any impediment in the way of the proposed identification. Just as we have common variations like Gōvindadēva and Gōvindarāja we may as well have parallel forms like Pushyadēva and Pushyēṇa, as both *dēva* and *ina* denote a ruler.

As against the proposed identification it is possible to argue that the characters of the seal of Pushyēṇa are somewhat earlier than those of the middle of the 8th century A. D., which is the probable time of Pushyadēva. There is some force in this argument; especially the *mātrā* for medial *ā* would undoubtedly suggest that the record belongs to the 6th century A. D. Letters *ma, na* and *ha* on the seal, however, show a form which is seen to be current in the Valabhī records of the middle of the 8th century A. D. The *mātrās* for medial *ā* may therefore be instances of the survival of archaic forms, which we very often meet with in ancient Indian palæography. It is not impossible that Pushyēṇa may have selected these archaic *mātrās* to render forgery difficult. All things considered, it therefore looks very probable, though not absolutely certain, that *Jayadratha-vaṁśa-śēkhara* Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava house, is identical with Pushyēṇa of the Wala seal, who claimed an unbroken descent for his family from Jayadratha. The legend of the seal is in some places defective, but if the restoration proposed by Bühler is correct, it would appear that like many other founders of ruling families, Pushyadēva began his career as a general and ended by founding a feudatory principality. He seems to have been a feudatory of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The same was probably the case with his son Kṛishṇarāja, at least during the first half of his reign.

According to tradition, Bhūtāmbilikā, *i.e.* Ghumli, where the present plates were discovered, was the old capital of the Jeṭhvā Rājpūts, whose present representatives are the Rāṇās of Porbandar. There are various theories in the field about the origin of the term Jeṭhvā. Dr. Wilson has traced the origin of the name to the term **Jāṭ,** and has suggested tribal consanguinity between the Jāṭs and Jeṭhvās.[3] Jackson thinks that the Jeṭhvās are very probably

[1] See the genealogical table on p. 196.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 145; see also *ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 274-5.
[3] *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, part 1, p. 145.

descended from the White Huns ; he holds that the term Jeṭhvā is probably derived from **Yetha**, the shortened Chinese form of Ye-ta-i-li-to or Epthalite, which was the name of the ruling class of the White Huns.[1] According to the bardic tradition, the clan has derived its name from **Jeṭha**, the 95th ruler in the traditional genealogy of the rulers of Porbandar.[2] M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker thinks that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhavas of these grants. In support of this view he points out how charters A and B prove the supersession of the senior line of Kṛishṇarāja by the junior branch of Jāīka I and observes : 'The descendants of Jāīka as coming to the throne of Bhūmli were probably called Bhūmlias and the descendants of Kṛishṇarāja, who was *jyēshṭha*, were called Jeṭhvās'.[3]

That all the above theories about the origin of the Jeṭhvās are fanciful and untenable can now be conclusively proved. The description of the founder of our house as the crest-jewel of the Jayadratha family and the claim made in the legend on his seal that he was directly descended from Jayadratha make it clear that the rulers of Porbandar eventually came to be known as **Jeṭhvās**, not because they belonged to any foreign stock like that of the White Huns or Jāṭs or represented the senior line of the Saindhavas, **but because they claimed the epic hero Jayadratha as the founder of their family.** Sanskrit Jayadratha becomes Jeṭha in Prākrit through the intermediate forms Jairath and Jaiaṭh. *Vā* was added at the end of the term Jeṭha under the influence of the 'quantity law' of phonetics.

The theory of their descent from Jayadratha is, however, quite unknown to the modern Jeṭhvās, whose present representatives, the Rāṇās of Porbandar, trace their origin to Hanumān, the famous hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān also is the emblem on their flag.

The emblem of the Saindhavas of Bhūtāmbilikā is, however, fish. This was but natural also ; they claimed to be the masters of the western ocean and so must have proudly claimed fish to be their emblem, as did their contemporaries the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south. The difference in the seal emblems however need not go against the well established tradition that the Jeṭhvās of Porbandar originally hailed from Bhūtāmbilikā. The emblem on the seal or banner may have changed in later times. That the Jeṭhvās also had once fish or *makara* as their emblem on their banner would appear very probable from the fact that in their genealogy Makaradhvaja figures immediately after Hanumān, the founder of the family. This mysterious personage, Makaradhvaja, appears so early in their genealogy simply because Makara or fish was on their *dhvaja* or banner in early times, as Hanumān was in later days. The change of the emblem from fish to Hanumān may have been due to the Jeṭhvās becoming in later times the devotees of Rāma and his faithful servant Hanumān. That in early medieval times the kings of Bhūtāmbilikā venerated Hanumān along with Makara is rendered very probable, as pointed out by Bühler, by the circumstance that on the brackets of one of the ruined temples at Ghumli, the monkey emblem appears side by side with that of the fish.[4] Further support is lent to this view by the presence of a huge image of Hanumān near the remnants of the old palace in the ruins of Ghumli. In later times when the sea voyage became forbidden and the Jeṭhvās lost their command over the sea, the figure of Hanumān must have begun to appeal to them more than that of the fish. This must have led to the eventual abandonment of the fish emblem. During the period of our charters, however, the fish emblem was the only emblem of the dynasty; it invariably appears in the case of each of our five complete sets of copper-plates either on the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* ; Vol. VIII—*Kāthiāwār*, pp. 621-2.

[3] M. M. Shastri, *The Report on the Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 6.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 153.

seal or at the end of the last plate. It also appears at the end of the genuine Morbi and the spurious Dhīnīki plates of king Jāīka, who belonged to the same house.[1]

We have seen above that Pushyadēva, the founder of the Saindhava dynasty, flourished between *c.* 515 and 535 G. E. (*c.* 734 and 754 A. D.). He began his career as a military commander and ended by founding a feudatory family. Though he claimed to belong to Jayadratha family, he and his descendants were generally known as Saindhavas, probably because they were among the emigrants from Sindh who had to leave that province after its conquest by the Arabs in 712 A.D.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya ruler Pulakēśī Janāśraya, dated in the year 490 of the Traikūṭaka era (A.D. 738-9), describes an Arab raid that had just then taken place and shows how it had overpowered the Saindhava, Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāpa and Gurjara chiefs.[2] It is almost certain that the Saindhavas who are mentioned here have to be identified with the family of our charters, whose founder Pushyadēva was at that time just trying to settle down in some northern corner of Kāthiāwār. The chief who suffered from the Arab raid was probably Pushyadēva himself, as the approximate period of his reign is A.D. 734-754.

The Saindhavas were at that time mere feudatories as their own charters, as well as those of their contemporaries, would clearly show. They could therefore hardly have dreamt of claiming for themselves any imperial position or titles ; in fact they never claimed these at any time in their career. And yet the Dhīnīki plates, purporting to be issued in *Saṁvat* 794 (A.D. 738) refer to their grantor, king Jāikadēva, as an imperial ruler enjoying the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.[3] This Jāikadēva was no doubt intended to be a Saindhava chief, for his capital was Bhūmilikā and seal emblem the fish. The long genealogy of the Saindhavas given in Charter F reaches back to the second quarter of the 8th century A.D. but knows of no chief named Jāikadēva ruling at that time. **It is therefore clear that the Dhīnīki grant is a forgery** ; this conclusion is also supported by some other circumstances like the palæography of the plates and the non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given in the plates. The data of the Dhīnīki plates therefore cannot cast any doubt on the conclusion above arrived at, *viz.* at *c.* 740 A.D. Pushyadēva and not Jāikadēva was the ruling Saindhava king, and that he was a mere feudatory.

Pushyadēva or Pushyēṇa was succeeded by his son **Kṛishṇarāja** and the latter by his son **Agguka** I, whose rule may be approximately placed in the periods from 435 to 455 G. E. (A.D. 754 to 774) and from 455 to 475 G. E. (A.D. 774 to 794) respectively. During the reigns of these two monarchs also, Kāthiāwār suffered a good deal from Arab invasions. As these were naval invasions coming direct from Sindh, and as the Saindhavas were in those days the leading Hindu naval power of Kāthiāwār, they must have borne the brunt of attack. It must be said to their credit that they eventually came out victorious from the struggle and did not succumb to it like the Maitrakas of Valabhī. In *c.* 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada and the invasion was repeated 20 years later. The Muslim historians tell us that though the last expedition succeeded in capturing the town of Barada, sickness swept away a great portion of the army and the remaining were swept away in a shipwreck on the coast of Persia. The experience was so bitter that, we are told, the Muslims were deterred from making further attempts at aggrandisement in that direction.[4]

[1] [It may be recalled that the emblem on Jayadratha's banner was a boar, *varāha*.—B. C. C.]

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 109.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 151.

[4] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 444. There is some doubt about the spelling of the name of the place attacked but Dowson feels satisfied that the spelling is really Barada.

The town of Barada attacked by the Muslims may have been either the village Bardia, which is ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar, or Bhūtāmbilikā itself, which is situated in the vicinity of the Barada hills. From the Muslim version of the expedition it appears that though the Muslims were successful in the beginning, they had eventually to leave the country. For aught we know, the sickness of the army may have been as much responsible for this evacuation as the bravery of the Saindhava defenders. It is really a pity that Charters A and B, which take the genealogy back to the time of Agguka I, should have indulged in merely a general description of his bravery, instead of giving us a vivid account of this definite historic achievement. In Charter F, however, we have a vague reference to the repulsing of the Muslim invasion, when we are told that Agguka showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies (ll. 4-5). The naval supremacy of the Saindhavas, to which five of our charters expressly refer, must have been of great help to them in driving back the Arabs. This achievement of theirs was indeed noteworthy, when we remember the modest size of their principality.

Agguka I was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**, who may be presumed to have ruled from c. G. E. 475 to 495 (A. D. 794 to 814). M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has attributed Charter C (his Plate A) to this ruler; it will, however, be shown in the introduction to that plate how this attribution is untenable. We have so far recovered no grant given by this ruler.

No contemporary grants of the first four rulers of the Saindhava family have so far been recovered, but there is no doubt that they were mere feudatories as stated above. The epithet *Apara-Surāshṭramaṇḍala-maṇḍana* used in connection with the members of this family in most of its genuine records shows that its sphere of influence never extended much beyond Western Kāthiāwār. It would, however, appear that they had developed considerable naval strength, for our charters invariably describe them as the masters of the Western Ocean. The Mers, who were prominent among the subjects of the Saindhavas, were well known for their maritime activities. Arab historians admit that they were a great maritime power in Kāthiāwār during the 8th and the 9th centuries.[1] They must obviously have enabled their rulers, the Saindhavas, to rule the Western Ocean. The title *Apara-samudr-ādhipati* taken in all our complete charters by the Saindhavas is therefore no empty boast. In seeking to retain the command over the seas, the Saindhavas had shown a foresight evinced by few rulers of ancient India.

Two sons of king Rāṇaka figure in Charters A and B. Of these **Kṛishṇarāja II** was the elder and **Jāīka I** was the younger. They were half-brothers, for Jāīka is expressly described as a *vaimātrō bhrātā* in Charter A. Kṛishṇarāja II succeeded his father in due course in c. 495 G. E. (A. D. 814). A large number of florid epithets have been used to describe his glory and valour in Charter A and one or two of them undoubtedly refer to some contemporary political events. He is described as full of enthusiasm in troubling the host of his enemies, the Chāpins, in l. 15 of Charter A. The same observation has been made in almost identical words about his younger brother Jāīka I and the latter's two sons, kings Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. These four rulers were ruling from c. 814 to 874 A. D., as will be shown,[2] and they all seem to have been at war with the Chāpins or the Chāpas. There were two Chāpa families ruling in Northern Gujarāt and North-east Kāthiāwār at this time. The one founded by Vanarāja was ruling at Aṇahilapaṭṭana since c. 765 A. D., while the other to which king Dharaṇīvarāha of the Haḍḍālā plates of the Śaka year 836 belonged, was ruling at Wadhwan since c. 850 A. D. Since in all our records the Saindhavas describe themselves as the lords of Western Saurāshṭra

[1] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 114 and pp. 519-31.

[2] See the genealogical and chronological table, p. 196.

only, it is almost certain that the Chāpa enemies of kings Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka (*c.* 849 to 874 A. D.) were Chāpa kings Vikramārka and Aḍḍaka of Wadhwan, who were the great-grandfather and grandfather respectively of king Dharaṇīvarāha. If there were no ancestors of Vikramārka ruling at Wadhwan before his time, then the Chapa enemies of Kṛishṇarāja II and his brother Jāīka I, who ruled from *c.* 814 to 849 A. D., would be Chāpa rulers Yōgarāja and Ratnāditya of the Aṇahilapaṭṭana dynasty, who were ruling during the first half of the 9th century A. D.[1] The fact that as many as four successive Saindhava kings are seen to be at war with the Chāpas would show that there was a hereditary feud between these two neighbouring dynasties, as was the case between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas or between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pratīhāras. The fights, however, must have been mostly of the nature of frontier skirmishes.

Charter A describes king Kṛishṇarāja II as a ruler who had, like Bharata propitiated Rāma by his steady and proper behaviour (l. 15). This statement has also been made with reference to his brother Jāīka I and the latter's son Agguka in Charters B and D. It is almost certain that a *double entendre* is intended to be conveyed by the expression *Bharata iv=āchalad=uchita-samārādhita-Rāmaḥ*. The identity of king Rāma to whom kings Kṛishṇarāja and Jāīka I had shown unswerving loyalty is not difficult to find out. These rulers were ruling from *c.* 814 to 849 A. D., as will presently be shown; the overlord to whom they were devotedly loyal must be the **Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra,** who ruled from *c.* 833 to 836 A. D. From the 8th verse in the Gwalior *praśasti* of Prathīhāra Bhōja I we learn that the Saindhavas were among the rulers signally defeated by the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II,[2] who is known to have ruled from *c.* 805 to 833 A. D. The Saindhava kings, who must have felt the brunt of the rising Pratīhāra power under Nāgabhaṭa II, must have been Rāṇaka I (*c.* 794 to 814 A. D.), Kṛishṇarāja II (*c.* 814 to 824 A. D.), and his younger brother Jāīka I (*c.* 824 to 849 A. D.)[3]. It would appear that the campaign in Kāthiāwār was entrusted by Nāgabhaṭa II to the crown-prince Rāmabhadra, who, on its successful termination, seems to have been appointed Viceroy over the western provinces by his father Nāgabhaṭa. After their defeat by the Pratīhāras, Kṛishṇarāja II and Jāīka I appear to have remained loyal to the royal Viceroy Rāmabhadra and are, therefore, fittingly described as propitiating Rāma by their steady and proper behaviour. This statement has been made also in connection with Agguka, son of Jāīka I, in Charter D, though he was not a contemporary of Rāmabhadra either as a crown-prince or as an emperor, the period of his reign being *c.* A. D. 849 to 869.[4] It is, however, not difficult to explain how this mistake has taken place. In our present set of charters, a number of epithets have been bodily transferred from one ruler to another in several places. The use of *Bharata iv=āchalad-uchita-samārādhita-Rāmaḥ* in the case of Agguka would be an illustration of this tendency.

From the time of Kṛishṇarāja II (*c.* 820 A. D.), the Saindhavas became the feudatories of the Pratīhāras as shown above. The Pratīhāras, however, were not able to exercise the same rigorous control over their administration as they had imposed upon the government of many of their other feudatories. The Ūnā plates of Balavarman[5] show that the members of the feudatory Chālukya house, which was ruling contemporaneously with the Saindhavas as a feudatory of the Pratīhāras in Southern Kāthiāwār, could not make any land-grants without the consent of the officers of the imperial government. The grant of Dharaṇīvarāha,[6] who was ruling as a Pratīhāra feudatory at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār, shows that he did

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, P. 193.

[2] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1903-04, p. 280.

[3] During the reign period here assigned to Jāīka I, the period of his regency is also included.

[4] See below p. 194.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 193.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

not or perhaps dared not omit to mention the name of his feudal lord, Mahēndrapāla, through whose favour he was enjoying his principality. All the Saindhava grants, including the Morbi plate of Jāīkadēva, have, however, been issued without any permission, express or implied, of the imperial power or its local representatives. The *dūtaka* of Charter B is no doubt an officer named Pratihāra Kṛishṇa. There is nothing to indicate that he was a local representative of the imperial power. The utmost that can possibly be said is that he may have belonged to the same ethnic stock to which the Pratīhāra emperors belonged. He was, however, no doubt an officer serving under Jāīka I and executing his orders. He owed no allegiance to the Pratīhāras, nor was he responsible to them like Dhūka of the Ūnā plates, who is found signing the charter of the feudatory king Balavarman on behalf of his imperial master.[1] Probably Kṛishṇa, the *dūtaka*, was holding the office of the *Pratīhāra* (chamberlain) in the royal court, as was the case with many other *dūtakas*.[2]

It is also worth noting that if we leave the veiled reference to their loyalty to emperor Rāmabhadra, the Saindhavas nowhere acknowledge the Pratīhāras as their overlords. When however we remember that eastern, southern and northern Kāthiāwār was under the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras from the time of Nāgabhaṭa II to that of Mahēndrapāla, when we note how the Pratīhāras claim to have defeated the Saindhavas, and when due allowance is made for the fact that the Saindhavas never claim to be anything more than mere feudatories, the conclusion becomes irresistible that their overlords were no other rulers than the imperial Pratīhāras of Kanauj even during the latter half of the 9th century and onwards. They were, however, able and clever enough to secure for themselves a much larger share of internal autonomy than was ever conceded to their eastern and southern neighbours. The valuable assistance which the Saindhava navy could give to the Pratīhāras in their struggles with the Arabs was probably the main reason for this preferential treatment.

Let us resume our account of the reign of Kṛishṇarāja II. He is described in Charter A as ridiculing Duryōdhana and drinking the blood of Duśśāsana like Bhīma. It is possible that here also there may be a pun and a veiled reference to Kṛishṇarāja's fight with some real historical kings named Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana, hitherto unknown to us. This, however, is not very probable; for the expression showing comparison to Bhīma has been used also with reference to Jāīka I in Charter B, Agguka in Charter D and Chāmuṇḍa in Charter E. All these kings could not have fought with the same rulers Duryōdhana and Duśśāsana. It is therefore very improbale that any historic events lie concealed in the above comparisons.

Kṛishṇarāja is further described as a ruler who had pleased the inhabitants of Parvata, and who therefore resembled Śaṅkara, who was a source of delight to the relations of (Himālaya) Parvata (mountain). The expression containing the above description has been used with reference to three other rulers, Jāīka I and his sons Chāmuṇḍa and Agguka. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions who were pleased with these four rulers were obviously the residents of the territory round about the Barada hills, in the vicinity of which Bhūtāmbilikā, the Saindhava capital, was situated. It is therefore clear that this city had become the Saindhava capital at least as early as the reign of Kṛishṇāraja I (c. 820 A.D.). Unless we assume that the draftsman of Charter F is guilty of anachronism, we shall have to concede that Bhūtāmbilikā was the Saindhava capital even as early as the time of Pushyadēva, for he has been described in that Charter as *Bhūtāmbilik-ābhidhāna-nagarī-garīyaḥ*, etc. (l. 1).

The tradition represents the Jeṭhvās as ruling at Morbi before they were established at Ghumli. Our charters are however silent on the point. Nor does the Morbi plate of Jāīkadēva

[1] See Balavarman's plates *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 6, text l. 36; see also Avanivarman's plates, *ibid.*, p. 9, text l. 52.
[2] *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 291, text l. 8., Vol. XIX, p. 304, text l. 27.

support the above tradition. This plate was issued in A.D. 904, that is to say, long after Bhūtāmbilikā had become the Saindhava capital; nor does it state that Morbi was the original home of the Jeṭhvās. For aught we know, if the first Morbi plate is discovered, it will be found to have been issued from Bhūtāmbilikā like all other Saindhava charters; it may have been taken to Morbi by the donee or his descendants.

Kṛishṇarāja died comparatively young; for Charter A shows that his son and successor **Agguka II** was a young boy at his death, and that the administration had to be carried on by his uncle Jāīka. Since this charter is issued in 513 G. E. (A.D. 832-3), and since by that time the plan of usurpation of Jāīka was almost complete, we may place the death of Kṛishṇarāja II in *c.* 505 G. E. (*c.* 824 A.D.). He thus had a short reign of about ten years only.

Poor Agguka, the son and successor of Kṛishṇarāja II, shared the usual fate of minor rulers, who have the misfortune of having as their guardians ambitious and unscrupulous uncles. Agguka had such an uncle in Jāīka and he was his step-uncle too. In Charter A, ll. 23-24, Jāīka no doubt boasts that though Kamalā (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united to him in preference to Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian of his young and inexperienced nephew. This profession however is belied by the indications given by other parts of the charter; he does not give the usual titles of a reigning feudatory to his nephew but takes them for himself. The grant of the village also has been made, not in the name of the minor heir, but in that of the so-called regent himself. In the colophon of the charter, its writer also refers to Jāīka, and not to Agguka, as the reigning king. It is therefore clear that the plans of usurpation of Jāīka were almost complete when Charter A was issued in A.D. 832-3. The actual usurpation took place before the issue of Charter B, where we find Jāīka I mentioning himself as the ruling king, and omitting all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. This charter is unfortunately not dated, and so we can get only an approximate idea of the time of usurpation. We have already seen that at the time of the issue of Charter A in 513 G. E. the usurpation was almost complete except in name; the actual supersession could not have been delayed probably beyond 515 G. E.

It would appear that Jāīka I allowed Agguka to rule as a feudatory under himself after he had usurped the throne, exercising jurisdiction over a portion of his kingdom. For we find Agguka's son **Rāṇaka** issuing the land-grant mentioned in Charter C. Unfortunately this charter is incomplete and so its date is not known. We would not be far wrong if we assume that after his supersession in *c.* 515 G. E. (835 A. D.), Agguka continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for another 25 years. His son Rāṇaka may therefore be taken to have ruled from *c.* 540 to 560 G. E. (*c.* 859 to 879 A. D.).

Let us now revert to the career of the usurper Jāīka I. He and his descendants eventually became the leaders of the Saindhava family. As shown already, he ascended the throne in *c.* 515 G. E. (*c.* 834 A. D.). As he succeeded an elder brother and his minor son, he may be presumed to have ruled only for about 15 years, *i.e.*, up to *c.* 530 G. E. (A. D. 849). As shown already, he continued to remain a loyal feudatory of the Pratīhāra emperor Rāmabhadra. In his reign also there were several skirmishes with his eastern neighbours, the Chāpas of Wadhwan.

Jāīka I died in *c.* 849 A. D., leaving behind him two sons, **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and **Agguka.** Charters D, E and F make it absolutely clear that the little Saindhava kingdom was further subdivided between these brothers on the death of Jāīka I. Rāṇaka, a grandson of Jāīka I, through his son Agguka, is seen to be issuing Charter D in 555 G. E.; 12 years later, *i.e.*, in 567 G. E., another grandson of Jāīka I, named Agguka, through his son Chāmuṇḍarāja, is found to be giving Charter E. In the genealogy of Charter F issued in 596 G. E., Agguka and Rāṇaka of Charter D are altogether passed over; Jāīka I is stated to have been succeeded by his son

Chāmuṇḍarāja and the latter by his son Agguka III and this last by his son Jāīka II. It is therefore clear that both the sons of Jāīka I founded separate ruling houses.

Our charters do not make it clear as to which of the two sons of Jāīka I was the elder one. It would however appear that Agguka was the younger one, as he and his son are passed over in the genealogy of Charter F. In Charter D Rāṇaka, the grantor, is stated to have been placed upon the throne by his father Agguka in his own lifetime. This may probably be due to Agguka's apprehension that his elder brother may resume his principality after his death.

Since Charter D of king Rāṇaka is issued in 555 G. E. and Charter E of his cousin Agguka in 567 G. E., it is possible to argue that there was no further subdivision of the Saindhava kingdom after the death of Jāīka I. Rāṇaka, the grantor of Charter D, may have died soon after that charter was issued in 555 G. E. and may have been succeeded by his uncle Chāmuṇḍarāja; the latter after a naturally short reign may have been succeeded by his son Agguka, the grantor of Charter E, some time before 567 G. E. As against this view, it may be pointed out that Rāṇaka of Charter D had a grown-up son named Jāīka, who was acting as Yuvarāja in 555 G. E. In the normal course of events, therefore, his succession could not have devolved upon his uncle. It is further to be noted that in Charter E issued in 567 G. E. there is a statement made in ll. 5-6 that the Saindhava family had at that time 'numerous branches and leaves', *aparimita-snigdhatara-patra-śākhā-sañchaya-śālī*. It is interesting to note that this statement does not occur in the earlier charters of the Saindhava family. It would therefore show, in the light of the further evidence of Charters C and D, that there were at least three branches of the Saindhava family ruling in Western Kāthiāwār during the third quarter of the 9th century A. D. The Saindhava kingdom was no doubt a small one, but this tripartite division need not only on that account be pronounced as improbable, as the example of the Paṭvardhans ruling in the Southern Marāṭhā Country at present would show. The small patrimony of this Sardar family of the Peshwas, hardly equal to a normal district in British India, has been divided into four petty kingdoms of Sangli, Miraj, Mirajmalā, and Kurundwāḍ.

Members of all the three Saindhava houses are seen to be issuing their grants from Bhūtāmbilikā. Though there is some evidence of mutual jealousy, we do not find them fighting with one another. It would therefore appear that they were all staying at Bhūtāmbilikā, their ancestral capital, but ruling over different parts of their ancestral kingdom, more like members of a federation than as rulers of separate states. Our charters supply some evidence about the manner in which the ancestral territories were divided among the three branches, but it is very difficult to interpret. Charter C would show that the district of **Pachchhatrī** was under the seniormost branch of Kṛishṇarāja,[1] while Charter D would indicate that the district of **Suvarṇamañjarī** was allotted to the juniormost branch of Agguka.[2] But Charters B, E, and F show that both the above districts were included in the kingdom of the branch founded by Jāīka I. We can reconcile these conflicting statements only by assuming that the seniormost and juniormost branches were ruling not over the whole but part of the two districts mentioned above, and that the leading family founded by Jāīka I held sway over portions of both of them.

Let us now resume the history of the family. It will be convenient to finish first the account of the **juniormost branch of Agguka**. This ruler succeeded his father Jāīka I in c. 530 G. E. (c. 849 A.D.); his reign may therefore be placed between 530 and 550 G. E. (c. 849-869 A.D.). In Charter D issued by his son Rāṇaka, this ruler has been described in adjectives which have been used for his predecessors in earlier grants; they therefore do not enable us to get a clear idea of his personality or achievements.

[1] Cf. the expression: *yathā mayā sva-bhujyamāna-Pachchhatrī-vishay-āntaḥpāti-* in Charter C, l. 18.

[2] Cf. the expression: *yathā mayā sva-bhujyamāna-Suvarṇamañjarī-vishaya-* in Charter D, ll. 27-8.

Agguka was succeeded by his son **Rāṇaka**. His copper-plate grant, Charter D of our series, has been issued in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5). We may therefore place his reign between c. 550 G. E. and 570 G. E. (c. 869-889 A. D.). From his charter we learn that his father had abdicated in his favour and participated in his coronation himself. The probable implication of this statement has been already discussed on the preceding page. The description of this ruler in Charter D does not enable us to form any opinion about his achievements, as it is all conventional. Nor does it throw any light on contemporary history.

Already in 555 G. E. (A. D. 874-5) Rāṇaka had a grown-up Yuvarāja named Jāïka who figures as the *dūtaka* of Charter D. It is not known whether this prince succeeded his father. His name has been omitted in the long genealogy given in Charter F issued in 596 G. E., but that may be due to his having belonged to a collateral branch. There are no indications of the independent existence of this branch having come to an end with Rāṇaka, and we may therefore well assume that the crown prince Jāïka of Charter D ruled from c. 570 to 590 G. E. (A. D. 889-909).

Let us now resume the history of **main Saindhava branch**, which was continued by **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, the eldest son of Jāïka I. This ruler may be presumed to have ruled from c. 530 to 555 G. E. (c. 849 to 874 A.D.). Charters E and F describe this ruler; his description is however all conventional and useless for the purpose of reconstructing sober history.

Chāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by his son **Agguka III**. As he has issued Charter E in 567 G. E., we may place his reign from c. 555 to 580 G. E. (874 to 899 A. D.). Charters E and F no doubt introduce some new expressions in the description of this ruler. No specific historic events have however been mentioned, and so we can say hardly anything definite about his achievements.

Agguka III was succeeded by his son **Jāïka II**. As he has issued Charter F in 596 G. E., his reign may be safely placed from c. 580 to 600 G. E. (c. 899 to 919 A.D.). His charter compares him with a number of gods and heroes, but mentions not a single historic exploit.

King Jāïka of the Morbi plate is most probably to be identified with this ruler.[1] That plate was issued in 585 G. E. when this ruler was on the throne. As only the concluding plate of the Morbi grant has been recovered, the names of the family and ancestors of king Jāïka are not known. The fish emblem at the end of that plate would however show that he belonged to the Saindhava family. Ll. 5-7 of the Morbi plate of Jāïka are identical with ll. 31-2 of the Charter F in our set. Both the charters have been composed by the same individual, Jhōjjha. Dēddaka the engraver of the Morbi plates was a brother of Madhusūdana, the engraver of our Charter F of Jāïka II, as both of them have been described as sons of Śaṅkara. It is therefore almost certain that the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. were issued by the same Jāïka, who has issued our Charter F in 596 G. E. Had there not been another Jāïka, son of king Rāṇaka of Charter D, ruling at this time in the 3rd Saindhava branch, the above identification would have become a mathematical certainty. We have however seen that the rule of this Jāïka has to be placed from c. 570 to 590 G. E. He could therefore well have issued the Morbi plates of 585 G. E. with the fish emblem at the end. We however notice from Charters E and F that Jhōjjha, the composer of these records, was a protégé of kings Agguka III and Jāïka II belonging to the main Saindhava branch. It is this very person who has composed the Morbi record. This circumstance would show that king Jāïka of the Morbi record is more likely to be Jāïka II, son of

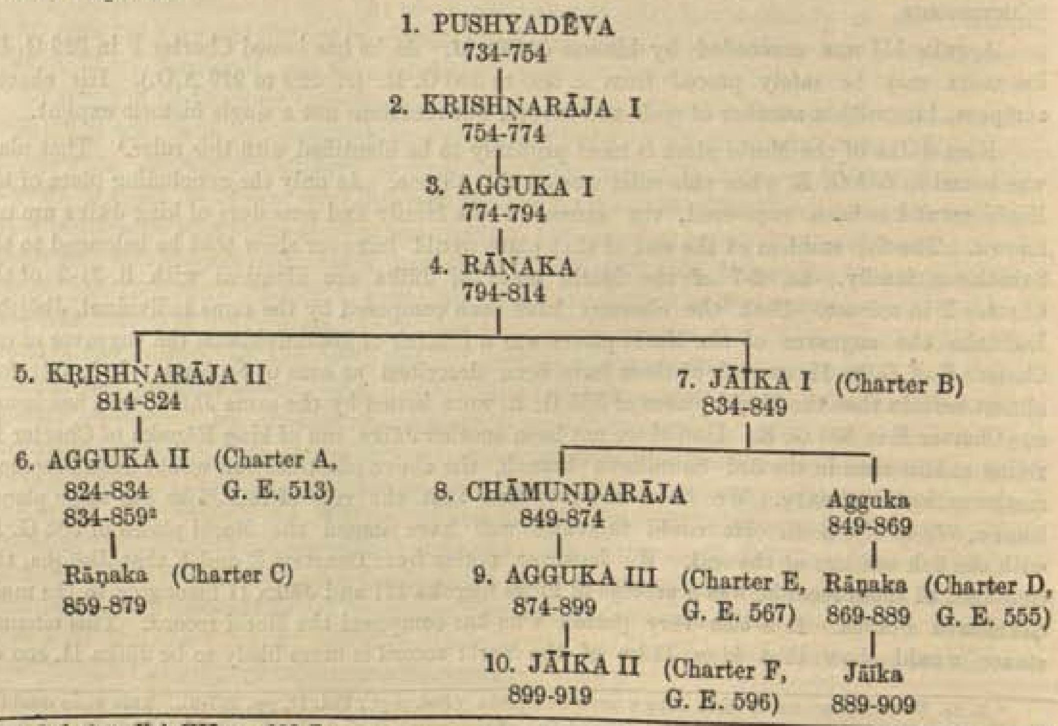
[1] R. G. Bhandarkar reads this king's name as Jāïnka (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 257-8). This is no doubt a possible reading, but the form of the second letter of this name as given in Charter D, l. 7 of this set shows that the name was really Jāïka.

Agguka III of the main branch, than king Jāīka, son of king Rāṇaka of the third Saindhava branch.

We shall now briefly consider the extent of the Saindhava kingdom. From *c.* 850 A.D. the Chāpas had been established at Wadhwan in Northern Kāthiāwār as is made clear by the Haḍḍālā grant of Dharaṇīvarāha.[1] The ancestors of the Chālukya chief Balavarman had been established in Southern Kāthiāwār a few decades earlier, as their Ūnā grants show. The kingdom of the Saindhavas could therefore not have extended beyond the western portion of Kāthiāwār. They themselves also do not claim to be ruling over any larger area, as the description of their family *Apara-Surāshṭrā-maṇḍala-maṇḍana* in our grants shows. Villages granted by them are also all situated in Western Kāthiāwār.

Many of the rulers, whose history has been discussed above, are described as having distinguished themselves on battle-fields. These wars may refer either to their naval conflicts with the Arabs of Sindh or to ordinary skirmishes with their eastern neighbours. As already pointed out above, they were the feudatories of the Pratīhāras, but they do not seem to have taken any part in any of the famous campaigns of their imperial sovereigns. The Ūnā plates show that Bāhukadhavala, the grandfather of the grantor, had taken active part in the campaigns of his overlord against the Pālas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Saindhavas do not seem to have emulated the example of their neighbours in the south-east. They probably felt that they need not exhaust their limited resources in order to strengthen the power of their imperial masters.

We now append below a genealogical tree of this family along with its branches. The names of the rulers of the **main branch** are given in BOLD type. Approximate time of their rule is given in each case in A. D. Charters issued by different rulers are shown after their names with years in Gupta Era.



[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 193 ff.

[2] This is the time of his rule as a feudatory of his uncle, Jāīka I and cousin Chāmuṇḍarāja.

Very little is known at present about the history of the Saindhavas subsequent to the middle of the 10th century A. D. Bhūtāmbilikā continued to prosper for at least another three hundred years; for when Lieut. Jacob had visited the site of Ghumli in 1838 he could trace in its ruins inscriptions dated in the years 1062 and 1229 A. D.[1] The bardic account which attributes the ruin of the city to a Muslim invasion from Sindh in *c.* 1313 A. D., therefore, seems to be substantially correct.[2]

A.—Grant of the time of Agguka II ; [Gupta] Saṁvat 513.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **three copper-plates**, which have been held together by two rings passing through two holes near the edge. The ends of the rings have been soldered together, and one of them has been impressed with a **seal** bearing the emblem of a **fish**, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The size of the first plate is $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, of the second, $13\frac{13}{16}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, and of the third, $13\frac{5}{16}'' \times 8\frac{13}{16}''$. The total weight of the plates, rings and the seal is $326\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*. The engraving of the record is very deep and shows on the back of each plate. That is probably the reason why the central plate does not as usual bear the inscription on both the sides.

There are 12 lines on the first plate, 15 on the second and 18 on the third. After the first plate was inscribed, it was realised that the record could not be finished in three plates unless not only was the number of lines per plate increased, but also the size of the letters reduced. Both these steps were taken by the engraver, as can be seen by a glance at the plates. The engraving has been well done and mistakes are few. They have been indicated in the text and notes and no further comment is necessary here.

The **characters** of the record are proto-Nāgarī ones and bear a general resemblance to those of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III,[3] which were issued from northern Gujarāt 24 years earlier. The forms of the letters *na*, *ra* and *ka* of the latter record slightly differ from those in the present one ; but they are similar to those in Charters D, E and F of this series.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its style is of the courtly poetry. It is very florid and abounds in long compounds ; the writer spares no pains in producing a remarkable array of alliterative phrases. There is an abundance of similes and metaphors, though they are of the usual hackneyed type. There are several expressions with a *double entendre*, as is the case with the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Our record may be confidently cited as a good example of poetic prose, written in a style, which has always excited admiration of the Pandit educated in the old fashion.

The above observations about the language and style hold good of all the charters that are being edited here. It may therefore well be concluded that the Saindhava rulers, who had in their secretariate officers of such remarkable literary ability, must have been great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The fact that the *dūtaka* of the present charter is a poet named Bāla would show that men of literary attainments could get responsible posts in the Saindhava administration.

The colophon at the end of the record tells us that its composer was **Kapila, son of Vikkaṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas.** Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār were under the Śaka rule for more than three centuries and this must have resulted in the settlement of a large

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 75 and 77.

[2] *Kathiawar Gazetteer*, p. 625.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 244-5.

Śaka population in these provinces. Our record would show that even when four centuries had elapsed since the disappearance of the Śaka rule, the Śakas retained some individuality of their own and could be distinguished from the general population. Probably they had formed a caste of their own, but were otherwise completely Hinduised. When this separate Śaka caste completely merged in Hindu society is not known at present.

Though a Śaka, Kapila, the composer of our record, shows a remarkable command not only over Sanskrit language but also over its difficult *kāvya* style. And this need not cause any surprise, for as early as the second century A. D., we find Rudradāman, the third king of the Śaka house of Chashṭana, claiming that he was a master of Sanskrit grammar and logic and could compose both prose and poetry of a very high order.[1] The available evidence would thus show that, though foreigners, the Śakas conceived a great fascination for Sanskrit language and culture and became its patrons and devotees at least in Kāthiāwār.

The usual imprecatory verses apart, the record is in prose with the exception of two verses occurring at its fag end. The first of these gives us information about the name and family of the composer and the second one summarises the contents of the grant by mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant. Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate.

The **orthography** calls for only a few remarks. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second letter is usually doubled ; cf. *garvva* in l. 3. (2) The *anusvāra* before *śa* is indicated sometimes by a guttural nasal as in *vaṅśa* in l. 7 and sometimes by the dental one as in *vanśa* in l. 34 and in *bhranśa* in ll. 35-6. (3) The rules of *sandhi* are usually followed, but there are a few mistakes in this connection ; cf. *karavālaiva* for *karavāla iva*, l. 6, *dharmmaḥ mūrttimān* for *dharmmō mūrttimān*, ll. 10-11, etc.

The copper-plates record a grant of a village made in the reign of the **Saindhava king Agguka II,** son of **Kṛishṇarāja.** The actual grantor is, however, Jāīka, the uncle of the ruling king who was a minor when the grant was made. This is rendered quite certain by ll. 23-4 of the record, which state that though embraced by the goddess Kamalā, who was anxious for dalliance on his chest, Jāīka thought that his nephew ought to be protected and reared by him. At the time of the issue of the charter, Jāīka therefore professed to be a mere regent, administering the government on behalf of his minor nephew. Agguka however was a mere puppet ; for the charter does not give him any legal titles whatsoever. The regent on the other hand is described with all the usual titles of a ruling feudatory. How he eventually superseded his nephew has been already discussed above in the general introduction (*ante*, p. 193).

The grant is dated ; it was made in Saṁvat 513 on the 12th day (of an unspecified month) on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa. As the dates in the remaining charters of this series, when given, are expressly declared to be referring to the Gupta era, there can be no doubt whatever that the date of this charter is also to be referred to the same era. The *Uttarāyaṇa* of 831 A. D. took place on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 1, of 832 A. D. on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 12, and of

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 44. *Śabdārttha-gāndharvva-nyāy-ādyānāṁ vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-vipula-kīrttinā .... sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kānta-śabdasamayōdār-ālaṁkṛita-gadya-padya.....*

833 A. D. on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 7. It is therefore clear that our grant was made on Pausha *kṛishṇa* 12 of the Gupta Saṁvat 513, which corresponds to **Sunday, the 22nd of December 832 A. D.** The date of the charter is given at its end and in numerals only. The **symbols for the numerals** are rather unusual, but a comparison with those in charter F, where the date is given both in words and in numerals, makes it quite clear that the correct reading is 513.

The grantee of the record was **Mādhava, son of Kalyāṇa,** who was a Ṛigvēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Sāṁkṛitya *gōtra* and a resident of **Sōmēśvara**, which is obviously to be identified with famous Sōmanātha. He was given the whole village of **Ḍhaṅkatīrtha** and one tenth the share of the village of **Gulamikā** in order to enable him to perform the usual Brahmanical rites and sacrifices. These villages were situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī,** which was being governed by the grantor himself. Pachchhatrī, the headquarters of the district, is probably to be identified with the modern village **Pāchhtardī,** six miles to the west of Ghumli. Ḍhaṅkatīrtha, the village granted, is obviously the same as **Dhānk** in Gondal state, situated about 25 miles east of Ghumli. Dhānk is situated on the outskirts of a hill of the same name and figures as a holy place in Jain tradition.[1] I am unable to identify Gulamikā, one tenth of whose revenues were also assigned to the donee.

A large number of officers are mentioned in this record, while the grant is being announced by the king. They are the following: 1. *Mantrī*, 2. *Purōhita*, 3. *Amātya*, 4. *Janapada*, 5. *Yuvarāja*, 6. *Rājasthānīya*, 7. *Pramātṛi*, 8. *Balādhikṛita*, 9. *Uparika*, 10. *Vishayapati*, 11. *Śaulkika*, 12. *Dussādhasādhanika*, 13. *Chōrōddharaṇika*, 14. *Vaikshēpika*, 15. *Chāra* and 16. *Bhaṭa*. All these officers are mentioned in Charters B and D also. In Charter C, Nos. 4 and 7 are omitted but *Sēnāpati* has been added; in Charter E, Nos. 1 and 2 are dropped; in Charter F, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9 and 11 are not mentioned and *Dēśādhipati* has been added. Among these officers the functions of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 are quite clear. No. 4 *Janapada* cannot obviously refer to people in general; it probably refers to representatives of people or members of the Janapada assembly, though one would like to have a more convincing evidence about the existence of such a body at this period. No. 6 *Rājasthānīya* means a viceroy, No. 8 *Balādhikṛita* denotes the commander-in-chief; No. 9 *Uparika* was a provincial viceroy under the Gupta administration, superior in status to *Vishayapati* or the district officer, who is here also mentioned after the *Uparika*[2]. No. 12 *Dussādhasādhanika* probably denoted those officers of the *Chōrōddharaṇika* class, who were entrusted with the difficult task of apprehending dacoits and other dangerous criminals. I am unable to offer any suggestions about the function of No. 14 *Vaikshēpika*.

Most of these officers are mentioned in charters issued by each of the three branches of the Saindhava kingdom. The original kingdom was a small one and its branches must have been quite tiny; one may therefore well doubt whether even the parent kingdom had all these officers working in its administration. This suspicion becomes stronger when we remember that in Charter F, which is the most business-like and carefully drafted document of this series, a large number of these officers are omitted. It is interesting to add that the officers dropped out in this charter are just those whose existence otherwise appears to be doubtful. One wonders whether in this small kingdom *Mantrins* would have existed as a class of officers separate from the *Amātyas*; they are omitted in this record. A viceroy presupposes a large kingdom, which the Saindhavas did not possess; *Rājasthānīya* is omitted in Charter F. There was no room for both the *Vishayapatis* and *Uparikas* in the Saindhava administration; the latter of them have been omitted in Charter F. It would therefore appear that some of the officers mentioned in

[1] *Vividhakalpatīrtha*, edited by Sri-Jinaprabhasuri, p. 1.

[2] [The office of *Uparika* has been discussed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 134 and also in the *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 231-33, where it has been explained to correspond to that of a Magistrate.—B. C. J.

our grants did not really function in the Saindhava administration ; they are merely mentioned to make the list exhaustive.

Among the commoners to whom the grants have been announced, only Brāhmaṇas and traders are mentioned. This would show that as early as the 9th century A.D. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār had developed their present commercial traditions and that merchants had come to be recognised as a class as important as the Brāhmaṇas. The bracketing of the Vaiśyas with the Śūdras in the Gītā and the Dharmaśāstra literature would thus be giving us not a correct idea of the position which the merchant class occupied in a commercial province like Kāthiāwār.

TEXT[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसम्भवर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूताम्बिलिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपरस्व-(सु)राष्ट्राम-

2 ण्डलमण्डनोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्ण्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोरा-

3 शि:(शि)श्यामजितसगर्व्वशत्रुसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वा-लावली-

4 कल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलाजलाह्लादितसकल[3]सुहृल्लोकः सम-

5 ररसभरधरोद्धुरोर्ज्जितजितप्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नघृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखखचितपा-

6 दपीठप्रान्तः करवालै(ल इ)वापवर्ज्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरन-ष्टाभि-

7 मुखापतद्विपक्षक्षतिश्विहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रवृद्धायशालिश्रीमत्सैन्धववङ्ग(वंश)शेखरः समधि-

8 गताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदग्गुकः [।*] तस्य जननमस्यचरितवन्द्यानिन्द्यद्विजसमूह-मोह-

9 हारिहारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवलयशोराशिराशिषां परमविसं-

10 वादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरक्षादाक्षोदय(द्य)द्यापिकीर्त्यमानकीर्त्तिः क्षात्रादि-वधर्म्मः[4]

11 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिग्रहहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया

12 सुचिरमचलितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलीपितदुष्टचेष्टितः ससुद्रकरणिसुहृत्त-

[1] Edited from ink impressions. [2] Indicated by a symbol.

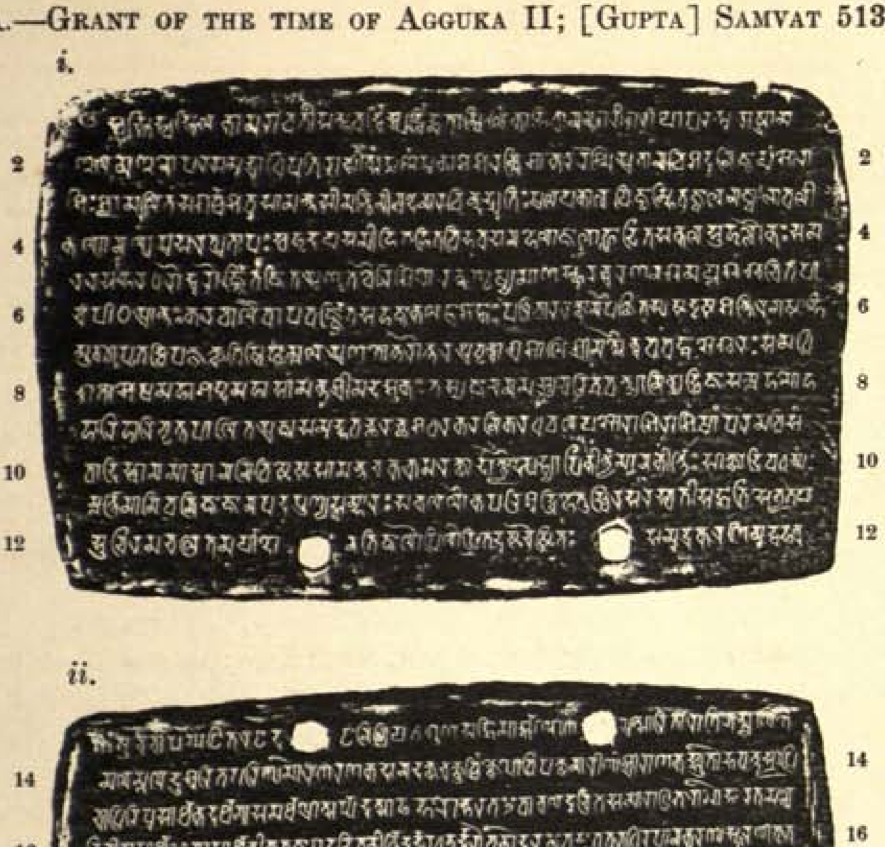
[3] Read either *dāna-jala-hēlā-*, or *samāhlādita* instead of *jal-āhlādita*, as is done in Charters B and D. The reading of Charter E, *dāna-phala-samāhlādita-* is the best.

[4] *Sandhi* rules have not been always followed in this charter.

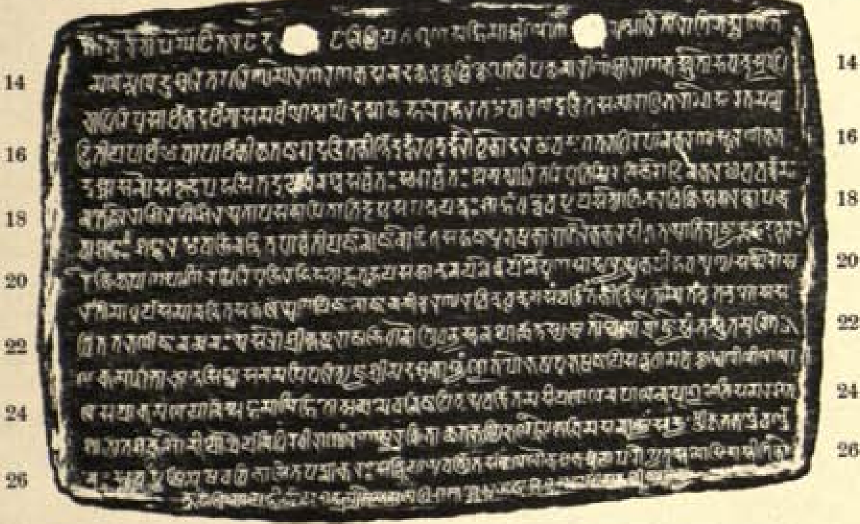
Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli:

A.—Grant of the time of Agguka II; [Gupta] Samvat 513.

i.



ii.



iii.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE: ONE-THIRD. Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

Second Plate.

13 षेषु च चापघटितरटद्टनिनियतगुणसङ्गिमार्ग्गणगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलित-

14 मलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामी रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षुर्व्विचेपी विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकसुतोभवत्त-[1] स्यापि

15 चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्प्पदुत्साहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामो भार-तमल्ल-

16 चि(द्व)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकोकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्धरधनुर्द्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपान-करणास्फुरणीकृत-

17 दुश्शासनोसकृदुपहसितदुयो(र्यो)धनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वगर्व्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिन-कर इव वर्द्धमा-

18 नतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिदृप्तसपत्नयत्नः शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)यसत्योतिदूरविक्षिप्त-नरकोपद्र-

19 वाशङ्कः शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदीकृतप्रातिरा-ज्यभूभृदुत्कर:(र)

20 ऐश्चि कृपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवोद्भूतभयस(सं)भ्रान्तनयनैर्न्नयनैपुणसाभ(फ)ल्यप्रकटीभव-त्पुण्यसम्भारो भा-

21 रतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणारविन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकोर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनु-शोभाभा-

22 वितरुणीजनमनःप्रसरो(रः) श्रीकृष्णराजाभिधानोतिधन्यस्तनयोभूत्तस्य[2] भ्राता वैमात्रो ज्येष्ठं तत्सुतमुचितकु-

23 लक्रमागताक्रान्तसिङ्घा(सिंहा)सनमपि परित्यज्य श्रीमदग्गुकाख्यं ख्यातपौरुषपुरुषजयिस-त्वधामवक्षस्थलोलोलाला-

24 लसया कमलया निस्सङ्कमालिङ्गितो[3] ध्ययमेव निजपितृप्रवर्द्धितमदीयलालनपालनयोग्य इति समरशत-

25 शातितशत्रुशौटीर्यो धैर्य्यनिधिरधीराणां रणेषु रचिता चतकलिकलङ्कोत्कचिमदानाभ्यासा-भ्यर्णीकृतकर्णवर्ण्ण-

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[1] Read *-bhavat | Tasy=āpi.*

[2] Read=*bhūt | Tasya.*

[3] Read *niśśaṅkam=āliṅgitō='yam=ēva.*

26 नः स्ववपुषि पूषेव विकासितपद्माकरः सत्क्रियाप्रवर्त्तितसकललोकश्च कथनापरोप्येतत्स-
मोस्ति नास्तीति कौ-

27 तूहलिन्या यत्कीर्त्या जगद्भ्रम्यते स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईक-

Third Plate.

28 स्सर्व्वानेवात्मीयान्मत्रि(न्त्रि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमातृबलाधिकृतीप-

29 रिकविषयपतिशौल्किकदुस्साधसाधनिकचौरोद्धरणिकवैक्षेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषा(षां)-

30 न्स्त(स्त)न्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्वणिङ्महत्तरकुटुम्बिनस्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वभुज्यमानपञ्चद्रौप्रावे(दे)-

31 शिकढङ्कतीर्थाभिधानग्रामस्य(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तो गुलमिकाभिधानग्रामस्य दशांश्ये(शांशे)न
सहित[:*] सीमेश्वरवास्तव्यचातु-

32 र्व्वेद्यसामान्यसांकृत्यसगोत्रबहृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणचतुर्व्वेदमाधवाय कल्याणपुत्रायोदकातिसर्गेण
द्वादश्या-

33 मुदगयने दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रब्रह्मक्रयो[1]त्सर्प्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिवृद्धये [।*] अतो-

34 स्यैनं भुञ्जतो न केनचित्परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्य(वंश्य)-
जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवा-

35 ञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललवलोलमाकलय्य
दुःपरिहरश्च(श्चं)-

36 न्म(श्र)चणिकश्च जीवितमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसङ्गिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमा-
लोच्य वाच्यताच्यु-

37 तिकामैरमलमण्डलशरदिन्दुद्युतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्ननभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनो-
भिरात्मच्छ-

38 न्दतीयमयम[2]स्वधर्म्मदायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [।*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाक-
जनिताश्च यामीर्यातना म-

39 नसि निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणाच्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो
भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रस्न-

[1] Read either *krityō°* or *kriyō°*.

[2] The letters *yama* are repeated through inadvertence.

40 त्तंव्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

41 यो हरेत्तु वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बि(ल्बि)षः(षम्) [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[:।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥

42 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन[:।*] कृष्णाह-

43 यो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारका[:*] ॥ स्वहस्तोयं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासा-मन्तश्रीजाईकस्य श्रीराणकपुत्रस्य [।*] दूतकोत्र महत्तमबालकविः [।*]

44 श्रीजाई(इ)[1]केमलयश[:*]प्रसरासविश्वे व्विं(वि)श्वासितासगुरुबन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [।*] भुंज(भुञ्ज)त्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विकटाख्य कपिलस्तिलकः शका-नां(नाम्) ॥

45 श्रीजयसेनो मह्यं ग्राममदाद्दृढतीर्थनामानं(नम्) [।*] गुलमयिकाग्रामदग्रान्श्र(ग्रांश्र)सहित-मतिभक्तिरुदगयने ॥ संव ५०० १० ३

B.—Grant of king Jāīka I.

This grant has been written on a set of **two copper-plates**, which have been inscribed on one side only.[2] The plates have two holes near the edge, intended for the two rings to secure them together. Only one of these rings has been preserved and its ends have been soldered together and impressed with a **seal** with the emblem of the fish, which was the insignia of the dynasty. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 348¼ *tolas*. The size of each plate is 13½"×10".

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. The engraving has been nicely done and the duct of the handwriting is graceful. The **characters** and **language** of this charter are similar to those of Charter A. The record is in prose with the exception of the imprecatory stanzas, and the concluding verse, which is identical with the penultimate verse of Charter A. The **composer** of this record is the same **Śaka Sanskrit poet Kapila**, who had drafted Charter A.

As far as **orthography** is concerned, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of *upadhmānīya* in ll. 30 and 35 in the expressions *duḥparihara*[2] and *hantuḥ prāpnōti* respectively.

The charter records a village-grant made by **Mahāsāmanta Jāīka I**, son of king **Rāṇaka**. He is identical with the same person who had issued Charter A as regent for his nephew, Agguka I, who was then the *de jure* king. In the genealogy of this grant, however, there is no reference to Agguka or his father who was the elder brother of Jāīka I, both of whom were expressly mentioned as the occupants of the Saindhava throne in Charter A. The reason is not

[1] The shortening of ī is required for metrical reasons; the correct spelling is Jāīka.

[2] [The same occurs also in Charter A, l. 35. The form should, however, be *dushparihara*.—Ed.

far to seek. We have already seen how Jāīka I had almost become a *de jure* king in Gupta Saṁvat 513, when Charter A was issued. By the time of the issue of the present charter, the usurpation was complete, and Jāīka must have issued instructions to his secretariate that the names of his elder brother and his son should be eliminated from future copper-plate genealogies in order to remove all traces of his usurpation from the ken of the posterity.

The present charter is not dated, but for reasons already explained above in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194), its time of issue will probably be as early as 515 G. E. (834-5 A. D.)

The grantee is a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*, **Bhaṭṭasvāmika** by name, who was a son of **Kulachandra**. The revenues of the village of **Dadhipadraka** were assigned to him in order to enable him to perform the usual scriptural sacrifices without feeling any anxiety for his livelihood.

The village **Dadhipadraka** was situated in the district of **Pachhchatrī**, which is the same as **Pāchhtardī**, 6 miles west of Ghumli, as shown already. The boundaries of Dadhipadraka have been given and they enable us to state that the village has either disappeared or changed its name to **Deolia**, which is now a village 13 miles north-east of Ghumli. For to the east and north of this village are the river **Varatu** and the village **Shedkāi** respectively which are obviously identical with the river **Varatrōyī** and the village **Sēḍhākhāikā**, which also were to the east and north of the village Dadhipadraka, which was granted to the donee. **Bhillamāla**, which was the original place of residence of the donee is to be identified with modern **Bhinmal**, which is 80 miles to the north of Patan and 40 miles to the east of Mt. Abu.

The occasion of the gift was the performance of the *Pushyasnāna* ceremony by the king. From the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira we learn that this ritual was recommended to kings by astrologers of old for the purpose of averting disaster and promoting prosperity, both of themselves and of their kingdom[1]. A number of deities were invited at the bath, which was given usually at a holy place. The water was mixed with numerous medicinal and auspicious drugs. Any day of the month, when the moon was in the lunar mansion of Pushya, could be selected for the purpose; but the most suitable time was the full-moon day of the month of Pausha. It is most probable that Jāīka II utilised the first Pausha month after his usurpation for this purpose in order to avert the possible visitation of divine wrath at his unjustifiable conduct.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 ओं[3] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसभ्यवर्द्धिसर्द्धिभूताम्वि(म्बि)लिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोप-
रसुराष्ट्रामण्डलम-

2 ण्डनोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्णप्रकाशशश्विशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिजयशोराशि:(शि)श्याम-

[1] नास्ति लोके स उत्पातो यो ह्यनेन न शाम्यति । मंगल्यं चापरं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते ॥
अधिराज्यार्थिनो राज्ञः पुत्रजन्म च कांक्षतः । तत्पूर्वमभिषेके च विधिरेष प्रशस्यते ॥
Chap. 48, 84—5.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

3 लितसगर्व्वशत्रुसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पा-
नल्पप्रसर-

4 प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः समररसभरधरोद्धु-
रोर्ज्जितजित-

5 प्रणतवैरिशिरोरत्नघृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवाले(ल इ)वापवर्ज्जि-
तसहजकल-

6 ङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्विपक्षक्षतिष्विहामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्र-
वृद्धा-

7 यशालिश्रीमत्सैन्धववङ्क(वंश)शेखरः स समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीमदग्गुकः [।*]
तस्य जननमस्यचरितवंद्या-

8 निन्द्यद्विजसमूहमोहहारिहारिवृत्तपालितप्रजासमुद्भवच्छरच्छशधरकरनिकरधवलयशोराशिराशिषां
पर-

9 मविसंवादि स्थानमास्थाननिविष्टेष्टसामन्तचक्रक्रमरक्षादाक्षोदय(य)दशापिकीर्त्त्यमानकीर्त्तिः
साक्षादिव धर्म्मः(र्म्मो)

10 मूर्त्तिमानिव निजजनपदपुण्यसम्भारः सकललोकपरिशुद्धिहेतुस्थिरसरस्वतीसङ्गतिसेव्यतया
सुचिरमच-

11 लितमर्यादो नतिजलोपिलोपितदुष्टचेष्टितः समुद्रकरणिसुहृद्व्रणेषु च चापघटितरटद्टनि-
नियत-

12 गुणसङ्गिमार्ग्गणगणप्रोत्सारितारातिरुन्मीलितमलमूलदुश्चरितपरिणामो रणरणकदानदक्षचक्षु-
र्व्विक्षेपो

13 विपक्षनारीणां श्रीराणकस्सुतोभवत्त[1]स्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्प्पदुत्साहसभरो[2]
भरत इ-

14 वाचलदुचितसमाराधितरामो भारतमद्धि(द्वि)तीयपार्थ इवापार्थकीकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्ध-
रधनुर्द्धरो वृको-

15 दर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणीकृतदुश्शासनोसकृदुपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्व्वतः स्वगुर्व्वतः
समुत्सारित-

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[1] The usual punctuation mark at the end of the sentence is omitted here.

[2] Read *-utsāha-bharō*.

16 रिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसन्तापितातिदृप्तसपत्नयत्न: शार्ङ्गधन्वेव प्रियसत्त्वी-

17 तिदूरविक्षिप्तनरकोपद्रवाशङ्क: शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोदितसहजपुरुषकारा- तिरेकाकरदोक्ष-

18 तप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्कर:(र) ऐश्वि कृपाणपाणिरपि रिपुभिरभिभवीभूतभयसंभ्रान्तनयनैर्व्वयनैपुण-

Second Plate.

19 साफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसम्भारो भारतीमाधुर्य्यसमानन्दितसकलप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणार-

20 विन्दवन्दनसंवर्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोतनुतनुशोभाभावितत्तरुणीजनमन:प्रसरस्स(म)धिगताशेषमहा- शब्द-

21 महासामन्तश्रीजाईकस्सर्व्वानेवात्मीयान्मचि(न्त्रि)पुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमातृ- बला-

22 धिकृतोपरिकविषयपतिशौल्किकदुस्साधसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैक्षेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपु- रुषा(षां)-

23 न्स्त(स्त)न्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान्वणिङ्महत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नश्चसमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छ-

24 श्चोप्रावे(दे)शिकपूर्व्वप्रसिद्धदधिपद्राभिधानग्रामस्य(स्व)सीमापर्यन्तस्याघाटश्च तत्र चाघाट- नानि । यत्र पूर्व्वतो वर-

25 त्तोयी नदी दक्षिणतश्चोण्णाणकाभिधानो भट्टग्राम: पश्चिमतस्सेण्टूरकग्राम उत्तरतोपि वाडश्राणकग्राम:

26 सेढाखाद्दका चश्च(चाश्व)ह्वार[:।*] एवं समस्ताघाटपरिच्छिन्न: श्रीभिल्लमालवास्तव्यतच्चा- तुर्व्विद्यसामान्यवत्स-

27 सगोत्रच्छान्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टस्वामिकाय कुलचन्द्रपुत्रायोदकातिसर्ग्गेण पुण्यस्नानविधौ

28 दत्तो बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रयो[1]त्सर्प्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [।*] अतोस्ये(स्यै)नं भुञ्जतो न के-

[1] Read either *krityā°* or *kriyā°*.

Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli:

B.—Grant of King Jaika II.

i.

ii.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

29 नचित्परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वन्श(द्वंश)जैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिरनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मा-

30 नुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दुःपरिहरभ्रन्श(भ्रंश)-क्षणिकञ्च जीवितमालोक्या-

31 तिप्रचुरकदर्थनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसङ्गिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरमल-मण्डलशरदिंदुद्यु-

32 तिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्ननभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमनोभिरात्मच्छन्दतोयमयम[1]स्मद्धर्म्म-दायोनुमन्तव्यो(व्यः) [।*] व्यासादि-

33 मुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाकजनिताश्च यामीर्यातना मनसि निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिक-नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापा-

34 तकसमयश्रावणाच्च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं न प्रस्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोप-दिष्टं(ष्टम्) [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।

35 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्त वसुन्धरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुःप्राप्नोति किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ स्वहस्तो-

36 यं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजाईकस्य [।*] तदादिष्टदूतकोत्र प्रतिहारक्षणः [।*] श्रीजाई(इ)के[2]मलयशःप्रसरास-

37 विश्वे व्विं(वि)श्वासितासगुरुबन्धुजने स्वराज्यं(ज्यम्) [।*] भंजत्यदोलिखदिह स्वधिया प्रसूतो यो विक्कटाक्ष कपिलस्तिलकः शकानां:(नाम्) ॥

C.—An incomplete grant of King Rāṇaka.

This charter was **originally engraved on two plates,** but only the first of them has been recovered. It is much bigger in size than the other plates of this find, being $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 12\frac{1}{16}''$ in dimensions. Its weight is 317¾ *tolas*, which is almost equal to the combined weight of the three plates of Charter A. There are two holes at the bottom intended for the two rings for holding the plates together. The second plate as well as the two rings are untraceable.

There are 22 lines engraved on this plate. The engraving on no other plates of this set is so shabby, slipshod and careless as that on this plate. Every line teems with mistakes and consideration of space renders their enumeration impossible here. They can be seen in the text and the appended footnotes. Apart from mistakes of engraving, there are mistakes of pronunciation

[1] Letters *yama* have been wrongly repeated.

[2] The shortening of ī is required for metrical purpose. The rea spelling is *Jāīka*.

like *shyāmalita* for *śyāmalita* in l. 2, *sunū* for *sūnu* in l. 11, *jasō* for *yaśō* in l. 1, *yanō* for *janō* in l. 7, etc. Then there are mistakes of grammar, too, like *samabhavaḥ* for *samabhavat* in ll. 10-11. The draftsman also has made his own humble contribution to the prevailing chaos by framing a sentence at the end of the plate (ll. 18-22), the syntax of which is very defective.

The form of some characters of this record is considerably different from that of the Charters A and B. *Ma* and *na* are quite indistinguishable; cf. *simantinī* in l. 2. The forms of the characters *ga* and *sa* are also somewhat different from those in Charters A and B. There are two forms of *ha*; both of them can be seen in the word *mahāmahindhra* in l. 14.

The record contains a grant of *Mahāsāmanta* **Rāṇaka**, who was a son of king **Agguka** and a grandson of king **Kṛishṇarāja**. In his *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, M. M. Shastri Hathibhai Harishanker has advanced the view that Rāṇaka, the grantor of this plate, should be identified with Rāṇaka, the father of Jāika I, who according to the genealogy given in Charter F, was a son of Agguka and grandson of Kṛishṇarāja. He therefore regards this charter as the earliest of the present set. It is also possible to argue that the unusually large size of the copper-plate might probably indicate that it belongs to an earlier period, when the size of the copper-plates of its charters was not yet standardised by the secretariate of the dynasty. This argument is of course not very strong.

In view of the genealogical data of Charter F, the above view undoubtedly appears as the most plausible one, but there are serious difficulties in accepting it. A comparison of the text of the present charter with that of Charters A and B makes it clear that it presupposes the knowledge of the latter and is based upon them. Thus the expression *hēl-āhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* in l. 3 of the present charter gives no meaning whatsoever; it is an unintelligent abbreviation of *sva-hṛidaya-samīhita-hita-vibhava-dāna-hēlā-samāhlādita-sakala-suhṛil-lōkaḥ* of Charters A and B, l. 4; similarly *karavāla iva parivāra-nirapēkshaḥ* in l. 5 of this charter presupposes a knowledge of *karavāla iv=āpavarjita-sahaja-kalaṅka-śaṅkaḥ parivāra-raksh-ānapēkshita-spashṭa-dṛishṭa-śaktiḥ* of Charter A, l. 6 and Charter B, ll. 5 and 6. The present charter is thus later than Charters A and B, and cannot be therefore attributed to Rāṇaka, the father of the donor of Charter B, though the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Kṛishṇarāja respectively.

It is no doubt possible to rebut the force of the above argument by contending that the present charter does not presuppose a knowledge of Charters A and B, but that all of them are based upon a still earlier grant, which served as the prototype for all the three charters. This contention is however purely hypothetical and will continue to remain so, till an earlier grant is actually discovered and shown to be the prototype of the drafts of the three charters.

There is another and a more serious objection to M. M. Shastri's view. If we accept it, the approximate time of king Rāṇaka, the donor, would be 794-814 A.D.[1]. Now the concluding five lines of the record would show that queen Kshēmēśvarī was his wife. This Kshēmēśvarī was very probably either a daughter or a sister[2] of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja or Kshēmēśvara, the son of Yōgarāja, who is traditionally known to have ruled from 841 to 880 A.D.[3] It is not very likely that a daughter or a sister of a king, who was ruling from c. 841 to 880 A.D., could have been married to another whose reign period is known to be c. 794 to 814 A.D. Kshēmēśvara was no

[1] *Ante*, p. 196. See the genealogical table.

[2] Kings Harshagupta and Mahāsēnagupta of the later Gupta dynasty had sisters named Harshaguptā and Mahāsēnaguptā respectively.

[3] *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 14 (Singhi Jain Granthamala ed.).

doubt a man of about 40 at the time of his accession, but even this circumstance does not render the marriage of a daughter or a sister of his with Rāṇaka possible.

If Rāṇaka, the donor of our charter is not the same as Rāṇaka, the father of Jāīka I, as suggested by the genealogy in Charter F, with whom then are we to identify him? The answer to this question is supplied by the data in Charter A. That charter was issued by Jāīka as regent, when Agguka, the son of his half-brother Krishṇarāja, was ruling as a minor. Rāṇaka, the grantor of our plate, was a son of this Agguka. It would be seen that the names of his father and grandfather were Agguka and Rāṇaka respectively, as was the case with the grantor of our plate. A glance at the genealogical and chronological table given on p. 196 shows that the approximate time of the rule of this Rāṇaka was A.D. 859 to 879. It was thus possible for him to marry Kshēmēśvarī who was presumably a daughter of the Chāpa king Kshēmarāja, since the latter is known to have ruled from c. 841 to 880 A.D.

As against the view here proposed, it is possible to argue that it requires us to suppose that the Saindhava kingdom, which was already very small, was divided into as many as three branches during the latter part of the 9th century A.D. Known facts about divisions and sub-divisions of kingdoms in India would show that there was nothing very unusual in it. The testimony of Charter F would further show that our hypothesis is almost inevitable; for ll. 5 and 6 of that charter show that during the latter half of the 9th century the Saindhava family-tree had a number of branches (*śākhā-sañchaya*). We should not therefore be surprised if the data available at present showed that there were three branches ruling simultaneously at that time.

It is interesting to note that the claim to the overlordship of western Saurāshṭra has not been advanced in this charter on behalf of the grantor, as has been done in the remaining charters of this set. This was probably due to the fact that after the usurpation of Jāīka I, the branch of Krishṇarāja, though representing the senior line, was reduced to a humble status and did not wield much power and influence. To judge from the present charter, it would appear that it could not command the services of good poets and engravers also. The literary scholars of the day seem to have preferred the patronage of Jāīka and his descendants, who had become the leading members of the Saindhava family.

The present charter is not dated, but since the grantor was a son of Agguka II, who was a minor in 513 G. E., we may presume that it may have been issued in c. 550 G. E. If the grant was in memory of a departed queen of the donor, as seems to be the case, then its date may probably be about a decade later. The present charter was thus very probably granted in the same decade in which Charter D, dated 555 G. E., was issued.

The charter records the donation of the village **Bhēṭālikā** situated in the district of **Pachchhatrī**. The name of the donee does not occur in the first plate, which alone has been so far recovered. The concluding four lines of the first plate contain a part of the record, which described its object. Besides being incomplete, this portion is rather obscure, and so we cannot get a definite idea on the subject. If the emendations suggested by me in the text are correct, the record would seem to sanction a grant for the purpose of erecting a temple in memory of queen Kshēmēśvarī, who appears to have married the donor in a *svayaṁvara*. Or, it may be that the grant was made at the request of queen Kshēmēśvarī; this alternative, however, appears to me as less probable.

As observed already, Kshēmēśvarī was very probably a daughter of king Kshēmarāja of the Chāpa dynasty, who was a western neighbour of king Rāṇaka and ruling almost contemporaneously with him. M. M. Shastri has advanced a curious suggestion in this connection; he thinks that Kshēmēśvarī may have been a queen of Chāpa king Kshēmēśvara of Aṇahilapaṭṭaṇa, living

at Ghumli in separation from him.[1] There is nothing in the record to bear out this suggestion. The concluding sentence is no doubt difficult to construe; but it is almost certain that the word *ātmīyāyāḥ* in l. 18 has to be construed with *rājñī-Kshēmēśvaryāḥ* in l. 22; Kshēmēśvarī was thus a queen of the donor. L. 19 describes her as superior to thousands of women in her character. She therefore was not likely to be a lady living in a kind of judicial separation from her husband; such women were held in contempt by Hindu society. In ll. 21-22, the donor is referring to her constancy to the marriage vow taken in the presence of the sacred fire. She must therefore have been his own wife, and not the wife of a contemporary of his living in separation at his capital.

The village granted was Bhēṭālikā, situated in the district of Pachchhatrī. As its boundaries are not given, it is difficult to identify it with certainty. M. M. Shastri has suggested that it should be identified with **Vaḍāla**, which is now a railway station on the Junagad State Railway, about 7 miles north of Junagad.[2] There is, however, another village named **Bhāṭēla**, about 24 miles north-north-east of modern Pāchhtardī, whose name has a greater phonetic resemblance to that of Bhēṭālikā. It is more probable that this may have been the village granted.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[4] स्वस्ति [।*] भूताम्वि(म्बि)लिकात: [।*] स्राशो(सो)त्संपूर्ण्णप्रकाशशशरनि(त्रि)शा-
कररश्मी(श्मि)प्रतानविष(श)दनिषजसो(निजयशो)-

2 राशिष्या(श्या)मलितसमस्तशत्रुसामंतसीमंतिनीवदख्रा[5]रविन्दु(न्द)द्युति: प्रलयकालविजृंभितज्व-

3 लनज्वालावलीकल्पप्रु(प्र)तापप्रसर(रो) हेलाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोक: प्रणमदु(द्रु)र्जितानेकसर-

4 मनिर्यितमहाभियनराजंन्रो[6]ज्झितदीर्घोष्णनिश्वासपवनस्पर्ष(र्श)निर्म्मलतरीभवन(न्न)खदर्पण-

5 च्छाया:(य:) पृथिव्यामाश्चर्यो(र्य)भूत[:*] करवालेव[7] परिवारनिरवपेक्ष:[8] केवल एव
निर्व्वु(र्व्यू)ढानेकसमरसाहस-

6 महोत्सव: श्रीमत्सैन्धववंशप्रसूत: समधिगताशेषमह(हा)सामंतश्रीक्रषराज: [।*] तस्य प्र-

7 यितानेकगुणगणसमाह्लादितसज्जनजनमन[:*]प्रसर[:*] केवलं जननिजभुजवीर्योपार्जितप्रणति-
यनो-[9]

8 प्रभुज्यमानलक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)विभवती(स्ती)क्ष्णोत्खातकरवालनिशितदा(धा)राविस्फुरत्किरणनिवहदूरो-
त्सा-

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[1] M. M. Shastri, *Report on Twelve Copper-plate Inscriptions found at Ghumli*, p. 9.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 14.

[3] Edited from ink-impression.

[4] Indicated by a symbol.

[5] The letter looks like *khnā*; read *vadanā*.

[6] Read *-samara-nirjita-mahābhijana-rājany-ō°*.

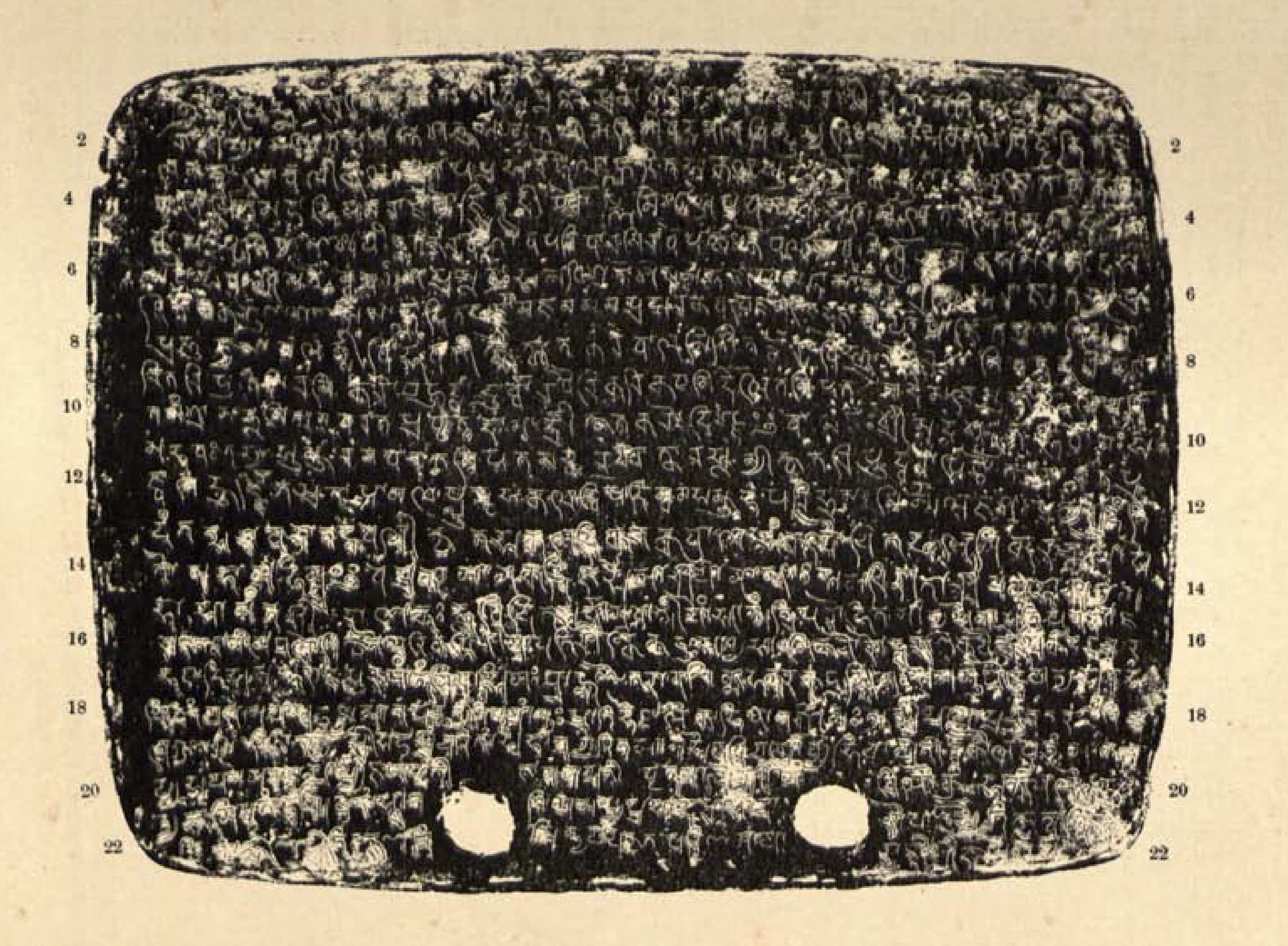
[7] Read *karavāla iva*.

[8] The letter *va* in this word is superfluous, read *nirapēkshaḥ*.

[9] Read *praṇayi-jana-*.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

C.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF KING RANAKA.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

Reg. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो बहुधा(धा) दुर्व्वारवैरिकरिक(कं)ठनिर्द्दलितनिपतनंदमल[1]मुक्ताफलचर्च्चि-

10 तसंग्रामभूमि[2] अनवरतप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रीकृतकरो दिग्ज[3] इवात्मज: श्रीमदग्गुकाभिधान: स-

11 मभव:(वत्) [।*] तस्य [4]सुनूरनवरतनिपतन[5]च्छरशा(सी)त्कारस्रू(शू)न्यीकृतरिपुधरापिठो[6] अना-
रतप्र-

12 ज्वलदूर्ज्जितप्रतापानलप्लुष्टसकलद्विषदिन्धनसमूह[:*] परिभ्रम:नि(मन्नि)र्म्मलज(य)श:प्रत्यग्र-
दंति-

13 दंतक्ष(स)दावदातध(ध)वलीकृतसकलदिकु(क्)चक्रवाल: संकल्पोचितफलनिकरच्छायोपे-

14 तो महामहिन्ध्र[7] इव प्रकामान(नि)कद्विजसमाश्रयो नाम्ना:(म्ना) समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दस-

15 हासामंतश्रीराणक: भू(स)विदित[:*] सर्व्वान(नि)वात्मीयां(यान्) स्वान्मचि(न्वि)प(पु)री-
हितामात्यसेनापतियुवराज-

16 राजस्थानीयबलाधिकृतोपरिकविग्र(ष)यपतिशौल्किकदु:साध्यसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैचेपिकभट्ट-
(ट)चार-

17 भटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषांत्तं[8]निवासिन: ब्राह्मणोत(त्त)रा[न्*] वणिक्म(ग्म)हत्तरकुटुम्बि(म्बि)न:
समनुबोध(ध)यत्यस्तु व[:*] सं-

18 विदितं यथा मया स्वभुज्यमानपच्छत्रीविषयां(या)न्त:प्रा(पा)तिभेटालिकाभिधानग्राम:(म)
आत्मीयाया[:*] प्रचुरतरविम-

19 लगुणगणविजितान्यस्त्रीसहस्र(स्रं) चरितां(तं) स्वभावचरित[9]मानसेन विचार्य्याव्यभिचार्य्यं
तीर्थ(र्थं) कौलपुत्तं(त्र)माकल-

20 य्य स(सं)यममवधा(धा)र्य्यार्थ्यजनप्रती(प्रीति)जननमती[10]वृत्तमालोच्य [11]शौचं विलोक्य सकल-
लोकप्र(प्र)-

[1] Read *-nipatad-amala-*.
[2] Read *-bhūmir=anavarata-*.
[3] Read *dig-gaja*.
[4] Read *sūnu°*.
[5] The letter *na* in this word is superfluous; read *-nipatach-chhara°*.
[6] Read *-dharāpīṭhō=nārata*.
[7] Read *mahā-mahīdhra*.
[8] Read *purushāṁs=tan-nivāsinō*.
[9] The word *charita* is used in the sense of *tushṭa*.
[10] Read *-jananaṁ sati-*.
[11] This reading is rather doubtful. The letter preceding *chaṁ* has a faint resemblance to a defective *śau*.

21 त्यच्चा[1]निष्ठतां(ता) ब(ध)र्म्मिष्ठतां(ता) स्याननियमस्य प्रमाद[:*] प्रासादारोपणस्येति[2] कृत्वाग्निसा-

22 चिकाचीणप्रीतिरच्चणनिमिन्त्ययय[3] कृतपरिण[य*]नाया राज्ञीश्रीचेमिख्यर्या

D.—Grant of Rāṇaka of a subordinate Saindhava branch, G. S. 555.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates,** each of which is 12¾″×9″ in size. Near the edge of the plates there are two holes intended for the rings to secure the plates together. Only one ring has been preserved. Its ends are however not embossed with any seal. The fish emblem of the dynasty appears at the end of the inscription on the second plate. This method of putting the seal of the dynasty immediately at the end of the inscription is followed in the remaining charters of this series, as also in some other plates issued by its later members. In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record.

The weight of the plates together with the ring is 331 *tolas*. 24 lines are engraved on the first plate and 22 on the second. Though the duct of the handwriting of the present charter is graceful, its engraving has been done very carelessly. As a consequence it teems with mistakes, though they are not so numerous as those in Charter C. The left side of the first plate has not been properly dressed. The engraving instrument has slipped from the engraver's hands in several places. In l. 36 however the engraver has corrected a mistake and inserted the letter *mā* (*ma*), which was accidentally omitted, just below the line near its proper place.

The observations made about the **language** and **characters** of Charter A hold good about this record also. Only a few additional remarks are necessary. The form of *na* of this record is of the normal type and differs from that in Charter B, where it can be hardly distinguished from that of *ma*. The distinction between the forms of the letters *s* and *ś* is real, though rather subtle. The form of the letter *rtha* in *sārtha* in l. 7 is noteworthy. The mark for an *avagraha* appears in a few places, *e.g.*, *garīyō='para* in l. 1, *Dukkāsanō='sakṛid* in l. 9, etc., but it is omitted in most cases. The mistakes of *sandhi* are quite numerous in the record. The punctuation is very defective, the punctuation mark being unnecessarily inserted in several places; see ll. 11, 12, 16, 20, 31, 37, 38, etc.

The charter is partly in prose and partly in verse. The metrical portion consists as usual of the imprecatory verses occurring at the end, and of two verses coming thereafter giving the date of the record and the name of the composer. In ll. 30-1, there are two more verses in the *Āryā* metre,[4] which give the names of the donees. These verses are not easy to detect, because some of the adjectives qualifying a noun in the first of them occur in the earlier prose portion. The **composer** of the record is **Vakula,** son of **Viṭṭhaka.**

[1] Read *pratyaksha-nishṭhatā*.

[2] It is difficult to construe this sentence satisfactorily; I would tentatively suggest the following construction :—स्याननियमस्य प्रासादारोपणस्य प्रमाद: सकललोकप्रत्यचनिष्ठता धर्म्मिष्ठता इति कृत्वा

[3] Read *-nimittāya*.

[4] My attention was drawn to these verses by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

The grantor of the present charter is **Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Rāṇaka**, who was a grandson of king **Jāīka I** of Charters A and B through his son **Agguka**. Ll. 21-24 of the record inform us that Agguka, the father of the donor, eventually subdued the desire for pleasures, which he had long enjoyed, and decided to crown his son himself, noticing how Lakshmī, the goddess of Royal Fortune, had become eager to be united with his son Rāṇaka, who had become quite capable of bearing the burden of administration. The coronation of the son took place in the lifetime and under the supervision of the father. How Agguka, the father of Rāṇaka, was probably not the eldest son of his father Jāīka I, and how his abdication in favour of his son was probably due, less to *vairāgya* and more to an apprehension that his elder brother Chāmuṇḍarāja may resume his principality after his death, has been already shown in the general introduction (*ante*, pp. 193-194).

The **date** of the present charter is given in words in l. 44 ; we are told that **it was issued when five hundred and fifty-five years of the Gaupta-samaya had elapsed.** As the name and day of the month are not given, the precise date cannot be ascertained. We can only say that it was issued sometime in A.D. 874-5.

The village granted by the charter was **Pippalapadra**, situated in the district of **Suvarṇamañjarī**. Half of its revenues were assigned to a group of temples dedicated to **Hari, Haridaśva** (the sun), **Vināyaka** and the **Divine Mothers**, which were erected on the outskirts of the city by **Śivarudra**, who was a *karpaṭin*, *i.e.*, an ascetic dressed in rags. The donee of the other half of the village is curiously enough not specified ; we are told that it was assigned to *kasmaichin=maṭha-pataye*, to **a certain head of a maṭha.** This *maṭha-pati* was probably not the chief priest in charge of the temple, where these deities were installed ; for then the wording should have been *ētan=maṭha-patayē*.[1] L. 32 also refers to the separate enjoyment of the property by the group of the temples and the chief of the *maṭha*. The chief of the *maṭha* was also to utilise the property for the upkeep of the temple and its worship ; he was therefore associated probably with another temple. Like numerous temples and *maṭhas* of the medieval period in South India, this *maṭha* may also have been a religious and educational establishment ; our record, however, has nothing to say on the point.

Of the **places** mentioned in this grant, **Pippalapadra**, the village granted, must have been one of the numerous villages in western Kāthiāwār which bears at present the name of **Piplia**. It is not possible definitely to identify **Suvarṇamañjarī** the headquarters of the district in which this village was situated. It may be one of the villages bearing the name **Sonpur**, which exists at present in northern Kāthiāwār. Or, it may be the village **Sōnwāriā**, which is 12 miles north-east of Ghumli. The latter identification looks phonetically more probable, but there is one circumstance going against it. The village Dadhipadraka, given in Charter B, was so close to Sōnwāriā, that one would expect it to be located in Suvarṇamañjarī district, and not in Pachchhatrī district as that charter states. I am unable to identify **Dēṇḍanībhaṭṭa** village, to which the first donee belonged.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[3] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकामरावतीसंभवर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूतांविलिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपरसु-
राष्ट्रामण्डलमण्ड-

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[1] An alternative reading *ētan-maṭh-ādhipatayē* would have suited the exigencies of the metre as well.

[2] From ink-impressions.

[3] Indicated by a symbol.

2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासीत्संपूर्ण्णप्रकाशशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदनिया(ज)यशोराशिः(शि)श्या-
मलितसगर्व्वश-

3 त्रुसामन्तसीमन्तिनीवदनारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्र-
तापः स्वह्न-

4 दयसमीहितहितविभवदानहेलासमाह्लादितसकलसुहृल्लोकः समररसभरधरोद्धुरोर्व्व्जितजितप्रण-
तवैरिशिरो-

5 रा(र)त्नदृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखखचितपादपीठप्रान्तः करवाल इवापवर्जितसहजकलङ्क-
शङ्कः प-

6 रिवाररचानपेक्षितस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरनष्टाभिमुखापतद्द्विपच्चचतिष्विष्टामूलप्रणतोत्तरोत्तरप्रवृद्धायशा-
लिश्री-

7 मल्लैन्धववंशशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीजार्द्दकः [।*] सुतोभवत्तस्यापि
चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थ-

8 नासमर्थः प्रोत्सर्पदुत्साहभरो भरत इवाचलदुचितचरितसमाराधितरामो भारतमल्लस्तृ(ह)-
तीयः(य)पार्थ इवापार्थकीर्त्त-

9 तजगदुदितकीर्त्तिः(र्त्ति)र्दुर्द्धरधनुर्द्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानकरणास्फुरणोक्कतदुःशास-
नोऽसकृदपसहि(हसि)तदुर्य्योधन-

10 च । सर्व्वतः स्वगर्व्वतः समुत्सारितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव प्रवर्द्धमानतेजोरा-
शिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितानि-

11 हतसामन्तसपत्नयत्नः शार्म्म(र्ङ्ग)धन्वेव[1] प्र(प्रि)यसत्योति[दूर*]विक्षिप्तनरकोपद्रवशङ्कः ।[2]
शङ्कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो ज-

12 नोदितसहजपुरुषकारातिरेककरदीकृतप्रातिराज्यभूभृदुत्करः ।[2] ऐधि कृपाणपाणिभिरपि रिपु-
भिरभिभवोड्ड(ड्डू)तसम्धा-

13 न्तनयनैर्व्वयनैपुणसाफल्यप्रकटीभवत्पुण्यसंभारः(रो) भारतीसमानन्दितप्रणयिजनो जननीचरणा-
रविन्दवन्दनस(सं)-

14 स्व(व)र्द्धितकीर्त्तिप्रतानोऽतनुतनुशोभाभावितरुणीजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहा-
सामन्तश्रीमदग्गुकः [।*]

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[1] What looks like a medial ā sign here is due to the slipping of the instrument.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary here.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

D.—GRANT OF RANAKA OF A SUBORDINATE SAINDHAVA BRANCH; G. S. 555.

i.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
REG. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.

15 तस्माच्च शक्तियुतः शंकरादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुतिविशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मादिवः(व)
कमलयोनिः सकललोकलोच-

16 नानन्दकरः क्षीरसागरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्कमलिनीकृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सच्चरित-
चित्रमिवोन्मूलयितुं ।[1] धर्म्मादिवाजा-

17 तशत्रुः समुत्पनः(न्नः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनो(न)मनःसमीहितार्थसकललोकसंपादनक्षमः क्षवि-
(पि)तविपक्षव(ब)ध्वमललोचना-

18 नवरताश्रुजलसंताप[2]शमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिशितनिस्त्रं(स्त्रिं)शविद्युत्कृतापरिच्छिन्नवर्म्मि-
रिपुमेघवृन्द-

19 स्यन्दद[3]नवरतरक्तोदबिन्दुधार(रा)सारतयासकृदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ्रमोनभ्रदोषापगमा-
सादितोदयो भा-

20 नुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तसान्द्रारुणपादश्च ।[4] मेरुरिव स्थितिमान(न्) ।[4]
विबुधजनानंदितमानसश्च

21 स्वादुजलोदन्वानिव गभीरो मधुररसाशंसितगुणसमृद्धिश्च । यश्च जीवि(व)तैव पित्रा
चिरक(का)लोपभुक्तानां विषय(या)-

22 णां निवृत्ताभिलाषेण सांप्रतमयमेवाखण्डलसमानधामा महावराह इव भुवो मण्डल-
भरधुरां वोढु(ढुं) स-

23 मर्थं इति मन्यमानेन तत्समागमोत्कण्ठितां च राजलक्ष्मो(क्ष्मीं) परिकलयता समक्षि-
(सुत्क्षि)प्तमङ्गलकलशेन स्वपाणि-

24 नाभिषिच्य सिहा(सिंहा)सनमधिरोपितः समधिगताशेषम[हा*]शब्दमहासामन्तश्रीराणकः
सर्व्वा-

Second Plate.

25 नेवात्मीयान्मंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयप्रमात्रि(तृ)बलाधिकृतोपरिक-

26 विषयपतिशौल्किकदुःसाधसाधनिकचोरोद्धरणिकवैक्षेपिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्(षां)-

27 त(स्त)न्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरा[5]न्वणिग्महत्तरकुटुम्बिनः समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
मया स्वभुज्यमानसुवर्ण्ण-

28 मंजरीविषयसंगृहीतपिप्पलपद्राभिधानग्रामस्यार्द्धममुना टेण्डनीभट्टग्रामभुवा भट्टशंखधर-
पौत्रेण पू-

[1] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary here.

[2] Read *-sampāta*.

[3] The correct form is *syandamāna*.

[4] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[5] Between the letters *tta* and *rā*, there is space for one letter, where probably a letter was first engraved and then erased.

29 एर्णसूनुना वसिष्ठगोत्रेण बह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिणा शिवरुद्राभिधानेन कार्प्पटिना वाह्यालीपरि-
सरमनु सन्नि[वे*]-

30 शिताभ्यः ।[1]
हरिहरदिक्ष्वविनायकमातृभ्यो भक्तिभारमुद्वहता ।
दत्तं करभोगयुतं सहदण्डदशापराधं चा(च) ।[।*१]
अस्यैवा-

31 परमर्द्धं ग्रामस्य तथै[व*] करभरोपितं(तम्) ।
कस्मैचिन्मठपतये देवालयपालनारतये ।[।२*]
एवमिमं स[म*]स्तमपि ग्रामं भुंज-

32 तो देवकुलानां मठस्य वाप्युपवनसरस च[2] खण्डस्फुटितादिमांसाच[3]माचरतो न केन-
चिद्देशाधिपतिना परिपंथ-

33 ना कार्या । भाविभिरपि भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिः-
(द्भि)रनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि ।[4]

34 मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रनिहितजललोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्प)रिहरभ्रंशं
क्षणिकञ्च जीवि-

35 तमालोक्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचंचलमालोक्य ।[4] वाच्यताच्युति-
कामैरम-

36 लमण्डलशरदिन्दुद्युतिधवलयशोवितानच्छन्नभोभागमात्मानमिच्छद्भिरतिस्वच्छमा[5](म)नोभिरात्म-
छं(च्छं)दतीयमस्म-

37 द्धर्म्मदायोतुं(नु)मन्तव्यः ।[4] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपरिपाकजनिताश्च यातना मनसि
निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिक-

38 नृपपरिकल्पितपञ्चमहापातकसमयश्रावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमानैरिदं
न प्रस्मर्त्तव्यं ॥[4] स्मृ-

39 तिकारोपदिष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेना(त्ता)
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

[1] This punctuation mark is intended to separate the preceding prose portion from the following two verses.
[2] Read *vāpy-upavana-sarasāṁ cha*.
[3] For *-māṁsācha°*, read *-saṁskāra°*.
[4] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.
[5] This letter *mā* (*ma*), which was left out, has been later engraved below the line under the letter *nō*.

40 यो हरेतु(त्तु) वसुन्धरां(राम्) । गवां शतसहस्रस्य हतु:(न्तु:) प्राप्नोति नि(कि)ल्बि(ल्बि)-
षं(षम्) ॥[४*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: । कृष्णाह-

41 योभिजायन्ते देवदायापहारका: ॥[५*] लोहचूर्ण्णाश्मचूर्ण्णं च विषञ्च जरयेन्नर: ।
ब्रह्मस्वं त्रिषु लोकेषु क: पुमाञ्ज-

42 रयिष्यति ॥[६*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्क[रा*]णि ।
निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा-

43 धु: पुनराददीत ॥[७*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[८*]

44 संवत्सरपंचशतीं सपंचपंचाशतं समधिरुह्य । गोसे सप्तति समये ग्रामं श्रीराणक:
प्रादात् ॥[९*] स्वहस्ती-

45 यं समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्तश्रीराण[क*]स्य ॥ श्रीराणके महीभृति विट्ठक-
सूनौ च लिपिक-

46 रे वकुले । स्वयमत्र दूतकोभूद्युवराजो जां(जा)ई(इ)[1]क: श्रीमान् ॥[१०*]॥[2]

E.—Grant of king Agguka III ; Gupta Saṁvat 567.

This grant has been engraved on a set of **two-copper plates**, which were once secured together by means of two rings passing through two holes pierced near the edge. Only one of these rings has been preserved at present. There is no fish seal of the dynasty embossed at the place where its ends have been joined together as is the case with the rings of Charters A and B. We find the **fish emblem** appearing at the end of the charter on the second plate as is the case with Charters D and F.

The size of the first plate is $14\frac{5}{8}'' \times 9\frac{9}{16}''$ and that of the second $14\frac{11}{16}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. The weight of both the plates together with the extant ring is $386\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*.

There are 18 lines on the first plate and 19 on the second. Generally speaking the **characters** are similar to those of Charter D, but the form of the letter *śa* is slightly different. It is interesting to add that the characters of this charter show a close resemblance to those of the Unā plates of Avanivarman II,[3] issued 16 years earlier from South Kāthiāwār. The engraver of the charter was a good calligraphist, and his flourishes of medieval *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are graceful. There are however several mistakes in engraving and they become very numerous in the last four or five lines. At two places, however, in ll. 13 and 17, two accidentally omitted letters, *la* and *na* respectively, have been engraved just below their proper place.

[1] The shortening of *ī* is required for metrical purpose.

[2] There is a circular symbol between two sets of *daṇḍas* at the end of the line.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IX, plate between pp. 130-131.

With reference to **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the use of the *avagraha*. In some cases like *pri(pri)ya-satyō='tidūra-* ll. 9-10, its use is normal, but in two cases it has been used when a preceding *ā* has been coalesced with a succeeding *a*; cf. *Bhūtāmvilik-ā'bhidhāna-* l. 1 and *sāratay=ā'sakṛid*, l. 16.

The **language** of the charter is ornate Sanskrit. The writer **Jhōjjha**, who was a son of Mādhava, has introduced some new similes and metaphors, which to some extent relieve the monotony which cannot but be felt by a reader of the present series of charters. This same writer has composed Charter F of the present series issued in Gupta Saṁvat 596, and the Morbi plate of Jāīka issued in Gupta Saṁvat 585. Jhōjjha obviously seems to have lived to a ripe old age.

The present charter records a village-grant made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Agguka III** of the main Saindhava house, who was a son of king **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and grandson of **Jāīka I.** We have already discussed the circumstances, which make it very probable that Agguka III represented the senior of the two lines founded by the two sons of Jāīka I (*ante*, pp. 195-196). We may only add here that the title of Agguka III *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is more exalted than that of his cousin Rāṇaka of Charter D, which is merely *Sāmantādhipati*.

The **date** of the present grant is given in words in its penultimate verse, which states that **it was made on a new moon day when five hundred and sixty-seven autumns had elapsed according to the Gupta era.** As the month of the new moon is not given, the precise date of the grant cannot be found; it must have been issued sometime in A.D. 886-7.

The **donees** of this grant were two brothers, **Rudra** and **Sāgara,** sons of **Guhēśvara,** who were Yajurvēdin Brāhmaṇas of Vatsa *gōtra* residing at **Gōmūtrikā** situated in the district of **Kāryāyātakachchha.** The grant was given to the donees not for their own individual use, but for being utilised for the purpose of the local Brāhmaṇa assembly, of which they were probably trustees or leading members; cf. *brahma-saṁsad-upabhōgyatāyai*, l. 25. The precise purpose of the grant is not stated; it is however probable that the Brāhmaṇas of Gōmūtrikā, which appears to have been a holy place, may have been maintaining some educational institutes or temples or both, and the grant may have been intended to meet the expenses in that connection.

The village granted was **Harishēṇāṇaka**, situated in the district of **Svaraṇamañjarī.** Its boundaries not being given, it cannot be identified with certainty; but it is probably the same as the modern village **Hariāsana**, situated in Nawanagar state as has been suggested to me by the Dewansaheb of Porbandar after a careful enquiry. I am unable to identify the village Gōmūtrikā from which the donee hailed or the district of Kāryāyātakachchha, in which it was situated.

In l. 23 of the present charter there are a large number of fiscal terms mentioned in connection with the revenues of the village granted, the purport of which is difficult to make out. It would appear that some of them like *vaiṭaṅkī* and *chiṅgōlā* are Sanskritised forms of Prākrit words. They are not to be met with either in Sanskrit or Prākrit dictionaries. *Bhāga-bhōga-kara* and *da'āparādha-daṇḍa* are usual expressions in land grants and require no comment. *Dāni* in old Gujarātī denoted a customs officer; so *sarvva-pāt-ābhyāgāmi-dānyu* would probably denote octroi duties on articles imported. *Pōtra* means a boat, and so *pōtrā* may denote the tax on articles imported in boats. *Mārgaka* might denote some levy realised from persons who had got back their lost articles, or it may be a levy on goods collected on the roadside (before they entered a city), as suggested to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्थ(स्ति)लकालकासम्भवर्द्धिस्पर्द्धिभूताम्वि(म्बि)लिका[3]ऽभिधाननगरोगरो-
योपरसुराष्ट्रामण्डलमण्ड-

2 नोपरसमुद्राधिपतिरासोत्संपूर्णशरन्निशाकररश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्यामलितसगर्व्वसामन्तसो-
मन्तिनोवद-

3 नारविन्दद्युतिः प्रलयकालविजृम्भितज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रतापः स्वहृदयसमो-
हितहितविभवदान-

4 फलसमाल्हा(ह्ला)दितबन्धुजनः समररसभरोद्धुरोर्ज्जितजितप्रणतवैरिगिरीरत्नघृष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरण-
नखमयूखख-

5 चितपादपीठप्रात्त(न्त:) करवाल इवापवर्ज्जितसहजकलङ्कशङ्कः परिवाररक्षानपेक्षा(क्षा)-
तिस्पष्टदृष्टशक्तिरपरिमितस्निग्ध-

6 तरपक्षशाखासञ्चयशालिश्रोमत्सैन्धववंशशेखरः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रो-
जाईकः [।*] सुतोभव-

7 त्तस्यापि चापिरिपुसार्थकदर्थनासमर्थप्रोत्सर्प्पदुत्साहभरो भारतमल्ल:(ल्ल)ढ(स्तृ)तीय:(य)पार्थ
इवाशाचवोकृतजगदुदितकीर्त्तिदुर्द्ध-

8 रधनुर्द्धरो वृकोदर इव सततरुधिरपानास्फुरणीकृतदुःशास[4]नोसत्कदपहसितदुर्योधनश्च सर्व्वतः
स्वगर्व्वतः समुत्सा-

9 रितरिपुतिमिरनिकरो दिनकर इव वर्द्धमानतेजोराशिरशिशिरप्रतापसंतापितोत्तुंगच्छमाश्वदंगः
शार्ङ्गधन्वेव पृ(प्रि)यस-

10 त्योऽतिदूरविच्छिन्नरकोपद्रवाशङ्कश्च श(शं)कर इवाभिनन्दितपार्व्वतीयजनो जनोचितसहज-
पुरुषकारातिरेककरदोक्ष-

11 तप्रातिराज्यभूस्तत्(दृ) भारतीमाधुर्यसमानन्दित[5]सकलप्रणयिजनमनःप्रसरः समधिगताशेष-
महाशब्दमहासामन्तश्री-

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[1] From ink-impressions.
[2] Indicated by a symbol.
[3] This *avagraha* is unnecessary.
[4] The engraver first engraved the letter *śa* and then transformed it into *sa* without erasing the loop of *śa*.
[5] A very small *ta* has been unnecessarily engraved above the line between *ndi* and *ta*.

12 चामुण्डराजाभिधानोतिधन्यस्तनयोभवत्त[1]स्माच्च शक्तियुक्तः शङ्करादिव शिखिवाहनः श्रुति-
विशुद्धमानसो मुरारिनाभिपद्मा-

13 दिव कमल[2]योनिः । सकललोकलोचनानन्दकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकरः कलिकलङ्क-
मलिनीकृतकृतयुगसंभवं सच्च-

14 रितचित्रमिवोन्मील[यि*]तुं धर्म्मादिवाजातशत्रुस्समुत्पन:(न्नः) समासन्नप्रणयिजनमनःसमीहि-
ताधिकफलसम्पादनक्षमः स्व-

15 पितविपक्षव(व)ध्वमललोचनानवरतश्रुत[3]जलसंपातशमितकोपानलप्रसरो निरतिशयनिशितनिस्त्रिं-
(स्त्रिं)शविद्युल्लतापरिष्व-

16 तवर्म्मिरिपुमेघवृन्दस्यन्दद[4]नवरतरक्तोदवि(बि)न्दुधारासारतयाऽ[5]सकृदुपदर्शिताकालजलदवृष्टिविभ्र
मोष(ऽ)नम्भदो-

17 पापगमासादितोदयो भानुरिवानुरक्तमण्डलो विपक्षभूभृन्मस्तकन्यस्तारुणपादश्च मेरुरिव
स्थितिमान् विबुधजनान[6]न्दि-

18 तमानसश्च प्रणतसमस्तनृपगणमसृणघृष्टललाटतटशिलाघृष्यमाणचरणनखमयु(यू)खविक्षेपो-

Second Plate.

19 ज्वलीकृतनिजमहिमसंचयः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्बा(न्ता)धिपतिश्रीमदमुकः सर्व्वा-
नेवात्मीयानमात्य-

20 पुरोहितजनपदयुवराजराजस्थानीयोपरिकबलाधिकृतविषयपतिशौल्किकदुःसाधसाधनिकचौरोद्ध-
रणिकवेत्रि-

21 पिकचारभटादिसमस्तराजपुरुषान्[7] तन्निवासिब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्म(ग्म)हत्तरकुटुवि(म्बि)नश्च
समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं य-

22 था मया स्वभुज्यमानस्वर्णमज(ज्ज)र्यभिधानविषयसम्बध्यमानः पु(पू)र्व्वंप्रसिद्धचतुर्द्दिक्य(क्प)-
रिच्छिन्न(न्न)स्वसीमासमवेतः सभोगभागः सद-

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[1] The sentence ends with *=bhavat*, and so there should have been a *daṇḍa* after that word.

[2] The letter *la* is inscribed below the line under the letter *ma*.

[3] Read either *-navarata-sruta-jala-* or *-navarat-āśru-jala-*.

[4] The correct form is *syandamāna*.

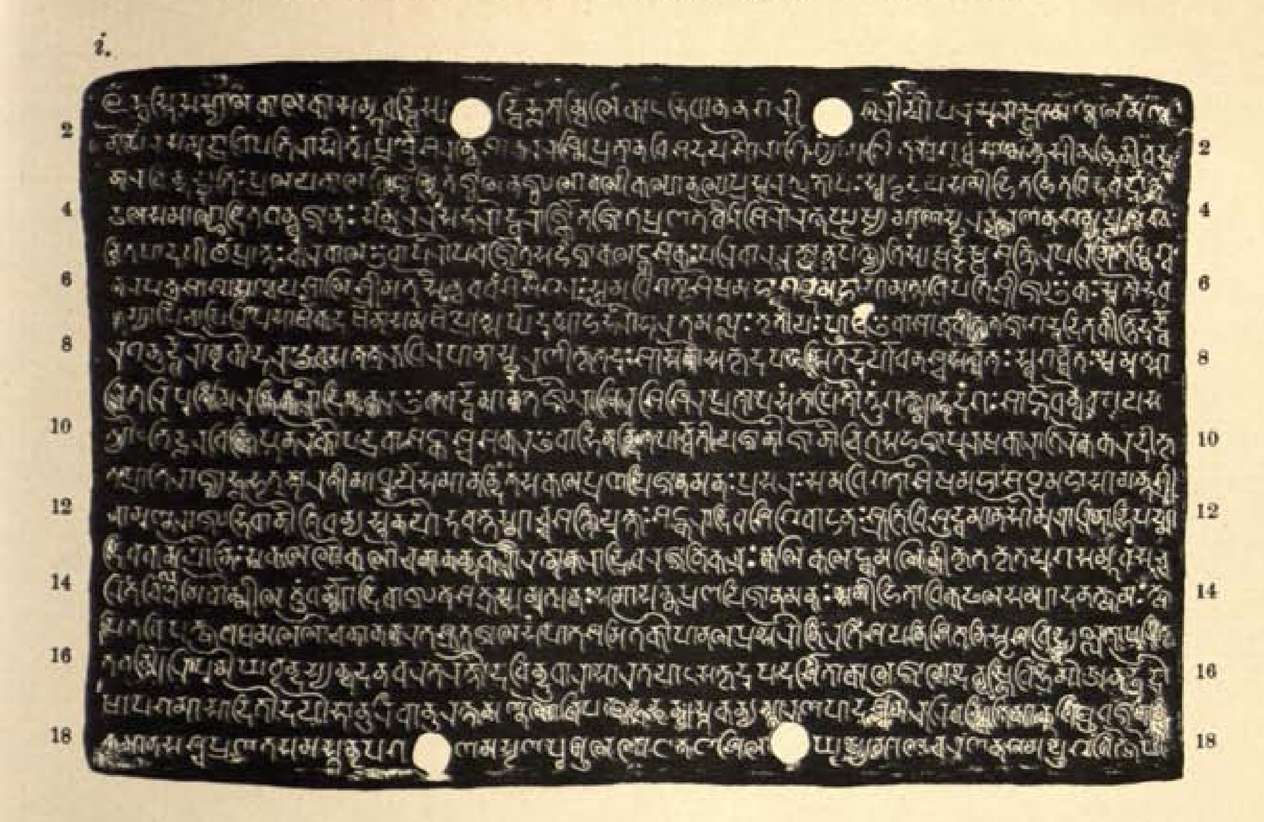
[5] This *avagraha* mark is unnecessary.

[6] The letter *na* is written below the line between the letters *nā* and *ndi*.

[7] Read *-purushāms=tan-*.

SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:
E.—GRANT OF KING AGGUKA III; GUPTA SAMVAT 567.

i.



ii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

23 षडदशापराधः सर्व्वपाताभ्यागामिदान्युपीचामार्गकप्राहुणकवेटंकोचिह्नोलादिनिमित्तनैमित्ति-
कपुरस्सरसमग्गोपादानस-

24 हितः सवृचमालाकुल:(लो) देवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जो हरिषेणाणकाभिधानग्रामः कार्यायात-
कच्छविषयान्त:(न्तः)पातिगोमूचिका-

25 भिधानस्थानवास्तव्यवच्छ(त्स)सगोचवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणगुहेश्व[र*]सुतरुद्रसागरा-
भ्यां ब्रह्मसंसदुपभोग्यतायै पयः-

26 पूर्व्वमासूर्याचन्द्रमसाव(व[1])धेः सन्तत्युपयोगाय स्वपुन्य(ण्य)यशोभिवृद्धये ब्रह्मदायः प्रति-
पादितोस्य[2] च भुंजतो न केनचिद्देशाधि-

27 पतिना परिपन्थना कार्या [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशये(जै)रन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं
भु(भू)मिदानढ(फ)लमनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि मानुष्यकमपि

28 प्रव(ब)लमारुताहतपद्मिनीपचस्थितजल[ल*]वलोलमाकलय्य दुःप(दुष्प)रिहरदुःखं चणिक-
ञ्च जीवितमालीक्य ष[3]तिप्रचुरक-

29 दर्शनासञ्चितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपशिखाचञ्चलमालोच्य वाच्यताच्युतिकामैरतिस्वच्छमनोभिर-
यमस्मद्धर्म्मदायोनुम-

30 न्तव्यः [।*] व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितभूमिहरणपापपरिपाककजनिताश्च यातना:(ना) मनसि
निधाय पूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपपरिकल्पितपञ्च-

31 महापातकसमय:(य)श्रावणां च चिन्तयित्वा भूयो भूयो याच्यमान्यैगच्छित[4]भिरिदमनुम-
त्त(न्त)व्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वचः [।*] षष्टिं वर्ष-

32 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरकं(के)
वसेत् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां व्वा(वा) यो हरेन्तु(त्) वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शत-
सहस्र-

33 स्य हंतुः प्राप्नोति किल्विषं(षम्) ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पू(पु)रा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मा-
र्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः

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[1] Read =*ā sūrya-chandr-āvadhēḥ*. The vedic expression, *sūryā-chandramasau*, denoting the dual divinity of the sun and the moon, was in the writer's mind here; he has combined it with the word *avadhēḥ* following.

[2] A *sandhi* has been wrongly made here between the last word of the first sentence and the first word of the next sentence. Read *pratipāditaḥ* I *Asya*

[3] Read =*ālōkya=ati-*.

[4] Read °*nair=āgāmibhir=*.

34 पुनराददीत ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां)

35 श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यकोचि(जीवि)तञ्च [।*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं(त)ञ्च बुध्वा(द्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीमदग्गुकस्य ॥ सप्त-

36 युय(त)षष्टिसहिते शरदां शतपं(प)ञ्चके गते गौसे [।*] स्वर्भानुयोगम(मि)न्दौ दधति शुचाविदमदाल्लितिय:(प:) ॥ इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वर्ने(र्ण)ततिमर्मा-

37 धवस्य तनयेन [।*] गुणिना शासनसंज्ञा झोज्झिन नराधिपादेशात् ॥ इति ॥

F.—Grant of king Jāika II ; Gupta Saṁvat, 596.

This record has been engraved on a set of **two copper-plates**, which have been held together by means of two rings passing through two holes made near the edge. The **fish symbol**, the insignia of the dynasty, is not embossed on either ring, but is engraved at the end of the second plate. The size of the 1st plate is 13¾" × 10⅝" and that of the 2nd 13¾" × 10¾", and the weight of both the plates and the rings is 495¾ *tolas*. They are thus much heavier than the other plates of this set.

21 lines have been engraved on the first plate and 20 on the second. The engraving has been done fairly well, though there are several mistakes. The *mātrās* for medial *i* and *ī* show graceful and sweeping curves ; the same is the case with the left-side limb of *la*. The **language** and the **characters** are similar to those of Charter E issued by the father of the present donor. As there have been introduced as many as seven ancestors of the donor in the genealogy, and as only two plates were to be used for the record, the description of the earlier rulers has been done briefly in two or three adjectives only. Many of the phrases and expressions used in this connection are new, though unfortunately most of them are quite useless for the purpose of the historian.

As to **orthography**, the only observation that need be made is about the punctuation. It is very defective. A large number of punctuation marks have been unnecessarily used in the record ; see ll. 13, 17, 21, 23, 24, etc.

The grant recorded in this charter was made by **Mahāsāmantādhipati Śrī-Jāika** II, son of king **Agguka** who had issued Charter E. The present charter gives the longest genealogy, going back to the 7th ancestor of the donor. It has been already discussed in the general introduction. We may only add here that the members of the collateral families founded by Kṛishṇarāja, brother of Jāika I and by Agguka, brother of Chāmuṇḍarāja II, are naturally omitted from this genealogy.

The charter has been **dated** both in words and in numerals ; ll. 39 and 40 inform us that **it was issued on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha when five hundred and ninety-six years had elapsed according to the Gupta era.** In the absence of further details, the exact date cannot be verified, but it was most probably Thursday, the 29th of June 915 A.D., when there was the full-moon day of Āshāḍha.

The charter records that the revenues of the village Chhampāṇaka were assigned to **Sāhē Janārdana and others** to be spent for *Nanna-maṭhikā*, which had been founded by a merchant

named Nanna, hailing from Bhillamāla or modern Bhinmal. This *Nanna-maṭhikā* may have been a mere temple like *Purushōttama-maṭhikā* to the north-east of which it was situated. But Nanna as the name of an Indian deity is not known, and the temples named after their founders usually bear an *īśvara* suffix added to their founders' names. Thus a temple founded by Nanna would be known as Nannēśvara and not merely as *Nanna-maṭhikā*. *Maṭhikā* or *maṭha* also denotes a place where spiritual and educational lessons are imparted, and ll. 27-8 lay down that Sāhē Janārdana and others, who were to hold the property, were expected to be engaged in sacred studies. It is therefore probable that what Nanna had done was to found a school or college rather than a temple; or his temple itself may have become a seat of learning, as was the case with so many shrines of ancient and medieval periods. One-fourth of the revenue of the village was to be utilised for feeding Brāhmaṇas every day; these may have included the poor students of the college. Three-fourths of the income was to be utilised for the expenses of the *maṭha*, probably consisting of the pay of the teachers, stipends to students, and worship of the temple, if it was included in the *maṭha* establishment.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Svarṇamañjarī** and **Bhillamāla** have been already met with. The village **Chhampāṇaka** that was granted was probably the same as modern **Chāvaṇḍ**, situated about 15 miles north of Junagad. If we are correct in holding that the rather cryptic expression, which gives the boundaries of the village, states that the village **Īśvarāṇaka** was to its north, then the above identification would become very probable, for to the north of modern Chāvaṇḍ is situated the villiage of **Īśvariā**. Other boundary villages however cannot be traced in the survey maps.

TEXT[1]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[2] स्वस्ति [।*] स्वस्तिलकालकासंभवर्वांहस्वर्द्धिभूतांवि(वि)त्तिकाभिधाननगरीगरीयोपर-
सुचा(रा)ष्ट्रमण्डलमण्डनोऽपर-

2 समुद्राधिपतिश्रीमज्जयद्रथवंशशेखरः श्रीपुष्यदेवाभिधानः क्षितिपतिर्ब्बभूव । तस्य च
कुवलयदलश्यामलैक-

3 चारुकरभ्राजमानानवद्यपुष्करतया[3] विनायकोक्ततसा(स)कलसपत्नमण्डलः श्रीकृष्णराजनामा
न(त)नयोभवत् ।

4 तस्यापि विपुलविपुलविप्रतीकपयोधिवलजलनिमग्नक्ष्माभूमण्डलोद्धरणसौकर्यलीलाप्रकटितमहा-

5 वराहमहिमा श्रीमदग्गुकाभिधान[4]स्तस्यापि निशितनिस्त्रिं(स्त्रिं)शपातक्षतविपक्षक्षतिचरत्क्षत-
जराज्यनुरज्यमा-

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[1] From ink-impressions.

[2] Indicated by a symbol.

[3] The word *pushkara* is here used in the unusual sense of a sword.

[4] The word *tanayaḥ* has been probably omitted here through inadvertence.

6 नाजिचिंतितलजयश्री: श्रीराणकनामा[1] तस्य च प्रणमदूर्ज्जितानंतसामंतमस्तकपृथुललाट-
तटशिलाशाणाघृ-

7 ष्यमाणस्फुरच्चरणनखमयूखविक्षेपोज्वल(ली)कृतनिजमहिमसंचय: ।[2] अनेकनिकपटवलिपं(बं)-
धप्रबंधप्रकटित

8 सातिरेककृतयुगव्यवस्थ: ।[2] एकाच्युतोरस्थलावस्थानावसीदमानसयेव श्रिया समाश्र(श्रि)त-
सर्व्वावयव: श्रीजाई-

9 कनामा सूनुरभूत् । तस्य च समग्रशरन्निशाकर[3]रश्मिप्रतानविशदयशोराशिश्यामलितस-
गर्व्वशत्रुसामंत-

10 सीमंतिनीवदनारविंदद्युति: प्रलयकालविजृंभितज्वलज्ज्वलनज्वालावलीकल्पानल्पप्रसरत्प्रताप:
श्रीचा-

11 मुण्डराजाभिधानस्तनयस्तस्माच(च्च) शक्तियुक्त: शम्क(ङ्क)रादिव शिखिखिडवाहन: श्रुतिविशु-
[द्ध*]मानसो मुरारिनाभि-

12 नलिनादिव नलिनयोनि: सकललोकलोचनानंदकरो रत्नाकरादिव रजनिकर: कलिक-
लंकमलिनो-

13 कृतं कृतयुगसंभवं सच्चरितचित(त्र)मिवोन्मीलयितुं धम्मा(र्म्मा)दिवाजातशत्रु: समुत्पन:(न्न:) ।[2]
सकलप्रणयिजनम-

14 न:समीहिताधिकफलसंपादनकल्पपादप: क्षपितविपक्षप(ब)ध्वमा(म)ललोचनानवरतस्रुताश्रुज-
लसंपा-

15 तशमितकोपानलप्रसरो बहुविपक्षपक्षवधसिंचितसमरमखदीक्षाचार्य: ।[2] श्रीमदग्गुकाभिधा-
नोतिधन्य-

16 स्तनयोभवत्त[4]स्य च तुरगखरखुरमुखोत्खातबहलबलधूलीवितानजायमानसमदकरिकरटगलि-

17 तदानजलसीकरासारजनितपंकानुबंध: कृपाणधाराभिहतायतध(ब)र्म्मशतसमुद्गीर्णवह्निस्फुलिंग-
खद्यो-

18 तमालाखचितसमरदुर्द्दिन: ।[2] पृथुर्यशसि ।[2] अजातशत्रुर्व्वर्चसि ।[2] तपनस्तेजसि ॥[2] मरु-
त्तरसि कंदर्पो वयसि ।[2] न-

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[1] A word like *sutaḥ* has to be supplied here. From Charters A and B, we know that Rāṇaka was a son of Agguka.

[2] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

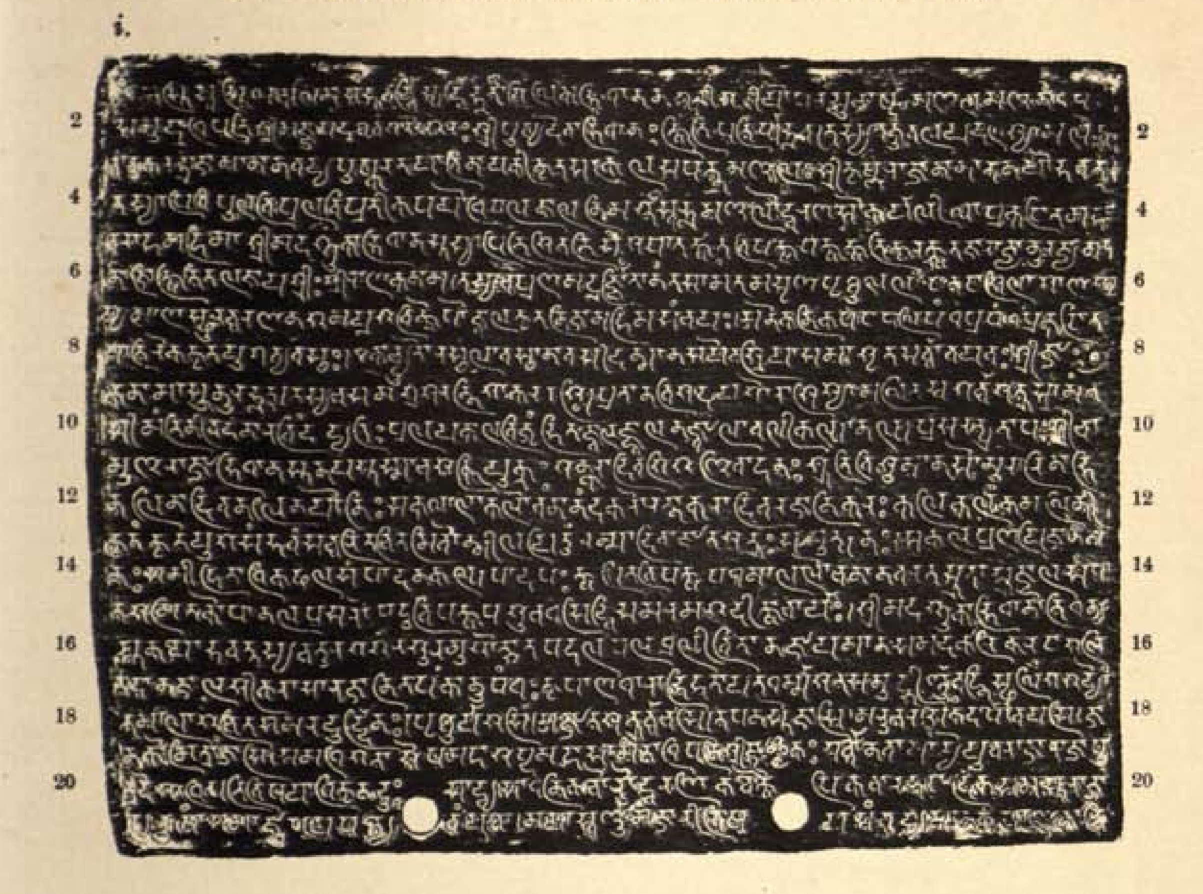
[3] The letter *ra* is defectively engraved ; the right hand horizontal stroke is missing.

[4] After *-bhavat*, a punctuation mark should have been inserted to mark the end of the sentence.

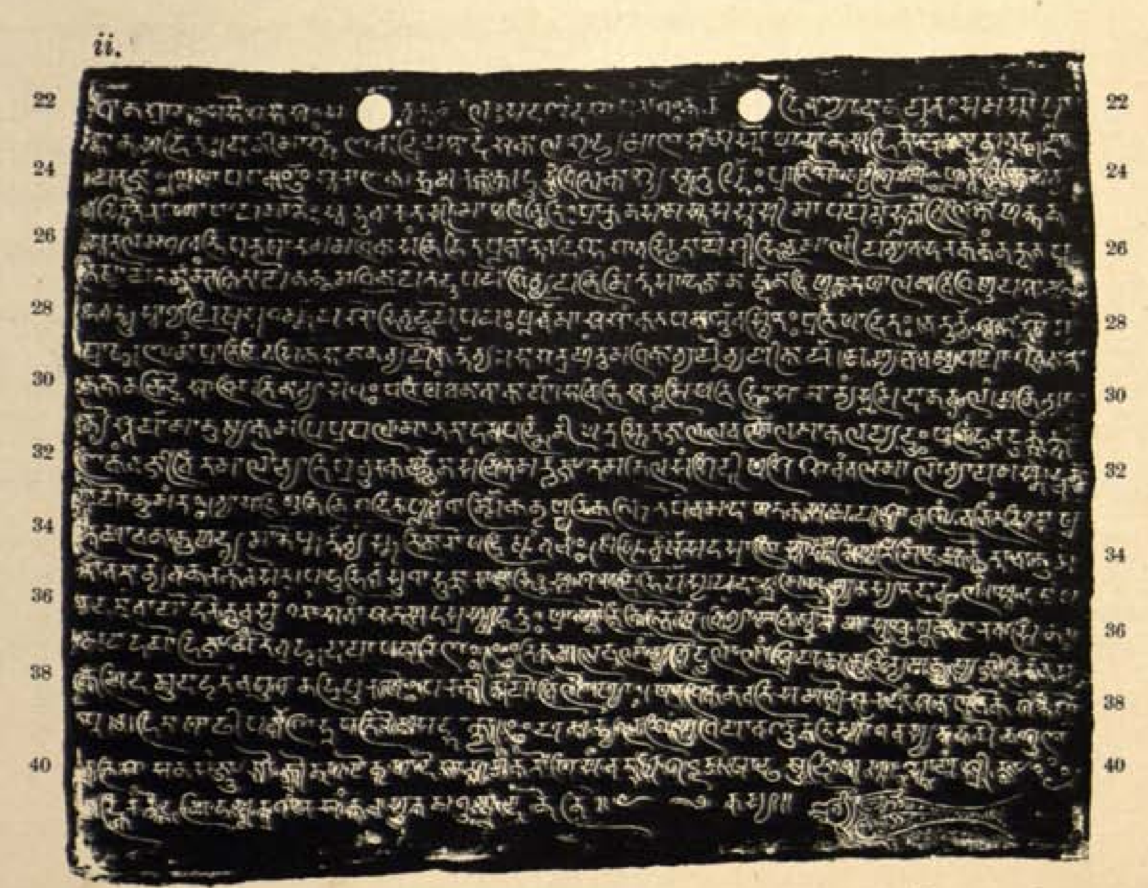
SIX SAINDHAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM GHUMLI:

F.—GRANT OF KING JAIKA II; GUPTA SAMVAT 596.

i.



ii.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 2096 E'41. 290.

19 नको मित्रांजसि[1] ।[2] समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतिश्रीजाईकः सर्व्वानेवामात्य-
युवराजराजपु-

20 त्रदेशाधिपतिविषयाधिकृतदुःसाध्यसाधनिकचौरोद्धरणिकवैक्षेपिकचारभटादिकसमस्तराज-

21 पुरुषां(षान्) समाज्ञापयप[3]त्येवं यथा ।[2] मया स्वर्ण्णमंजरीविषयसंव(ब)द्धमानक्कंपाणकाभि-

Second Plate.

22 धानग्रामः सभोगभागः सवृक्षमालः सदण्डदशापराधः करहिरण्यादानयुतः समस्तोपा-

23 दानसहितः ।[2] दानीमार्ग्गणकादियथादेशकालगृह्यमाणसमस्तोपादानसहितो देवदायव्र-
(ब्र)ह्मदा-

24 यवर्ज्जः ।[2] लूषापटक ईश्वराणक ।[2] भ्रमरकक ।[2] डुडुंवि(बि)लिकाख्यैश्चतुर्भिः
प्रतिगोष्ठीग्रामैः पूर्व्वादिदिक(ङ्)मध्या-

25 वस्थितैराघाटायमानैः स्वभुवा कृतसीमापरिच्छिति(त्तिः) प्राक्तनसमस्तस(श)स्तसीमापर्यंतो
भूताम्वि(म्बि)लिकापत्तन-

26 स्वतलमध्यवत्ति(र्त्ति)प(पु)रुषोत(त्त)ममधि(ठि)कासंनिहितपूर्वोत्तरदिग्भागावस्थितायै श्रीभिल्लमा-
लीयव्यवहरक(हारिक)नंनकृतप्र-

27 तिष्ठायै तन्नामांकितायै नन्नमधि(ठि)कायै तदुपयोगिव्ययनिमित्तं साह्रेजनार्ह्ननादिषु कृत-
पालनाविधिषु यथाकालं

28 भवत्सु स्वाध्यायिषु स्वधर्म्मयशोभिवृद्धये पयःपूर्व्वमा शशांकतपनार्ण्णवस्थितेः प्रतिपादितः ।
चतुर्त्थश्च भागोस्य

29 ब्राह्मणानां प्रातिदिवसिकभोजनव्यये कर्त्तव्यः । भागत्रयं तु मधि(ठि)काव्यये व्ययो-
कार्य[म्*] । अस्य चैवमुपयोगे व्रजतो

30 न केनचिद्देशाधिपतिना व्यासेधः परिपंथना वा कार्या । भाविभिश्च भूमिपतिभिः
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलं ।[2] अनित्या-

31 न्यैश्वर्या[णि*] मानुष्यकमपि प्रबलमारुताहतपद्मिनीपत्रस्थितजललवलोलमाकलय्य दुःप-
(दुष्प)रिहरदुक्खं(दुःखं) च-

[1] The meaning of this clause is not clear. Probably a word denoting quality has been omitted after *Janakō*, and we have to read for the last four letters *mitram=añjasi* 'a friend in straightforwardness'. *Añjas*, n. means velocity and *añjasa* adj. has the sense of honest, straightforward.

[2] This punctuation mark is unnecessary

[3] The letter *pa* is redundant; read *samājñāpayaty=*.

32 णिकं च जीवितमालोच्यातिप्रचुरकदर्थनासंचितमर्थजातमनिलसंगिदीपं(प)शिखाचंचलमा-
लोच्यायमस्मद्धर्म्म-

33 दायोनुमंत[व्य*]: । व्यासादिमुनिनिगदितपूर्व्वधार्म्मिकनृपप[1]रिकल्पितपंचमहाप(पा)तकसम-
यस्त्रावणं च चिंतयित्वा प्र-

34 तियाचनानुवक्ष्यमाणै[:*] स्मर्त्तव्यं स्मृतिकारोपदिष्टं वच: । षष्टि(ष्टिं) र्व्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति [भू*]मिद[: ।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमं-

35 ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ।[।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभिर्य-
(भि: । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।*] स्वदत्तां प-

36 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वसुंधरां(राम्) [।*] गवां शतसहस्रस्य हं(ह)न्तु: प्राप्नोति
किल्बिषं(षम्) ॥ विध्या(न्ध्या)टवि(वी)ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन: ।

37 महाहयो हि जां(जा)यंते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायापहारिण: ।[।*] इति कमलदलांबुबिंदुलोलां
श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] स-

38 क[ल*]मिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: ।[।*] षड-
धिकनवतिसमग्रे शरदां शतपंचके गते गो-

39 मे । अहितापाढोपर्व्वणि भूपतिरेन(नं) च[2] सह्नत्या । [।*] इयमभ्यलेखि सुधिया वर्द्ध-
ततिर्म्माधवस्य तनयेन । गुण-

40 वति शासनसंज्ञा झोज्भेन पटे नृपादेशात् ।[।*] चंकतोपि संवत् ५००, ८०, ६
(५८६) आषाढशुदि १०, ५, (१५) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजाई-

41 कस्य[3] ॥ उह्विरन्तिद[4]मिह सूत्रधारशंकरसुतमधुसूदनेनि(न) ॥[5]

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[1] The second *pa* has been engraved below the line under the first *pa*.

[2] The letter *cha* has been engraved below the line between *sa* and *sa*. There is no verb in the verse; *bhūpatir=ēnam dadau bhaktyā* would therefore be a better reading.

[3] Letters *kasya* have been engraved at the end of this line, just before the fish symbol. The division of the king's signature in this queer way may be due to two causes. The idea to engrave the royal sign manual may have occurred later after the whole record was engraved; the space left at the end of l. 40 was utilised for this purpose and when this was found insufficient, the two concluding letters were shoved in between the space lying vacant between the two symbols and the fish symbol at the end of the last line. Or, the engraver Madhusūdana thought that the whole record, including the royal signature, could be finished in l. 40, but before finishing that line he hurried to record his own name in l. 41. When eventually l. 40 was later completed and it was discovered that the last two letters of the king's signature could not be accommodated in that line, there was no alternative but to put them between the symbols at the end of l. 41. Had the engraver been not impatient to put his own name before finishing the record, this queer division of the king's name would not have been necessitated.

[4] Read *Utkīrṇṇam=idam=*. Probably the form of the word in the text discloses the standard of the knowledge of Sanskrit of the engravers' class.

[5] There are two conch-like symbols after the punctuation mark. They are followed first by the letters *kasya* and then by the fish symbol. The first symbol looks like the *ōṁ* symbol.

No. 28.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In his article[1] on the date of the Pāṇḍava or Sōmavaṁśī kings of Southern Kōsala, Mr. A. Ghosh has attempted to show that the date (*viz.*, the second quarter of the sixth century A. D.) which I had tentatively assigned to Tīvaradēva of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty is too early. According to him Tīvaradēva may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

The main argument advanced by Mr. Ghosh is palæographical. He has shown by a palæographical chart that the test letters *bh*, *y*, *ś*, *s*, and *h* in the so-called Bhāndak inscription[2] of Nannarājādhirāja, the father of Tīvaradēva and the Śirpur inscription[3] of Mahā-Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Tīvaradēva, are more developed than those of the Āraṅg copper-plate inscription[4] of Bhīmasēna II. This latter inscription comes from Chhattisgarh and as such its evidence is most valuable. Following the late R. B. Hiralal who has edited the plates in this Journal, Mr. Ghosh takes the date of this inscription to correspond to A. D. 601. As the inscription of Nannarāja exhibits more developed forms of the test letters, Mr. Ghosh thinks that the ascription of that inscription to a date earlier than A. D. 650 is a palæographical impossibility. He therefore tentatively places Tīvaradēva, the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva, in the last quarter of the seventh century A. D.

It is indeed true that the aforementioned test letters have more developed forms in the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, but these inscriptions need not on that account be referred to a date later than A. D. 650. As the accompanying palæographical chart[5] will show, these test letters had assumed these later forms even before A. D. 600, for we find all of them in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, dated A. D. 588. In this inscription *bh* and *s* have a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; *y* has become bipartite; *ś* in some cases shows its right vertical stroke projecting a little above its top and the right limb of *h* hangs down. The same developed forms are noticed in the Madhuban plate of Harsha, dated A. D. 631[6]. It may be objected that both these inscriptions come from North India and consequently their evidence is inadmissible for fixing the date of such southern records as the inscriptions of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. I would, in that case, invite attention to the forms of the test letters in the plates of the time of Śaśāṅka, dated A. D. 619-20, which come from the Ganjām District. In all these inscriptions which range in dates from A. D. 588 to 631, we find the same developed forms of the test letters that we notice in the inscriptions

[1] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1905, pp. 617 ff. As I have shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.), the inscription did not probably belong to Bhāndak, but came originally from some place in Chhattisgarh.

After this note was sent to the press, my friend Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal who has recently returned from England supplied me an extract from a manuscript (Marāṭhī, D 46) deposited in the India Office Library, London. This MS. contains an account of the inscriptions in Chhattisgarh by Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar who was in the service of Mr. Richard Jenkins, the British Resident at Nagpur from 1807 to 1826. In this account Aurangabadkar states that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva was affixed to a large temple at Āraṅg. He gives a transcript and a short description of the contents of this record which leave no doubt about its identity. This has unexpectedly corroborated my conjecture about the provenance of this inscription which was long in doubt.

[3] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff.

[5] The letters in this chart have been traced as accurately as possible from the published facsimile plates of the records.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 158.

of Nannarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta. These forms may have become current about A. D. 550.[1] This will show that the dates which I had assigned to Tīvaradēva and Mahā-Śivagupta are not altogether wide of the mark.

How then are we to reconcile the evidence of the Ārang plates? As shown by Mr. Ghosh, these plates present earlier forms of the test letters, but they are dated A. D. 601. I think there is a mistake in the reading of the date which is given in lines 12-13 of the inscription. R. B. Hiralal read the date as *Guptānāṁ saṁvvatsara-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8* and translated it as 'in the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra, on the day 10 8 (?)'. It is plain that the writer intended to give the year of the date both in words and in figures, but omitted inadvertently some expression like *dvy-aśīty-uttarē* after *saṁvvatsara-śatē*[2]. Is there a similar mistake in the expression *saṁvvatsara-śatē* also, the intended expression being *saṁvvatsara-śata-dvayē*[3]? I do not think so, because firstly, the characters of the inscription are, as shown above, much earlier than A. D. 601-2 to which the record will have to be assigned if the intended reading is *saṁvvatsara-śata-dvayē dvy-aśīt-yuttarē*; secondly, the symbols which follow give the date **182**, not **282**. As in other records of the period, the date is expressed here by numerical symbols. The first symbol stands for **100**, since the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into one for 200 is wanting here. The date of the Ārang plates is thus G. E. 182 (not 282) which corresponds to A. D. 501-2. This fits in admirably with the evidence of its early characters.

None of the inscriptions of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of Sōmavaṁśī kings is dated in any era. The dates of these kings can therefore be fixed only approximately. In my article on the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, I tentatively assigned Tīvaradēva to the period 530 to 550 A. D. on the supposition that he was a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess. The contemporaneity of Tīvaradēva and Mādhavavarman I was suggested by the expression *Trivara-nagara* which occurs in two inscriptions[4] of the latter. Mr. Ghosh takes *Trivara-nagara* to mean the city of Tripurī, but this interpretation is doubtful because the name of the city current in the sixth century A. D. was Tripurī[5], not Trivara. Even if Trivara is regarded as a partially Prakritized form of Tripurī, it is not clear why such a corrupt form should occur not once but twice in records which are throughout written in good Sanskrit. The other arguments of Mr. Ghosh are more or less conjectural.

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[1] Dr. Hoernle has shown that subsequent to A. D. 540 the cursive bipartite form of *y* is found in undisputed possession of the field (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 35), but the Haṛāhā stone inscription dated A. D. 554, in which the old tripartite form of *y* is used together with the later bipartite form of the letter, indicates that the older form persisted a little longer.

[2] Compare the wording of the dates of Nos. 1267, 1270, 1275, 1280, 1284, 1290, etc., in Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India.*

[3] Compare the wording *nav-ōttarē=bda-śata-dvayē* of the date of No. 1298 of Bhandarkar's *List*. I do not think that the expression *saṁvvatsara-śatē* in the date of the Ārang plates is nominative dual (meaning two hundred years); for the locative (and not the nominative) is generally used in such cases. See the wording of the dates cited in note 2 above.

[4] See the Īpūr plates, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff. and the Pulombūru plates, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.

[5] The *Tripurīvishaya* is mentioned in the Bētul plates of Saṅkshōbha, dated G. E. 199 (A. D. 518-19), above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART RELATING TO THE DATE OF THE SOMAVAMSI KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

	ĀRAṄG PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA II, A.D. 501.	BHĀNDAK(?) INSCRIPTION OF NANNARĀJĀDHIRĀJA	BODH GAYĀ INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀNĀMAN A.D. 588.	PLATES OF THE TIME OF ŚAŚĀṄKA RĀJA A.D. 619.	MADHUBAN PLATE OF HARSHA A.D. 631.
bh					
y					
ś					
s					
h					

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 2120 E'41. 290.
SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

It is not of course altogether unlikely that Tīvaradēva flourished a few years later than the period I have tentatively assigned to him. The inscriptions of Bhīmasēna II, the kings of Śarabhapura and the Sōmavaṁśī kings come from the same part of Chhattīsgarh[1]. These kings seem to have flourished in the order stated above. As we have already seen, Bhīmasēna II was ruling in A. D. 501-2. He seems to have been overthrown soon afterwards by a king of Śarabhapura, probably Mahā-Jayarāja, who coming from the East[2] seems to have established himself in Chhattīsgarh. The plates of his cousins Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja also have been found in Chhattīsgarh. We may assign about thirty years[3] to the reigns of these three princes. Mahā-Pravararāja, the last king of this line, seems to have been overthrown by Indrabala, the son of Udayana, who may have invaded the country during the campaign of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman against an Āndhra king. No inscriptions of Indrabala have been discovered in Chhattīsgarh, but those of his sons Nannarāja and Īśānadēva have been found there. We may assign about thirty years to the reigns of these princes. The stone inscription of Nannarāja thus may have been incised about A. D. 550. This would account for the developed forms of the test letters in that record.

Tīvaradēva the son of Nannarāja or Nannadēva may thus have come to the throne about A. D. 560. He was probably a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I whose Pulombūru plates[4] suggesting his victory over Tīvaradēva, I have tentatively assigned to A. D. 565. Tīvaradēva becomes also a contemporary of Sūryavarman, the Maukhari prince mentioned in the Haṛāhā stone inscription[5] dated A. D. 554. This Sūryavarman is probably identical with the homonymous king of 'the Varman family great on account of its supremacy over Magadha', whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Tīvaradēva's nephew Harshagupta.

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[1] The inscription of Bhīmasēna was found at Ārang, those of the kings of Śarabhapura at Ārang, Khariar, Śirpur, Raipur, Sārangarh and Ṭhākurdiyā and of the Sōmavaṁśī kings at Kharod, Rājim, Balodā, Śirpur and Ārang. It is not of course absolutely certain that the copper-plate inscription of Bhīmasēna II found at Ārang properly belongs to Chhattīsgarh, as the identification of the place-names mentioned in it is not beyond doubt. But in the following discussion I have taken for granted that Bhīmasēna II was ruling in Chhattīsgarh. Śūra, the first king mentioned in the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna II, is perhaps identical with Sūryaghōsha mentioned in the stone inscription of Nannarāja, who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) which was later on repaired during the reign of Nannarāja. In Sanskrit *Śūra* and *Sūrya* are synonyms.

[2] The capital of these princes until the time of Mahā-Pravararāja was Śarabhapura, which may be identical with Śarabhgarh in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa.

[3] This period might appear unusually short for three reigns, but we have to remember that the total of the known reign-periods of these three kings is not more than 18, *viz.*, 5 years of Jayarāja (Ārang plates), 10 years of Sudēvarāja (Raipur plates) and 3 years of Pravararāja (Ṭhākurdiyā plates).

[4] Some scholars take this Mādhavavarman to be the third prince of that name, notwithstanding the fact that like Mādhavavarman I of the Chikkullā plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.) he is credited with the performance of 11 *Aśvamēdhas* and 1,000 sacrifices. These scholars take Mādhavavarman who is similarly described in the Rāmatīrtham plates to be Mādhavavarman II. As Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao has observed, "other princes of the dynasty, who had not the fortune of being called Mādhavavarmans, are not credited with having performed any sacrifices. It cannot be explained why the family tradition made the celebration of horse-sacrifice, etc. the monopoly of Mādhavavarmans ". *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Univ., Vol. XI, p. 48. It seems therefore better to identify these three princes.

[5] The characters of this inscription are not earlier than those of the Ārang plates as Mr. Ghosh thinks. It presents the bipartite *y* in several places, see *e.g.*, *yōshitō*, l. 1; *yauvana*, l. 8; *yō*, l. 9; *nādīkay=aira*, l. 14, etc.; the right hand vertical of *ś* in some cases rises a little above its top, see *varṇa-āśram-*, l. 5; *mēgh-āśaṅki*, l. 6, etc.; *bh* and *s* have a wedge on the left though it is not yet hollow. The inscription thus clearly appears to be later than the Ārang plates.

The contemporaneity of Tīvaradēva and Sūryavarman makes this matrimonial alliance of the two royal families quite likely. The capital of the Maukharis was not, of course, situated in Magadha, but the country was probably included in the Maukhari Empire during the reign of Īśānavarman, the father of Sūryavarman, as he is said to have carried his arms as far as Gauḍa. Until another king of the name Sūryavarman becomes known, it seems better to accept this identification.

The Sōmavaṁśī kings thus flourished in Chhattīsgarh in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D.

No. 29.—TWO RECORDS OF PARANTAKA I FROM TAKKOLAM.

BY THE LATE MR. A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Takkōlam is a village in the Arkonam taluk of the North Arcot District. It has an old temple of the Chōḷa type, which contains epigraphs dating from the time of the early king Āditya I, one of which has already been published[1]. The god of this temple was in ancient times called Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva, because of the existence of a natural spring in the temple precincts and this name has been Sanskritised into the present appellation of Jalanāthēśvara.

The two short inscriptions[2] published below as **A** and **B** are engraved on a narrow belt on the base of the central shrine of this temple. The **characters** in which they are engraved are attributable to the **10th century A. D.** and the **language** of the record is fairly correct Tamiḻ. A few omissions of letters are noticeable here and there, due perhaps to the carelessness of the engraver. In point of **orthography**, there is nothing very particular to notice, except that the letter *ṟā* is written both in the ordinary manner and with the secondary length added as a separate symbol. Sanskrit letters are used for some words such as *Parāntakadēva*, *Dhanmāsana*, etc., in record A, while they are in Tamiḻ characters in the other epigraph. The verbal suffix *āṉōm* is spelt as a separate word in some instances, and also in combination with the preceding verb in other cases. The Dakshiṇāmūrti shrine on the southern side hides from view some portions in both the records but as their wording is nearly identical, the missing words can be surmised and the full texts of the records restored fairly completely.

The records are dated in the **31st year of Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman**, *i.e.*, Parāntaka I, and they register two gifts of 30 *kaḻañju* each made by the **daugher of Śōḻaperumāṉaḍigaḷ** (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king) Parāntaka (A. D. 907-953) who is also further described as the *Mahādēviyār* (queen) of **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar.** Her personal name is mentioned in the record B as **Vīramādēviyār.** These gifts are stated to have been left separately in the charge of the *ūr* (assembly) of the two villages Chammaḷalai in Dāmar-kōṭṭam and Urāḍagam in Maṇayil-kōṭṭam, for the supply of oil for burning a perpetual lamp each in the temple of Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva at Takkōlam. The records are important in that they mention a **Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar** as the son-in-law of Parāntaka I; and though the dynasty to which he belonged is not specified, it is possible to identify him with the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV** for whom records are found from about A. D. 918 to at least A. D. 933-34.

The name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar is composed of two parts—'Gōvinda' the personal name and 'Vallavaraiyar' the dynastic title. From Rāshṭrakūṭa copper-plate grants it is learnt that

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[1] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 81. The historical and other facts connected with this village have been mentioned at some length in that article.

[2] Nos. 245 and 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

Dantidurga, an early king of this dynasty, who defeated the Chāḷukya king Kīrtivarman of Bādāmi, was the first to assume the title of *Pṛithivīvallabha*[1]. This title curtailed into 'Vallabha' (and 'Ballaha') became a particular *biruda* of the subsequent kings of this family[2], and was used either by itself or in conjunction with the respective proper names of the kings, such as Nirupama-Vallabha, Indra-Vallabha[3], Kṛishṇa-Vallabha[4], etc. The kings bearing the personal name of Gōvinda were also similarly referred to as Gōvinda-Vallabha[5] or Gojjiga-Vallabha[6], by the addition of the title 'Vallabha' to their name of Gōvinda or Gojjiga. A bilingual record from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[7] in the Chingleput District dated in the 18th year of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradēva 'who took Kachchi and Tañjai' (*i.e.*), Kṛishṇa III, registers a gift made by a merchant of Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital, who is described as '*vaiśyō Vallabha-bhūmipāla-mahitō yō Mānyakhēṭ-ōt(d)bhavaḥ*'. The Tamiḻ counterpart of the same epigraph refers to this merchant as a '*Vallavaraiyar kaṭakattu vyāpāri*'. Another inscription[8] from the same temple refers to Kṛishṇa III as 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēva', and registers a gift made by his mother Pūlaichchi-Rāṇiyār. From these instances, it is evident that the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings used the title of 'Vallabha' and its Tamiḻ equivalent of 'Vallavaraiyar' to indicate their dynasty, in the same way as Pāṇḍiyaṉār signified a Pāṇḍya king and 'Sēramāṉār' a Chēra ruler. Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar of the records under consideration can therefore be identified as a member of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Though the titles Vallavaraiyar and Pallavaraiyar may have been sometimes used by petty nondescript chieftains in later times, the fact that this Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar had married the daughter of the powerful Chōḷa king Parāntaka marks him out as a great personage presumably of royal status.

Who could have been this royal personage by name Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar, who belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty and who flourished in this period? From the records copied hitherto in the Madras Presidency[9] as well as in the Bombay-Karnāṭak[10], it is learnt that there was such a king answering to the name of Gōvinda-Vallabha or Gōyinda-Vallabha, who flourished in the first half of the 10th century A.D. His earliest record[11] is dated in Śaka 840 corresponding to December A.D. 918, and his last record[12] so far known bears the date Śaka 855 corresponding to A.D. 933-4. He was thus a contemporary of Parāntaka, and there is nothing inherently improbable in his having married a daughter of that Chōḷa king. In fact it can be inferred from some Chōḷa records that Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa alliances dated from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself, as will be shown in the sequel.

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 11 ff. and *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

[2] [It is more probable that the *biruda* of 'Vallabha' which had been borne by the Chālukya kings was adopted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas as their political successors.—N. L. R.]

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 59 (No. 73 of 1904) wherein the king is called Indra-Vallabha, while in No. 57 the form Indra-Ballaha occurs. Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha occurs in B. K. No. 47 of 1933-34.

[4] Kṛishṇa II was called Kṛishṇa-Vallabha (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 190 and f. n. 1). Kṛishṇa III was called Akālavarsha and was referred to as Vallabha also (*ante*, Vol. IV, p. 278). In No. 562 of 1915 the king is referred to as Raṭṭa-Ballaha only.

[5] No. 297 of 1918 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61). He was also called simply as Vallabha-Narēndra (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 27).

[6] The form Gojjiga-Vallabha occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249, Gojjiga being a local dialectical form of Gōvinda.

[7] No. 177 of 1912.

[8] No. 179 of 1912. The actual expression is 'Vallavaraiyar Kaṇṇaradēvar tāyār Pūlaichchi-Rāṇiyār'.

[9] No. 297 of 1918 of Gōvinda-Vallabha is dated in Śaka 853 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, No. 61).

[10] Sāṅgli plates of Gōvinda IV are dated in Ś. 855 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249).

[11] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 223, also B. K. No. 63 of 1933-34.

[12] No. 540 of 1915 is dated in Śaka 854 and the Sāṅgli plates in Ś. 855. Also *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Honnāḷi, Nos. 21-23.

From the facts known about the reign of Gōvinda, the trend of events between the years A. D. 930 and A. D. 940 may be surmised to have been the following : Gōvinda IV was an unpopular king and his ministers and feudatories were conspiring to depose him. In about A. D. 934, Gōvinda IV went to the help of the Eastern Chāḷukya king Yuddhamalla, when the latter was hard-pressed by Bhīma II, but in the fight that ensued the Rāshṭrakūṭa army suffered a crushing defeat. At the same time in the beginning of A. D. 935, the political upheaval at the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital came to a head, resulting in the accession of Amōghavarsha III, and Gōvinda IV unable to face the strong party of his enemies at home, fled to the court of his father-in-law Parāntaka I. Gōvinda's records in the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory stop with A. D. 933-4 and from about A.D. 935-6, his successor Amōghavarsha III was in occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne, helped by his able and ambitious son Kṛishṇa III. It is possible that as a fugitive Gōvinda IV kept on for some time in the Chōḷa territory, where he was probably staying at the time of the Takkōlam records in A. D. 937. From the statement in the Sūḍi plates[1] of the Gaṅga chief Būtuga II that on the death of Baddega (Amōghavarsha) he had helped Kṛishṇa III to secure the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne from the possession of a certain Lallēya (?), it may be surmised that there was some disturbance soon after Amōghavarsha's death in the beginning of the year A. D. 940. Who this Lallēya was is not clear. It is possible that about this time Gōvinda IV with the help of Parāntaka I had made a feeble attempt to regain his throne and that, being unsuccessful, he had also lost his life in this venture. If this is conceded, Kṛishṇa III's invasion of Chōḷa territory which must have occurred some time after his accession and before A. D. 944, as testified to by the Siddhaliṅgamaḍam record of his 5th year[2], attains an additional significance, for it must have been as much a war of aggression, as it was one of revenge against the Chōḷa king Parāntaka for the help he had rendered to his rival Gōvinda IV. Though some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present, there is nothing implausible in the sequence of the events, as surmised here, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

As regards the subject-matter of the records, it is stated that the two gifts of 30 *kaḷañju* each were left in the custody of the *Ūr*-assembly of the two villages **Chammaḷalai** and **Urāḍagam**[3]. These villages must have been situated near enough to Takkōlam itself, to be able to measure the stipulated quantity of oil daily to the temple of Tiruvūṛal-Mahādēva for the maintenance of the perpetual lamps. Failure to supply the oil was liable to a fine of 8¼ *kāṇam* for every day of default, which had to be paid to the *Dhanmāsanam*, *i.e.*, the court of justice, which functioned in every village in ancient times and looked after the judicial life of the village community. Such conditions and penalties are of the usual type found in Chōḷa records of this period.

Note on Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa relationship.

It has been stated above that the Chōḷa-Rāshṭrakūṭa matrimonial alliances had probably commenced even from the time of Kṛishṇa II himself. In this connection, a Tamiḻ record[4] from Tirumaḷavāḍi in the Trichinopoly District is of considerable interest.

[1] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 179-80, ll. 51 to 54. These plates, owing to certain irregularities in the date-portion, were considered spurious, but are now accepted as fairly reliable, in so far as the matter contained in them is concerned.

[2] No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909. The Sūḍi plates of A. D. 938-9 mention the conquests of Kṛishṇa III ; but the date-portion of that record is, as mentioned above, suspect.

[3] A village Urōḍagam *alias* Pallavamalla-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kaḷattūr-nāḍu is mentioned in No. 252 of 1913.

[4] No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

It is dated in the **27th year of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman** and registers a gift of 10 *kaḻañju* of gold and a lamp-stand by a lady named **Iḷaṅgō-Pichchi,** who is described as the **daughter** (*magaḷār*) **of Vallavaraiyar,** and who was probably the **senior queen** (*muṉṉam pugunda mūttadēviyār*) **of Śōḷa-perumāṉaḍigaḷ** (*i.e.,* the Chōḷa king).[1] The high regnal year 27, as well as the absence of the historical introduction '*Tiruamagaḷ-pōla*' of Rājarāja I in it, favour its attribution to the early king Āditya I (A. D. 870-907)[2]. As the Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa[3] state that Āditya I had built on both the banks of the Kāvērī tall stone temples in honour of Śiva, the Tirumaḷavāḍi temple along with some others in its vicinity, may correctly be presumed to have come into existence in the reign of this Chōḷa king. The astronomical details contained in the present record—namely, 27th year, Tulā, Saturday and Bharaṇī which give the equivalent A. D. 897, October 15, Saturday, which is correct for Āditya I, whose initial date has been determined to have been A. D. 870 or 871[4], support this surmise.

Sufficient reasons have been adduced in a previous paragraph to show that 'Vallavaraiyar' was a dynastic title used by the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of this period. The personal name of Vallavaraiyar, the father of the donatrix in the present record, has unfortunately not been specified. As it was not uncommon for the kings of this dynasty to be referred to by their simple dynastic title, the Vallavaraiyar of the Tirumaḷavāḍi record may be identified with Kṛishṇa II, who reigned from A. D. 878 to 913 and was consequently a contemporary of Āditya I (A. D. 870—907). From these facts, it may be presumed that **Āditya I had married a daughter of Kṛishṇa II.**

The possibility of such a matrimonial alliance having taken place gets confirmation, though in an indirect manner, from another circumstance. The ordinary Prākṛit form of Kṛishṇa is Kaṇha, but we find that the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of the name of Kṛishṇa are referred to in their records by the name of 'Kannara'. This latter form is peculiar to the Kannaḍa language of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.[5] Now a record[6] dated in the 8th year of a Rājakēsarivarman, palæographically assignable to the reign of Āditya I, makes mention of a prince called Ādityaṉ-Kaṉṉaradēva, who from the way in which his name has been expressed can be recognised as a son of Āditya and who is also specifically described as the son (*piḷḷaiyār*) of Śōḷaperumāṉaḍigaḷ. As this name 'Kaṉṉaradēva' is foreign to the Chōḷa dynasty and has not been met with as a name of any of their kings, it may be inferred that this particular cognomen for the Chōḷa prince was due to some Rāshṭrakūṭa associations and influence. If, as stated above, Āditya had married the daughter of Vallavaraiyar, *i.e.,* Kṛishṇa II *alias* Kaṉṉaradēva, it may be

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[1] A portion of the record is damaged. The relevant portion reads :—'Śōḷaperumā..............................rkku muṉṉam pugunda mūttadēviyār Iḷaṅgō-pPichchi Tirumaḷuvāḍi-pPerumāṉaḍigaḷukku nondā..................' and further on "Ivvaippil Vallavaraiyar magaḷār Iḷaṅgō-pPichchi vaiytta viḷakku." It may be noticed that the lady is called only 'mūttadēviyār'. The name Pichchi may be derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhiksha* or it may be equivalent to the Kannaḍa *Bijjā*; but it is not clear why the honorific suffix of *ār* is not mentioned with her name.

[2] The characters in which this record is engraved are attributable to the 11th century A. D., but when it is remembered that the *Śrīvimāna* of the temple was renovated under the orders of Rājarāja I (28th year) and that the old inscriptions were re-engraved in the 14th year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 651 and 652) the later age of the writing is easily accounted for.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 85.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 336.

[6] No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 595).

expected that his son by this alliance may have been given the name of his maternal grandfather Kannara.[1] This appears to have actually been the case.

As it was Parāntaka I who had succeeded Āditya I, it may have to be presumed that either the Chōḷa prince Kannaradēva had predeceased his father, or that his claims for succession were superseded by the more powerful Parāntaka, the son of Āditya, probably by another queen. This may perhaps explain the attitude of Kṛishṇa II towards Parāntaka I, with whom he appears to have come into conflict as early as A. D. 912, with unfavourable results to himself.[2]

TEXT OF A.[3]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Madirai-[ko]ṇḍa kō-pParakēśaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu muppatto[ṉ*]ṟāvadu** Dāmar-kkōṭṭattu-ttan kūṟṟa-[ch*]Chammaḷalai ūrōṅ-kaiyy-eḻuttu [|*] **Śōḷaperumāṉaḍigaḷ Parāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar mādēviyār**[4] Takkōlattu Tiruvūṟal-Mādēvarkku nandāviḷakk-o[5]..........ppoṉ koṇḍu chandir-ādittta-varai niśadam uḷakk-eṇṇai aṭṭuvōm=āṉōm[|*] I[v*]v-eṇṇai muṭṭil dhanmāsaṉattu niśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇan daṇḍappaṭṭum niśadi u[6]............m-āṉō[m*] [|*] Ivv-eṇṇai taṇḍa vandārkku niśadam i[r*]aṇḍu śōṟu kuḍuppōm-āṉō[m*] [||] Tiru[7]..........śadam uḷakk-āmbaḍi tiruvuṇṇāḻigaikkēy koṇḍu vandu aṭṭuvōm=āṉōm[||*].

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first year** of king **Parakēsarivarman, who took Madura**, this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of Chammaḷalai, (*a village*) in the sub-division of the same name in Dāmar-kōṭṭam.

The amount which the **daughter of the Chōḷa king Parāntakadēva,** (*and*) **the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar,** endowed for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva of Takkōlam is [thirty *kaḻañju*]. Receiving this gold, we shall supply daily (*one*) *uḷakku* of oil, as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*).

If there is default in (*the supply of*) this oil, we shall supply daily the *uḷakku* of oil, after paying to the *Dhanmāsanam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (*for*) every day (*of default*). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.........We shall bring and supply this oil at the central shrine (*itself*) at one *uḷakku* per day.

TEXT OF B.[8]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēśaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu muppattoṉṟāvadu** Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭattu Puriśai-nāṭṭu [Urā]ḍagatt-ūrōm kaiyy-eeḻu(eḻu)ttu

[1] This practice of naming a grandson after the paternal, preferentially, or the maternal grandfather was common. Such instances from other royal families can be cited.

[2] *Ante*, p. 114.

[3] No. 245 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[4] The letter *vi* is engraved below the line.

[5] The stone is damaged here. The missing syllables '*ṟukku vaitta poṉ muppadiṉ kaḻañju* [|*] *i*' may be supplied from B.

[6] The missing syllables are '*ḷakku eṇṇai aṭṭuvō*'.

[7] The syllables which are missing here cannot easily be guessed.

[8] No. 246 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

[|*] **Śōḷaperumāṇaḍigaḷ Pirāntakadēvar tirumagaḷār Gōviynda-Vallavaraiyar māha(mahā)dēviyār Vīramādēviyār** Takkōlattu Tiruvūṟal-Māha(Mahā)dēvarkku nundā-vi[ḷa]kku [oṉṟukku*] vaiytta poṉ muppadiṉ kaḷañju [|*]..............[1] ṉai aṭṭuvōm-āṉōm [|*] I[v*]v-eṉṉai muṭṭil tanmmā(nmā)daṉattil niśadi eṭṭarai-kāṇam daṇḍapaṭṭu[m*] niśadam uḷakku eṉṉai aṭṭu[vō]...........[2] ṉaiykku[3] taṇḍa-vandā[r*]kku ni[śa*]dam iraṇḍu śōṟu kuḍuppōm āṉōm ū[rō*]m [|*] ūr kūḍi..................[4] ṉ kūḍattāṉ Ambakuṭṭi magaṉ Tambaṭṭaṉṉēṉ [|*]ivai eṉ[ṉ=e*]ḻuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the **thirty-first year of king Parakēsarivarman who took Madura,** this is the writing (written agreement) of the *Ūr* of Urāḍagam, (*a village*) in Puriśai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Maṇaiyil-kōṭṭam.

The gold which **Vīramādēviyār, the daughter of the Chōḷa king Pirāntakadēva,** (*and*) **the queen of Gōvinda-Vallavaraiyar,** endowed for a perpetual lamp to (*the god*) Tiruvūṟal-Mahādēva of Takkōlam is thirty *kaḷañju*. Receiving this gold, (*we*) the *Ūr* shall supply (*one*) *uḷakku* of oil daily.

If the supply of oil fails, we shall supply the *uḷakku* of oil daily, after paying the *Dhanmāsaṇam* a fine of eight and a half *kāṇam* (*for*) every day (*of default*). We shall give two meals a day to those who come to collect this oil.

I, Tambaṭṭaṉ, son of Ambakuṭṭi,........., this is my writing (signature).

No. 30.—NALANDA SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA.

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A., DELHI.

This terracotta **seal** of Vishṇugupta was excavated from Monastery Site **No. 1** at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 together with the seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta[5]. It is fragmentary and only a quarter of the original seal consisting of the lower portion of the right half remains, the rest being broken and irretrievably lost. The extant fragment is of the shape of a triangle with the sides measuring 3″×2½″×2½″ and contains portions of the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā, this seal was also oval in shape, as is indicated by the curvature of its edge, and contained representation of Garuḍa, flanked by the sun and the crescent, in the missing upper portion. On the analogy of the above mentioned seals, it may also be presumed that the full legend on this ran into eight lines, the upper four of which, though lost, may be restored from the other known seals with reasonable certainty.

The seal being the direct impression from a negative matrix, the legend stands out in relief. The execution of the writing is fairly neat and elegant. The **characters** of the inscription

[1] The missing syllables were probably '*i-ppoṉ koṇḍu chandr-āditya-varai niśadam uḷakku eṉ*'.

[2] The missing syllables were probably '*m-āṉōm* [|*] *Ivv-eṉ*'.

[3] The syllables *kku* appear to be superfluous.

[4] The missing syllables in this portion cannot be correctly restored.

[5] These seals are edited in Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material* (*A. S. I.*, Memoir No. 66), pp. 64 ff., pl. VIII.

belong to the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and closely resemble those of the Bhitarī[1] and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II. *M* and *h* are of the developed Eastern type. *S* has both the looped and unlooped varieties, the former as in *tasya* (l.3) and the latter as in *Narasiṁha*° (l. 2). The height of the letters varies between $\frac{1}{16}''$ to $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **language** is Sanskrit and the legend is in prose.

In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) *Dh* has been invariably doubled in conjuction with a following *y* as in *pādānuddhyātō* (ll. 2 and 3). (2) *T* is everywhere doubled in conjunction with a following *r* as in *puttras* (ll. 2 and 3). (3) The *Upadhmānīya* sign has been used in °*nnaḥ-Parama*° (l. 4).

The seal belongs to the *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja* **Vishṇugupta** of the **Imperial Gupta** family. Like the other Gupta seals, it records the genealogy of a succession of Gupta kings ending with Vishṇugupta. Up to the name of *Kumāragupta* occurring in line 3, its legend, though only partially preserved, is identical with that on the Bhitarī and Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta II, who was so far the last known sovereign in the connected genealogical succession of the Imperial Guptas. The present seal tells us that the issuer of this, *viz.* **Vishṇugupta, was the son and successor of Kumāragupta II,** who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta. The seal, therefore, is of great importance inasmuch as it carries the genealogy of the Gupta sovereigns a generation further than was hitherto known. It is unfortunate that the name of the mother of Vishṇugupta and the wife of Kumāragupta II, which would, if known, have constituted a valuable addition to our knowledge, has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

The seal also shows that the name of the father and predecessor of Narasiṁhagupta should be spelt as **[P]ū[rugupta*]** (l. 1) and not Puragupta as was hitherto done. The reading **Pūrugupta** is unmistakable on the fragmentary Nālandā seal of Narasiṁhagupta[2] and is also fairly clear on the originals of those of Kumāragupta II. The medial *ū* sign in the first letter of the name *Pūrugupta* is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter, besides the downward elongation of its right limb, the latter sign by itself denoting the short medial as in *puttras* (ll. 2 and 3). In the second letter of the name, *viz. ru*, the medial *u* is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of *r*. Palæographical considerations apart, the name *Pūrugupta* yields more plausible sense than *Puragupta* and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. As has been pointed out by Mr. Jagannath[3], the first part of the Gupta nomenclature constituted the real or substantive name and yielded satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, *viz. gupta*, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. *Pura*, by itself, is neither a complete nor a dignified name while *Pūru* is both. *Pūru* with the more common variant *Puru* may, like *Vainya* in Vainyagupta's name, either signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, or may alternately mean *abundant* or *great*.

The Gupta chronology as known from the joint testimony of the seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta is drawn below in a table form. The other Gupta records do not take us very far in this respect, as they end the genealogical list with Skandagupta who is called therein as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I. Fortunately for us, the *Mañjuśrīmū-*

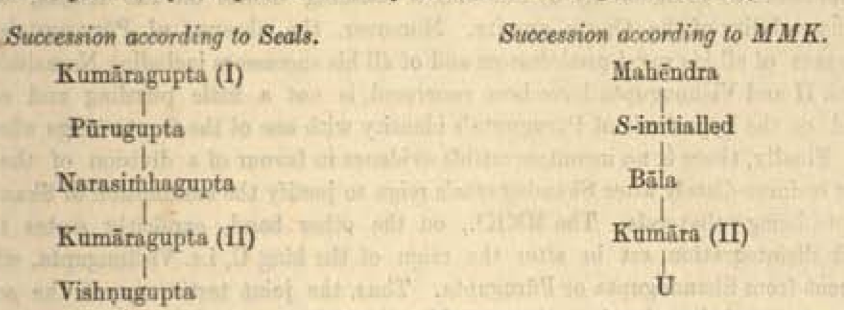
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[1] *J. A. S. B.* Vol. LVIII, pt. I, p. 89; *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

[2] Hirananda Sastri, *loc. cit.* pl. VIII, *b*, l.6.

[3] *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Dec. 1940, p. 101. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also independently arrived at the reading *Purugupta*.

lakalpa[1] (henceforth called MMK.), which is a literary work of the 8th-9th centuries A. D., has preserved a skeleton of the Gupta history and chronology which may prove very valuable for a study of the subject. The succession according to this work is also shown below in juxtaposition to the list of the seals. In each case the rulers previous to Kumāragupta I have been omitted, since there is practically complete unanimity on the earlier Gupta chronology.



That Mahēndra is same as Kumāragrupta I will be admitted on all hands. The identity of Bāla (Bālāditya) and Narasiṁhagupta also is beyond doubt. Kumāra(gupta II) is common to both the seals and the MMK. The name U (*Ukārākhya*) of the MMK., however, appears to be puzzling. But an examination of Vishṇugupta's coins shows on the obverse between the king's feet the letter *U*[2], which no doubt is identical with U of the MMK. and represented probably the abbreviation of some *viruda* or nickname of Vishṇugupta who is konwn from coins to have had another *viruda, viz.* Chandrāditya. As regards the *S*-initialled (*Sakārādya*) king of the MMK., it will be readily recognised that he is the well-known king Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I. Against this name the succession list of the seals shows Pūrugupta. As all other names on one list correspond with those on the other, the presumption is that Skandagupta should be equated with Pūrugupta. It is, however, exactly at this point that the controversy starts. Pūrugupta, misspelt as Puragupta, has been so far supposed to be a brother and collateral of Skandagupta. Some scholars think that there was partition of the Gupta empire either during or after Skandagupta's reign, Skandagupta and his descendants ruling over some provinces and the collateral branch of Pūrugupta over the remaining portion of the kingdom. Others hold that Pūrugupta's branch succeeded Skandagupta or his descendants on the undivided imperial throne. All these theories rest on the supposition that Pūrugupta and Skandagupta were two different entities. This misconception arose from the fact that while the scholars took care to note Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being each called son of Kumāragupta I, they ignored that the Gupta records referred to each as *tatpādānudhyāta* in relation to Kumāragupta I. That the phrase *tatpādānudhyāta* had the technical sense of *immediate successor* in the imperial Gupta documents is clear from its omission in the case of Chandragupta II, who is invariably called *tatparigṛihīta* or *tatpādaparigṛihīta*[3] in relation to his father, Samudragupta. The substitution of the usual *tatpādānudhyāta* by the improvised phrase *tatparigṛihīta* or *tatpādaparigṛihīta* is significant and was necessitated by the fact that Chandragupta II did not directly succeed his father but was preceded in the Imperial succession by his brother Rāmagupta. Skandagupta and Pūrugupta, therefore, each of whom is called the son and *immediate* successor of Kumāragupta I, must be taken as one and the same

[1] Jayaswal's edition, vv. 645 ff. ; *Imperial History of India*, p. 33.

[2] See Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pl. XXIII, 9. Jayaswal identified U of the MMK. with Prakāśāditya, whose coins also show the letter *U* (*Imperial History of India*, p. 39). If this identification be accepted, Prakāśāditya will become another *biruda* of Vishṇugupta.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 27 (l. 9), p. 50 (l. 19), p. 53 (l. 4); *bove*, Vol. XV, p. 41 (l. 4); *A. S. I.*, Memoir No. 66, .64 l. 3), p. 65 (l. 3), p. 66 (l. 3).

person. That Skandagupta was known by more names than one is attested by the epithet *vividhākhya*, given him by the MMK.[1], which further informs us that he was also called Dēvarāja, this being the favourite name also of his grandfather, Chandragupta II[2]. It is likely that Skandagupta came to be known as Pūrugupta meaning the Great Gupta in recognition of the unique service that he rendered to his family by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas, who had threatened the stability of the Gupta empire. Moreover, the absence of Pūrugupta's coins,[3] when the issues of all his royal predecessors and of all his successors including Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta have been recovered, is not a little puzzling and can only be explained on the hypothesis of Pūrugupta's identity with one of the Gupta kings whose coins are known. Finally, there is no incontrovertible evidence in favour of a division of the empire either during or immediately after Skandagupta's reign to justify the assumption of Skandagupta and Pūrugupta being collaterals. The MMK[4]., on the other hand, explicitly states that the division and disintegration set in after the reign of the king U, i.e. Vishṇugupta, who is the third in descent from Skandagupta or Pūrugupta. Thus, the joint testimony of the seals and the MMK., supported by the foregoing considerations, leaves no doubt as to the **identity of Pūrugupta with Skandagupta.**

The accuracy of the succession list of the seals, independently confirmed by the MMK., is further borne out by numismatic evidence. The Kālighāt hoard[5] contained besides Chandragupta II's coins those of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II and Vishṇugupta[6]. This not only lends support to the succession of the last three sovereigns as given in the seals and the MMK., but also attests the statement of the MMK. that the period following Vishṇugupta's time was troublous, as is indicated by the hoard having been buried presumably at the fag end of his reign. Yet another corroborative evidence is provided by the comparative weights[7] of the coins. It is admitted by numismatists that the Gupta Coins tended to increase in weight with lapse of time and generally the heavier a Gupta Coin, the later is its date. Confining ourselves to the issues of the last three rulers, we find that the average weight of Narasiṁhagupta's Class I is 146·5 grains and of his Class II 146. Kumāragupta II's Class I weighs 143, while the two varieties of Class II give an average of 149·2 and 147·2. The coins of Vishṇugupta average 148·3. It is further significant that the issues of no other Gupta king average anywhere between 146 and 148 grains. This progressive increase in weight standard affords an additional confirmation of the genealogical succession from Narasiṁhagupta through Kumāragupta II to Vishṇugupta, as contained in the seal under discussion.

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[1] Jayaswal's edition, v. 647.

[2] That Skandagupta also shared with Chandragupta II the *biruda* of Vikramāditya, with the variant Kramāditya, is known from coins. It is interesting to note that Skandagupta is referred to as Vikramāditya, king of Ayōdhyā, in Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, which also informs us that Bālāditya was Vikramāditya's crown-prince and successor (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p.l). This confirms the testimony of the MMK. that Skandagupta was succeeded by Bāla.

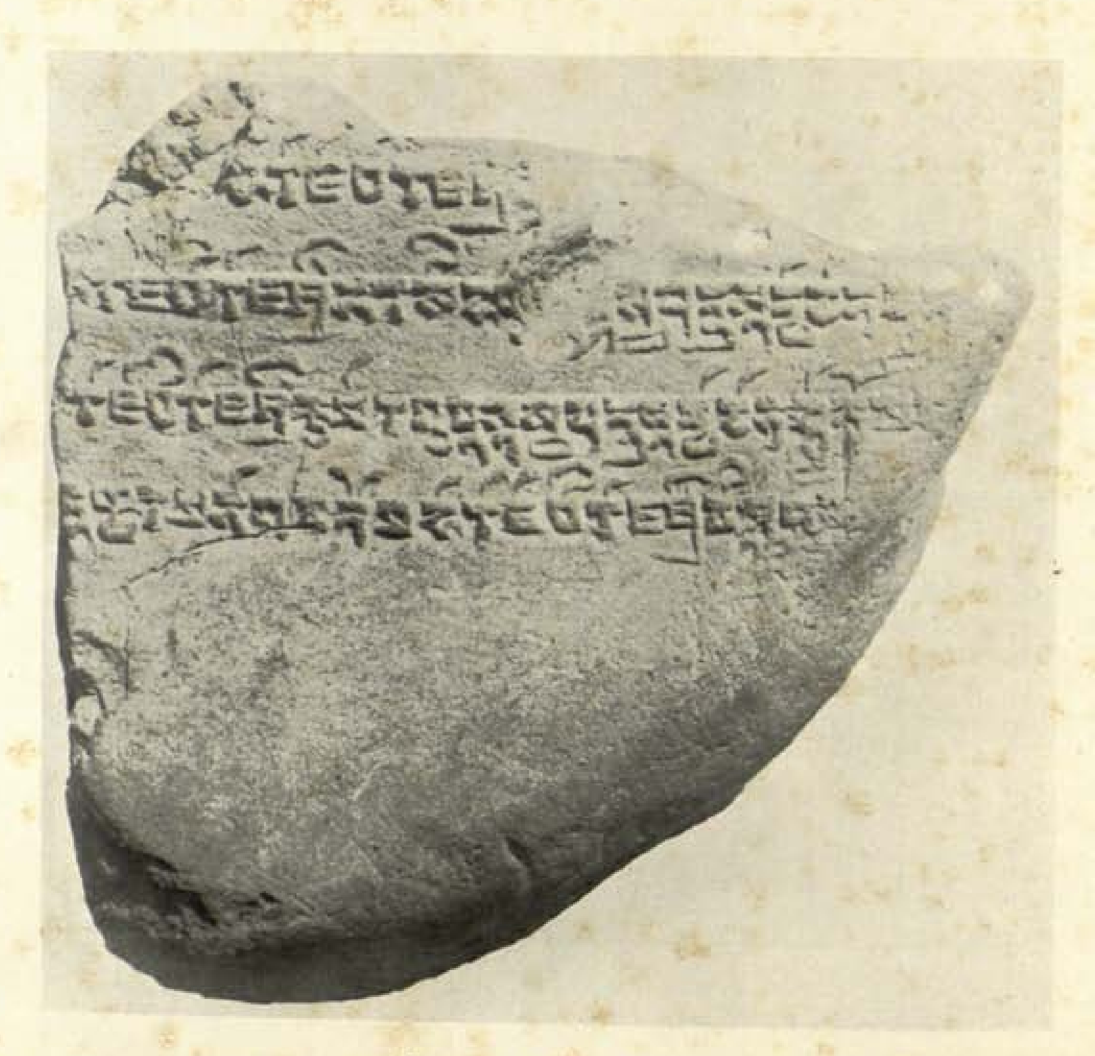
[3] The coins formerly attributed to him really belong to Budhagupta, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 691.

[4] Jayaswal's edition, v. 675.

[5] Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. cxxvi.

[6] Dr. Altekar has identified Vishṇugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the Later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A. D., as is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the year 117 (Harsha era)=723 A. D. (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57 ff.). The learned professor had obviously no knowledge of the seal of an earlier Vishṇugupta, which is under discussion. I think, he will now agree that the coins really belong to the Vishṇugupta of the present seal.

[7] Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxxiv.



(From a photograph).

TEXT.[1]

1\. . . . hārājādh[i]r[ā]ja-śr[ī*]-[P*]ū . . . . . .
2\. . . . h[ā*]r[ā*]j[ā*]dhirāja-śrī-**Narasiṁha[guptas]**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddh[yā] t[ō].
3\. . . . rājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
4\. . . . nnaḥ=Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Vishṇug[u][ptaḥ||*]**.

No. 31.—A NOTE ON THE BALASORE PLATE OF BHANU[DATTA].

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

In a previous issue of this journal,[2] the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar published four copper-plate inscriptions belonging to three different chiefs who ruled over the region now covered by the Balasore District of Orissa. One of these[3] speaks of a 'king' (*Mahārāja*) called Bhānudatta and is dated in the year 5 on the 17th day of Phālguna. One more copper-plate grant, however, belonging apparently to the same personage, had been discovered, some time earlier, but somehow it escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This plate was turned up in course of ploughing a field near the modern town of **Balasore**[4] in Orissa. The owner of the holding, the late Mr. Ziauddin, lately Lecturer at the Viśva-Bhāratī of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, made over the plate to Mr. Haridas Mitra who published a paper on the same in 1935[5].

This is, in common with the Sōrō plates, a single sheet of copper bearing inscription on both sides. It measures 7·2" by 3·7". The record is complete in eighteen lines. A seal, which appears to have been soldered on to the central left margin of the plate, is reported to have been destroyed.

The inscription is one of *Mahāpratīhāra, Mahārāja, Mahāsāmanta* **Bhānu**. It records a gift which was issued from the royal encampment (*vāsaka*) at **Sarēphā**,[6] of the village of **Nandīraṭa**[7] to four Brāhmaṇas, named **Priyamitrasvāmin, Vāṭamitrasvāmin, Dhruva-mitrasvāmin and Āruṅgamitrasvāmin**, belonging to the Vatsa *gōtra* and to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* (of the Yajurvēda). Before its formal sanction, the gift was announced before a number of officials entrusted with administration of the district (*vishaya*) called **Sarēphāhāra.** The grant was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Aruṇadatta** and 'heated' (*tāpitaṁ*) by the *Pēḍāpālaka* **Pratishṭhitachandra**. The date given (in figures only) is **Year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśirsha**.

There can be no doubt that the present record belongs to *Mahārāja* Bhānudatta already known to us from the Sōrō inscription. The general character of the plates, the

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[1] From the original as well as from excellent photographs which I owe to the kindness of the Director General of Archæology in India.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197 ff. and plates.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[4] The exact findspot has not been mentioned. One may however presume that it cannot have been very far from the place where the Sōrō plates were found.

[5] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff. and plate.

[6] Mitra reads *Sagadhā*.

[7] The name of the village appears to be somewhat damaged. I cannot however see *Bandīraka* as read by Mr. Mitra (*I. H. Q.*, Vol XI, p. 621).

script, the names of donees and the officers responsible for execution of the documents leave no room for doubt as to the identity of both Bhānu and Bhānudatta as being one and the same person. The present record presumably belongs to an earlier part of Bhānu[datta]'s career : in fact, the dates given suggest a little over three months' priority over the Sōrō record.

The chiefs of the Sōrō plates must have ruled over a severely circumscribed area, and that too at the pleasure of some higher power. Bhānudatta and perhaps Sōmadatta (of the Sōrō plates), between whom some kinship has been claimed,[1] may well have worked as deputies to an overlord whose personality remains obscure : he is apparently vaguely referred to as *śrī-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in the inscriptions.[2]

The date given is the year 5, the 4th day of Mārgaśīrsha. The year is apparently regnal. Palæographically, our record is to be assigned to the second half of the sixth century A. D.

Of the localities mentioned, Sarēphā has already been identified by Mr. N. G. Majumdar with Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa. It was apparently the headquarters of the district (*vishaya*) called Sarēphāhāra in the present inscription. I am unable to locate the village Nandiraṭa.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 200.

[2] I would suggest that he may have been the *Paramadēvatādhidaivata*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Śambhuyaśas (emended reading) mentioned as the overlord of a chief called *Mahārāja* Śivarāja in the Paṭiākellā (Cuttack Dis- trict, Orissa) plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff. and plate) and also in 'Plate A' of the Sōrō grants (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-202 and plate). From the joint evidence of the Paṭiākellā and the Sōrō plates it is reasonable to assume that Śambhuyaśas ruled as an independent ruler over the wide tract of country anciently known as Tōsalī and now roughly covering the districts of Balasore, Puri and Cuttack. *Mahārāja* Sōmadatta and *Mahārāja* Bhānu- datta of the Sōrō plates were evidently more or less equal in status to *Mahārāja* Śivarāja of the Paṭiākellā grant. It seems very significant that both Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta hold such feudatory titles as *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahābalādhikrita*, etc.

No. 32.—MANGRAON INSCRIPTION OF VISHNUGUPTA'S TIME; THE YEAR 17

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University

Mangraon is a small village in the Buxar Sub-Division of the Shāhābād District of the Province of Bihār, situated about 14 miles south-west of Buxar. The existence at this place of the present inscription, which is being **edited here for the first time** was brought to my notice by Mr. Narmadeshver Roy, a 4th year student of the Benares Hindu University, and a son of Babu Braj Mohon Roy, the Zamindar of the village. Mr. Narmadeshver Roy supplied me with a fairly good clay-impression of this record in December 1940. As however some points were not clear from the impression, I visited the village on the 14th of March 1941 in order to inspect the inscribed tablet and take its ink-impressions for publication. From local enquiries I learnt that the stone tablet was recovered during the excavation of a well several decades ago by Choudhari Rambaran Roy, the grandfather of the present Zamindar. The tablet lay in the Zamindar's family all these years, defying the attempts at decipherment of the simple village folk as well as of the more learned touring officers.[1]

The present size of the tablet is 13" by 11". But I learn that its original size was bigger, as it was recently chipped in order to make it more portable. Luckily these chipping operations have not damaged the record in any way. In fact the present record is the best preserved record, so far discovered, of the Later Guptas of Magadha.

The inscription consists of nine lines. Each line is 11" in length and contains on the average 27 letters. The height of an ordinary letter is about ½ inch; conjuncts with subscripts are about ¾ inch high.

In l. 9, the record describes the engraver as an expert and a glance at the record will show that the praise is fairly well deserved. The engraver has incised the inscription in a very beautiful manner. He believed in ornamental flourishes for medial vowels and has introduced them wherever convenient. But even this talented engraver has committed a few mistakes, to which attention will be drawn in due course.

The **characters** of the present record closely resemble those of the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 718[2] and the Jhālrāpāṭaṇ inscriptions of king Durgagaṇa[3], one of which is dated in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 746. The ornamental variety of medial vowels of the present record is seen in a further developed form in the above records. The characters of the present record also bear a general resemblance to those of the Aphsaḍ[4] and Dēō-Baraṇārk[5] inscriptions hailing from Bihār and belonging to almost contemporary times. They exhibit the characteristics of the so-called *Kuṭila* characters; for the letters *va, ta, pa, ma, bha*, etc., show a distinct slanting curve or line at their right hand bottoms. It is interesting to note that the medial vowels *ā, i, ī, ē*, and *ō* are denoted in two ways. The usual forms of these medial vowels occur only sparingly in the record; the forms with artistic flourishes and graceful curves predominate in every line; cf. *mē* in *paramēśvara*, l. 1; *pō* in *tapōvana*, l. 2; *si* and *tī* in *siddhāyatanatīrthāvagāhana*, l. 4; etc.

Numerical symbols for 10, 7 and 2 occur in l. 2. The numerical symbol for 10 is an ornamental variety of the usual symbol; the other two have the normal forms.

[1] [The inscription has since been presented to the Patna Museum.—Ed.]
[2] Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plates facing pp. 180 and 181.
[4] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 42.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 46.

The main record is in prose ; the names of the writer and the engraver are, however, given at the end in one *Anushṭubh* verse. The **language** is **Sanskrit** ; the only influence of Prakrit that we can trace is in the name of the donor Avimuktajja, whose spelling is obviously a Prakritisation of the original word Avimuktārya. Curiously enough the rules of *sandhi* are disregarded in that portion of the record which gives the different epithets of the donor ; in other places, however, they are followed. In l. 8 in the concluding portion of the imprecatory sentence both the writer and the engraver have committed mistakes ; they will be indicated in the notes to the text.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. *V* is written for *b* : cf. *prativaddha* for *pratibaddha* in l. 3, *kuṭuṁvinām* for *kuṭumbinām* in l. 5., etc. When *r* is the second letter in a conjunct, the first one is doubled only when it is a *t*, not otherwise ; cf. *Mittra*. l. 3. *grāmakē*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Vishṇugupta.** Neither the name of the dynasty of the king nor his genealogy has been given in the record ; but there can be no doubt that **he is to be identified with king Vishṇugupta of the dynasty of the Later Guptas of Magadha**, who was the grandson of Ādityasēna and the father of Jīvitagupta II. The find-spots of the Aphsaḍ[1], Shāhpur[2], and Mandār hill[3] inscriptions of the former and the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription[4] of the latter show that they were ruling over the Shāhābād and Gayā Districts of Bihār ; our inscription, hailing from the Shāhābād District, shows that the kingdom of Vishṇugupta mentioned in it included that area. The Shāhpur inscription of Ādityasēna belongs to 672 A. D. The time of his grandson Vishṇugupta would be the first quarter of the 8th century A. D. and the palæography of our record shows that its Vishṇugupta flourished at about the same time. We cannot suppose that Vishṇugupta of the present record may have been a homonymous and contemporary feudatory of Vishṇugupta, the grandson of Ādityasēna. For even a wandering monk has not forgotten to give him his full imperial titles in the short tablet ordered to be engraved by him.

The present inscription, which is the first record of Vishṇugupta's reign to come to light, is dated **on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the 17th regnal year of the emperor Vishṇugupta.** The year is given first in words as *saṁvatsarē saptadaśē* and then in numerals as *saṁvat 10, 7*.

The form of the stop *t* in *saṁvat* is rather unusual. The form of the stop *n* in *pratipāditavān*, l. 7, is indicated by the normal form of *na* with a slanting but disconnected stroke given below. We therefore expect that *t* in *saṁvat* also should be similarly indicated by the normal form of *ta* with a slanting stroke below the letter. What we actually have is however something different. There is no slanting *stroke* below this letter and the usual triangular serif with its base above is absent. The resulting symbol bears a close resemblance to the symbol for 100 occurring on the silver coins current in the home provinces of the Gupta empire[5], and I had therefore once held[6] that the date given in numerals was not identical with that given in words, that

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 44 and 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 46.

[5] Compare for instance the symbol for 100 on the coins of Skandagupta illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 14-16.

[6] *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, 1941, p. 57.

it was to be read as *saṁva 100, 10, 7*, and that it was to be referred to the Harsha era.[1] A reconsideration of the question in the light of the observations kindly forwarded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has led me to the conclusion that though the disputed symbol bears a close resemblance to the symbol for 100 occurring on the silver coins of Skandagupta, we have to take it as an unusual form of the stop *t*, which sometimes occurs side by side with its normal form. In the Kārītalāi stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja[2], dated [Kalachuri] *saṁvat* 593, we have the ordinary form of the stop *t* in the word *jagat* in l. 2 and that of the stop *m* in the word *iyam* in l. 14; whereas the special form of the stop *t*, fairly similar to the disputed letter in the present epigraph, occurs in the word *saṁvat* in l. 14. The symbol for 100 on the coins of Skandagupta is not used even in contemporary inscriptions; it is therefore unlikely to be revived in a record, which is more than two hundred years later than the coins. I therefore now think that the record gives the same date once in words and then again in numerals.

The chronology of the Later Guptas of Magadha is still not definitely settled. Let us see if we can determine the date of Vishṇugupta mentioned in the present record. The founder of the line, Mādhavagupta, seems to have survived his patron and friend, king Harsha, by about 10 years. For, his son Ādityasēna, who is known to have performed three horse-sacrifices[3], is seen to be assuming not even imperial titles in his Shāhpur inscription belonging to 672 A. D. We therefore presume that his martial exploits must have been performed subsequent to 672 A. D. and that he must have ruled at least for a decade more. The commencement of his reign and the end of that of his father Mādhavagupta should therefore be placed in *c.* 655 A. D. The duration of his reign would be *c.* 655 to 682 A. D. The account, which Hwui Lun, a Korean pilgrim and contemporary of I-tsing, has left of a temple built at Bodhagayā, supports the view that Ādityasēna died and was succeeded by Dēvagupta in *c.* 682 A. D. For, this pilgrim was living at Nālandā from *c.* 675 to 685 A. D. and refers to a temple then recently built by the king 'Sun-Army' and to the willingness of the then ruling king of Eastern India, king Dēvavarman, to restore the site of the dilapidated China temple to Chinese priests, if they would come to India from China[4]. Now it is clear that king Sun-Army who had built the temple can be none other than Āditya(sun)sēna(army), and king Dēvavarman, who had succeeded him not long before *c.* 685 A. D., is obviously the same as Dēvagupta, the son of Ādityasēna and the father of Vishṇugupta, the king of the present record. Dēvagupta may therefore with fair certainty be presumed to have begun to rule in *c.* 682 A. D. and to have ended his reign in *c.* 702 A. D. The commencement of the reign of Vishṇugupta would thus be in *c.* 702 A. D. **We now know for the first time from the present record, that he ruled at least for 17 years**; his reign therefore may have lasted from *c.* 702 to *c.* 725 A. D.[5]

The reign period of Jīvitagupta II, the successor of Vishṇugupta, would be the second quarter of the 8th century A. D. Very probably he was the Gauḍa king overthrown and killed

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[1] The era used by Ādityasēna in his Shāhpur inscription, dated in the year 66, is usually taken to be the Harsha era; see Fleet, *Corpus*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10. There is therefore nothing improbable in assuming that his grandson Vishṇugupta may have continued the same reckoning. The opening expression in the Dēō-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II, the son of the Vishṇugupta of the present record, is a close copy of the opening expression in the charters of Harsha. This would show that the later Gupta secretariate was under a considerable influence of the traditions of Harsha's administration. The use of the Harsha era in its documents need thus cause no surprise.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 260. My attention was drawn to this plate by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

[3] See Deoghar inscription, *Corpus*, Vol. III, pp. 212-13, n. 3.

[4] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Introduction, pp. xxxvi-ii.

[5] It is interesting to note that the year 117 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 723 A. D. can fall within this period; see above n. 1.

by Yaśōvarman of Kanauj. This incident probably took place in *c.* 745 A. D. Jīvitagupta is the last king of the Later Gupta line known so far. After his death there seems to have arisen anarchy in Eastern India, which was put an end to by Gōpāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, whose accession is usually placed in *c.* 755 A. D. The present record thus tends to show that the interval between Jīvitagupta and Gōpāla was a short one of about ten years.

Vishṇugupta of the present record cannot be identified with the king who issued gold coins of the heavier weight standard with the letters *vi* and *shṇu* written perpendicularly under the arms on the obverse side ; for the latter flourished in the last quarter of the 5th century and was a son of Kumāragupta II as shown by a fragmentary seal of his, recently discovered and published[1].

Let us now proceed to consider the main contents of the inscription. It records a grant made on the second day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the 17th regnal year of Vishṇugupta by a person named Avimuktajja or Avimuktārya. As the very name suggests, this person was a Śaiva and our record describes him in ll. 3-4 as a worthy whose body had been sanctified by baths at several Śaiva holy places. He is further described as devoted to the teachings of his own system and a resident of Kuṭukka country. Where this Kuṭukka country was situated is not easy to find out. Avimuktajja was a much travelled man and it is not impossible that his Kuṭukkadēśa may not have been situated in the province of Bihār. He may have made a donation to a temple in Bihār, because its sanctity may have appealed to him. If, however, we assume that *Kuṭukkadēśa* is a mistake for *Kukkuṭadēśa*, then Avimuktajja becomes a Bihāri ; for there was a hill called Kukkuṭapādagiri near Gayā in Bihār, which has been mentioned both by Yuan Chwang[2] and I-tsing[3]. The country round Gayā may well have been known as Kukkuṭadēśa and it may perhaps have been misspelt as Kuṭukkadēśa in our record[4].

The donation was for the purpose of burning a lamp in the temple of Subhadrēśvara located in the village of Aṅgāra. The record however does not enable us to find out how exactly the arrangement was made for burning the lamp. Ll. 5-6 state that Avimuktajja purchased from all the householders of the village of Aṅgāra the quantity of one *pala* of oil (every day) to last till such time as the moon, the sun and the earth may endure. The usual practice in ancient India, when it was intended to burn a lamp at a temple, was to make an investment, the interest of which would be sufficient to meet the daily expenses of the necessary oil. What Avimuktajja seems to have done was to hand over to the householders of Aṅgāra a sum of money sufficient for this purpose ; the latter, or more correctly their Panchayat, then guaranteed to him that in return for the deposit kept with them, they would undertake to supply one *pala* of oil to the manager of the Subhadrēśvara temple. Avimuktajja thus managed to purchase for perpetuity one *pala* of oil every day ; his tablet has therefore been fittingly described as *kraya-chīrikā* or

[1] Ante, Vol. XXVI, pp. 235 ff.

[2] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 143.

[3] Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, by I-tsing, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

[4] [It may be pointed out that Kuṭaka-dēśa is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Skandha 3, ch. 6) in connection with the wanderings of Ṛishabhadēva (cf. *Kōṅka-Vēṅka-Kuṭakān=dakshiṇa=Karṇāṭakān=dēśān=yadrichchhay=ōpagataḥ*). Kuṭaka is identified with Gadag in the Dhārwār District of the Bombay Province. There are several ancient temples in the town and its neighbourhood and there is nothing against its being identical with Kuṭukka of the present record. Avimukta was a much travelled person and it is not unlikely that he made a small endowment in the temple of Subhadrēśvara in the course of his pilgrimage to reputed Śaiva shrines. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu points out that the modern Coorg country is meant by Kuṭukka. Kuḍagam (modern Coorg) appears in early Tamil literature so far back as the 2nd century A. D.—Ed.]

'a purchase document' in the last line. It is unfortunate that the record should not have given us more details of this arrangement; if this had been done, we would have got a welcome glimpse of the Panchayat administration and the rates of interest prevailing in Bihār at the time.

The village of **Aṅgāra** where the Subhadrēśvara temple was situated, must have obviously been either the village of Mangraon where the tablet exists, or its close neighbour, Sangraon, where there are the remains of a Śiva temple still existing. Mangraon and Sangraon are in fact twin villages, hardly separated by a furlong from each other. It is not impossible that Sangraon and Mangraon may together have constituted the village Aṅgāra, mentioned in our record. In Mangraon, there is no Śiva temple at present. In Sangraon, on the other hand, there is a Śiva temple, which is quite modern in its structure, but which is situated on a mound, about 15 feet high, which undoubtedly represents the ruins of an earlier temple. A little scratching of the surface done by us during our visit to the place revealed the existence of buried walls. The present temple contains an image of Śiva, but it is not at present locally known as Subhadrēśvara. There can, however, be little doubt that the present Śiva temple is built over the remains of the temple of Subhadrēśvara mentioned in our record.

The interpretation of the locative clause, *Chundaskīlā..pushpa-paṭṭē*, (ll 2-3) presents some difficulty. The last letter of this clause, *ṭṭē*, cannot be read as *ṅgē*, as becomes quite clear from its comparison with *ṅgā* and *grā* in *Aṅgāra-grāmakē* in l. 5. *Pushpa-paṭṭa* denotes a strip of flower garden. It was attached (*pratibaddha*) to Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva situated (*pratishṭhita*) in the penance grove at Chundaskīlā. It is possible to interpret *pratishṭhita* as 'residing'; the record would then purport to state that the garden belonged to a person called Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva, who resided (perhaps as a *saṁnyāsin*) in the penance grove at Chundaskīlā. A better meaning can be obtained by supplying the term *dēvālaya* after *dēva* or by emending it into that expression. The expression would then refer to a flower garden attached to the temple of Śrī-Mitra-Kēśava situated in the penance grove at Chundaskīlā. The close association of the sun and Vishṇu in one temple suggested by the expression under review is, however, not frequently met with. The syntactical connection of the locative *pushpa-paṭṭē* is not very clear. Probably we have to suppose that Avimuktajja was residing in that garden at Chundaskīlā, when he decided to make the present grant to the temple in Aṅgāra. There is nothing improbable in this; for, as will be soon shown, the distance between Aṅgāra village and Chundaskīlā was only about six miles. Alternatively, if we take Śrī-Mitra-Kēśavadēva as the name of an individual, the expression may refer to a flower garden (in Aṅgāra village) that may have been laid out by him. The first interpretation is more probable.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Aṅgāra** has been already identified above, either with Mangraon or its close neighbour Sangraon. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Buxar, informs me that there is a village named Chhunnī, only six miles to the north-east of Mangraon. His suggestion that Chundaskīlā should be identified with it is perfectly sound. Mr. Sohoni further informs me that the Buxar Sub-Division is even now traditionally known as the place of the penance grove of the famous sage Viśvāmitra; Rāma is said to have killed Tāṭakā somewhere within its boundaries. Even today there exist a number of localities in this region known as penance groves; the penance grove of Chundaskīlā mentioned in our record must be one such locality. We may perhaps hazard one more conjecture. *Kīlālapa* means a demon and Sunda, the husband of the notorious Tāṭakā[1], may have been known as Sunda-kīlālapa. Is it not unlikely that his forest or *vana*, which subsequent to his wife's death may have become a

[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 24, 26.

tapōvana of Aryan *ṛishis*, may have been known as *Sunda-kīlālapa-tapōvana* and later corrupted into *Chundaskīlā-tapōvana* of our record? Philology would show that such a change is but natural. If this conjecture is correct, it would follow that the village Chhunnī in the Buxar Sub-Division was once upon a time believed to be the place of residence of Tāṭakā and her husband Sunda.

TEXT [1]

1 ओं[2] [।*] महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविष्णुगुप्तदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य-
2 सम्वत्सरे सप्तदशे सम्वत् १० ७ श्रावणशुदि २ चुन्दस्कीलातपोवन-
3 प्रतिष्ठितश्रीमित्रकेशवदेवप्रतिव(ब)द्धपुष्पपट्टे स्वसिद्धान्ताभिरत[3] अने-
4 कशिवसिद्धायतनतीर्थावगाहनपवित्रीकृततनुः कुटुक्कदेशी-
5 य[4] अविमुक्तज्जः[5] अङ्गारग्रामके सकलकुटुम्वि(म्बि)नां सकाशादाचन्द्रा-
6 र्कक्षितिसमकालीनं[6] तैलस्य पलमेकमुपक्रीय भगवतः
7 श्रीसुभद्रेश्वरदेवस्य प्रदीपार्थं प्रतिपादितवान् ॥ एवं योन्यथा
8 करोति यदत्रापायंस्तनद[7]वाप्नोतीति ॥ लिखिता देवदत्तेन
9 संक्षिप्ता क्रयचीरिका । उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण कुलादित्येन धीमता ॥

TRANSLATION

Ōṁ. On the second day of the bright half of (*the month of*) Śrāvaṇa of the **seventeenth** victorious and prosperous regnal year of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Śrī-**Vishṇugupta**, (*while residing*) in the flower garden attached to (*the temple of*) Śrī-Mitra and Kēśava, situated in the penance grove of **Chundaskīlā**, **Avimuktajja** (*i.e.*, revered Avimukta), a resident of the **Kuṭukka** country, who was devoted to his own native doctrine and whose body had been sanctified by baths at numerous holy places connected with Śiva, purchased from the householders of the village of **Aṅgāra** one *pala* of oil (*per day*), to last contemporaneously with the moon, the sun and the earth, and offered it to the holy Subhadrēśvara for the purpose of a lamp. He who will set at naught this arrangement will get whatever sin is here.

This concise document of sale[8] was composed by **Dēvadatta** and engraved by the talented mason **Kulāditya**.

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[1] From the original tablet and ink-impression.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Read °*bhiratō='nēka*-.

[4] Read °*dēśiyō='vi*°.

[5] Read °*jjō='ṅgāra*-.

[6] The *anusvāra* has been written not above the letter *na* but in a line with its horizontal line.

[7] Here the text is defective and its restoration is not free from difficulty. The neuter *yad* would sugget that the expression *pāpaṁ* should follow; the reading °*tr=āpāyaṁ* is however clear and so it appears that the word *apāya* was also before the mind of the composer. If, however, we prefer to read this word, we shall have to change *yad* into *yō*. The letter *sta* following *yaṁ* seems to be a mistake of the engraver for *sa*; we want a *saḥ* to correspond with *yaḥ* coming earlier. The next letter looks like *na*, but it is to be corrected into *ta*. The succeeding letter is less likely to be *ma* than *da*, with an unnecessary stroke to its right, caused by the slipping of the instrument. The restoration therefore should be *yad=atra pāpaṁ sa tad=avāpnōti*; the emendation *yō=tr=āpāyaṁ=sa taṁ=avāpnōti* is less likely to have been intended by the composer.

[8] [Both *chīrikā* and its variant *chīṭhikā* (Hindī *chiṭṭhī*) have been used in the sense of a document in the *Lēkhapaddhati*, pp. 16, 57. This book is however a late work belonging to the fifteenth century; the use of the word *chīrikā* in the present record in the sense of a document is therefore noteworthy. *Krayachīrikā* is indeed a synonym of *kraya-lēkhya* which is defined by Bṛihaspati as follows :—

Gṛiha-kshētr-ādikaṁ krītvā tulya-mūly-ākshar-ānvitam|patraṁ kārayatē yat=tu kraya-lēkhyaṁ tad=uchyatē||
The word *chīra* also denotes 'a manner of writing with strokes'. —B. C. C.]

No. 33.—KHADIPADA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SUBHAKARA

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., NEW DELHI

Khaḍipadā is a small village, about 24 miles to the south-east of Bhadrak, a subdivisional town in the Balasore District, and about 8 miles to the north-west of Jājpur, an important town in the Cuttack District. I visited the place in May 1940, on the basis of some valuable information from Professor G. S. Das, B.A. (London), Secretary, Provincial Museum, Cuttack ; and found that the remains of the place consisted of a low mound and some Buddhist sculptures, including some colossal statues of the Buddha, all of which bespeak the former existence of a modest Buddhist establishment at the place. Among other sculptures I found a half-buried image of Padmapāṇi (height 4½'), which was fully dug out in my presence and revealed the existence of an inscription on its proper left edge. The image has now been removed to the Provincial Museum, Cuttack, and I am thankful to Professor Das for supplying me with two inked impressions of the inscription as well as for consenting to my editing it in the pages of this journal.

The **inscription** consists of only one line and is about 4' in length. The **letters** are carefully engraved, their **size** ranging from ¾" to 1¾". As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn to the doubling of the consonants *m* and *ṇ* after *r* in *dharmma* and *utkīrṇṇa*, and of *t* before *r* in *sūttradhāra* ; contrast, however, *āchārya*. A curious mistake occurs in the word *Rāhularuchināṁ*, the correct form being *-nāmā*. The record is **undated** but **palæographical considerations lead us** to ascribe it to the **seventh century A. D.** The characters are more or less similar to those of the Ganjām plates of Śaśāṅka[1], which, being of an undisputable date, form an important land mark in South-eastern Palæography. A point which should be noted here is that though the letter *bh* presents an earlier form in this inscription, the letter *s* has certainly a later form. Generally speaking, however, the difference in age between these two inscriptions could not have been very great.

The inscription refers itself to the time of **Śubhākara**, who, to judge from the name, no doubt belonged to the **Bhauma dynasty**. The **genealogy** of the Bhauma kings was in a great confusion till recently owing to the different readings of the dates in their inscriptions and to the indeterminateness of the era to which they were to be referred. However, with the discovery of the Talcher plates of Śivakara[2], the genealogy, irrespective of the readings of the numerical symbols, can now be regarded as fairly established. According to the genealogy worked out by Misra on the basis of the available data[3] there were four kings of the name of Śubhākara, the Neulpur plates[4] belonging to the first king of that name. If we compare the letters of the present inscription with those of the Neulpur grant, we find that the latter have on the whole a more developed appearance. Thus, the letter *ch* in the latter has a proto-Nāgarī form, while this inscription has the archaic Gupta type. Particularly noticeable is the difference between the forms of the letter *bh* : while the letter in our inscription has a straight horizontal baseline, the Neulpur grant has a hollow (or even filled up) wedge attached to the lower left corner of the letter. The letter *h* is denoted by two signs in the present inscription, one being of the so-called Western Gupta type, very similar in appearance to *bh* (*cf.* *hā* in *mahā*) and the other a screw like form (*cf.* *hu* in

[1] Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.

[2] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, p. 1. The date of the plates has been read as 8 by the editor, 54 by Misra (*loc. cit.*), and 200 4 by Bhandarkar (*List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1751n.). The genealogy proposed by Bhandarkar on p. 380 of his *List* can no longer be accepted.

Rāhula); while in the Neulpur grant only the latter and more developed form is met with. At the same time, it must be noted that *ś* has an archaic appearance in the Neulpur grant[1]. With this single exception, all other letters in the grant are more developed than in this inscription.

All these facts tend to show that Śubhākara of the present inscription was earlier in date than the author of the Neulpur charter[2], who is the first king of that name in the Bhauma lineage till now known. This new Śubhākara may have existed between Lakshmīkara, who is the earliest known member of the dynasty[3], and Kshēmaṅkara, from whom we have an unbroken genealogy for nine generations.

The inscription **records** the dedication of the image by **Rāhularuchi,** who is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalāchārya* and *Paramaguru, i.e.,* 'the teacher of the great division' and 'the supreme preceptor'. The former does not sound like a self-assumed title, but seems to be a dignity conferred or recognized by a political authority. As the earlier Bhaumas are known to have been Buddhists[4], it is likely that there was a state pontiff of Buddhism under them. It also appears from this term that the area over which they held sway had the status of a *maṇḍala*, or, in other words, they began their political career as *Maṇḍalapatis*, till the later members of the dynasty assumed the full-fledged independent titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Manārājādhirāja Paramēśvara.*

TEXT

Ōṁ[5] Śrī-**Śubhākaradēva**[6] -rājyē mahāmaṇḍalāchārya-paramaguru-**Rāhularuchi-nāṁ**[7] tasya dē[ya*]-dharmmō=yaṁ | utkīrṇṇaṁ **Kuḍhā** (?)-sūttradhārēṇaḥ[8] ||

No. 34.—PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDARAJA : SAKA 732

BY MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, B. A., POONA

This set of **three copper-plates,** with one of the two rings and the seal, is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. It was purchased from Mr. Sanabhai Bhundarbhai Master, of Vadaj, Baroda State, in 1938. It is reported that one Thakore Vajesing found it while ploughing his field at **Bhilodia,** near Vadaj. It was through the kind offices of the Curator, Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., that I gained access to the original plates. He also supplied me

[1] It is too much to say that *ś* 'still retains the old Kushan form' in the Neulpur grant (above, Vol. XV, p. 2). In most cases the right vertical of the letter distinctly projects over the horizontal top line which is certainly a late Gupta or even a post-Gupta development.

[2] It is, however, possible to explain away the difference between the two inscriptions by saying that the Neulpur grant is inscribed in a cursive script and therefore exhibits a more developed form, both the kings being really identical. I set no great store by this argument especially because a palæographical comparison of the present inscription with the Dhauli cave inscription of Śāntikara (above, Vol. XIX, p. 263), most probably the son of Śubhākara of the Neulpur grant, also shows that the latter has decidedly later forms than the former. As it is impossible that the script would appreciably change in the course of a single generation, we have to separate the two inscriptions by a sufficiently long time.

[3] Hindol plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 69.

[4] The earlier rulers call themselves *Parama-saugata* in their inscriptions. A change of creed is for the first time noticed in the case of Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī who was a *Parama-vaishṇavī* (Dhenkanal plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 419) and in describing whose death the Talcher plates say: *bhējē padaṁ sā Harēḥ* (Misra, *loc. cit.*, p. 32). After her the rulers are *Parama-māhēśvaras.*

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] The letter *bhā* looks like *bhau* in the impression. [Reading appears to be Śuhā° for Śubhā°.—Ed.]

[7] Read *nāmā.*

[8] *Visarga* unnecessar

with its ink-impressions. I am indebted to him as well as to the trustees of the Museum for kindly allowing me to edit them here for the first time. I am also grateful to Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., of the Nagpur University, for revising my readings and for many valuable suggestions.

These are three copper-plates, each measuring about 9"×7". Their ends are either raised or thickened to protect the inscription. At the top of each plate, there are two holes about 3" apart, and each ⅜" in diameter, meant for securing the plates together by means of two rings of which at present there is only one left. The ends of this **ring** which is about ½" in thickness and 3½" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a seal, 1½" in diameter. This **seal** had some figure in relief on its countersunk surface, but nothing can be made out from what remains. The weight of the plates together with the seal and the ring is 121 *tolas*.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there, especially in the second plate, are damaged by verdigris and they have to be made out from the traces left and with the help of similar inscriptions.

There are fifty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate and the remaining eight on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. The spacing of the words in the third plate is very much scattered.

The **characters** are of the Southern type of alphabet and regular for the period and locality in which the plates were issued. They resemble the script of the Tōrkhēḍē plates[1]. The following palaeographic peculiarities may be mentioned. In the formation of the letter *pa*, a superscript resembling *ā-mātrā* appears above the proper left of the vertical, in many places, *e.g.*, in *pratāpāḥ* (ll. 4. 8) ; *nṛipa* (l. 10) ; *kshmāpatiḥ* (l. 12), etc. It is also noticed in the letter *ma* in *pratimāni* and *nāma* (l. 44) ; as also in the formation of *sha* when it occurs in a conjunct letter, *e.g.*, in *rakshatā* (l. 10), *shashṭiṁ varsha-* and *tishṭhati* (l. 45), and in *-āṭavīshv=atōyāsu* (l. 46), etc.[2]

In lines 51-52, in the sign-manual of the king, the characters show a variety of the Northern alphabet, about twice the average size of the letters in the grant and resemble closely those of the sign-manual in the Kāvi[3] plates of Gōvindarāja.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition of the record is partly in verse and partly in prose. As regards **orthography**, there is very little that attracts our attention. The consonants followed by *r* are, as a rule, reduplicated. See *e.g.*, *°sargg-ōdbhavaḥ* (l. 23), *mārggaṇair=nna* (l. 26), etc., the exceptions being such as *nirvṛiti* (l. 28), *varsha* (l. 45), etc. In such words as *ruddha* (l. 2), *samarttha* (l. 6), *mūrddhan* (l. 10), etc., the first of the resultant two aspirants is correctly changed to its corresponding sonant or surd, as required by the case, while this rule is not observed in the case of *durbhbhikshaṁ* (l. 22).

The *virāma* sign consists of a horizontal line over the letter instead of a serif below its vertical as in Nāgarī ; *cf.* ll. 9, 12, 18 and 46. A pair of *daṇḍas* is used as a mark of punctuation. Mistakes are rare and the rules of *sandhi* have been followed correctly. As regards the peculiar

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 53.

[2] This feature is also noticed in *ja* in *jātaḥ* l. 28, *ta* in *tuṅga*, l. 2, etc., *bha* in *babhūva*, l. 15, *sa* in *spashṭam*, l. 3, *sa* in *°m=āsu*, l. 10, etc.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. .

compound, *kunda-kusuma-śri* (l. 18), Dr. Fleet has already drawn our attention to it while editing the Barodā[1] plates.

The plates were issued by **Gōvindarāja**, son of Indra, of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. He is styled *Prabhūtavarsha* and is described as *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, who had won all the *Mahāśabdas*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant by Gōvindarāja, of the village **Usauṇaka**, in the Vāhāula Chaturaśiti on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, which was recorded on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the same month in the expired **Śaka year 732** (expressed in numerical figures only). This date is, therefore, recorded according to the *amānta* scheme of lunar months and corresponds to Monday, 29th April, A.D. 810[2].

The **donee** was the Brahmin Bhōbhika, of the Atri *gōtra*, a religious student of the Sāma vēda and who is described in the plates as residing in the village Charmmanihauha after having come there from the Gauḍa country. The charter was written by Jajjulla, son of Padmanābha, who was the officer in charge of peace and war.

The early history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty is known to us from the following seven records: The Barodā plates[3] (Śaka 734), the Nausāri plates[4] (Śaka 738), the Aṇastu plates[5] (Śaka 739), the Surat plates[6] (Śaka 743), the Brāhmaṇapalli grant[7] (Śaka 746) issued by Karka Suvarṇavarsha; the Tōrkhēḍē plates[8] (Śaka 735) and the Kāvi plates[9] (Śaka 749) issued by his younger brother Gōvindarāja, the donor of the present plates.

Our record being the earliest of these grants, its importance in the history of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas is very great.

The Gujarāt branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty was founded by Indra, when his elder brother Gōvinda III of the Imperial line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas installed him on the throne of the *Lāṭa-maṇḍala*, after his conquests in the north. This event is placed in *circa* 800 A.D. by Dr. Altekar[10] and a very short rule is attributed to Indra.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, f.n. 15. [His remark runs : " This instance of the use of *śrī* in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, without the *Samāsānta* affix *ka*, is somewhat unusual. But Mr. K. B. Pāṭhak has supplied me with an analogous instance, which is given in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Calcutta edition, 10th *ullāsa*, p. 422,—Avitatha-manōratha-patha-prathanēshu praguṇa-garima-gīta-śrīḥ | surataru-sadṛiśaḥ sa bhavān abhilashaṇīyaḥ kshitīśvarō na kasya || ". (Instead of *kshitīśvarō*, the correct reading is *kshitīśvara*.) In fact, such compounds are not unusual. The affix *ka* is optional, and instances where it is not employed can be multiplied. The celebrated poet Māgha shows a striking predilection for such a use, as may be evidenced by his *Śiśupālavadha*, I, 24; III, 82; IV, 68; XI, 64, 66, 67; XVI, 85. Of these, XI, 64 may be found quoted in Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha*, verse 279. An epigraphical instance is furnished by the Junagaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta in the word *pṛithu-śrī*, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 59, text l. 3; p. 61, text l. 24. Here, however, Dr. Fleet has not commented upon the compound.—B. C. C.]

[2] Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, p. 22.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 156.

[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 131.

[5] *Annual Report, Archaeological Department, Baroda State* (1939), p. 22.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 133.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 77.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

[10] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 79.

Indra was succeeded by his eldest son Karkka Suvarṇavarsha. It appears that he ruled jointly with his younger brother Gōvindarāja or at least deputed him to govern some parts of Gujarāt. The position of Gōvindarāja, in this respect, has always been a vexed question.

On account of the difficulty of two rulers granting villages in the same territory, it was formerly conjectured that some sort of enmity existed between the two brothers and probably Gōvindarāja came to the throne as a usurper[1]. The praise of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha in our plates, as well as in other grants of Gōvindarāja, establishes the harmony between the two brothers. Dr. Altekar[2] thinks that Gōvindarāja may have been a "princely regent" appointed by Karkka, but the view that he was entrusted with the administration of Gujarāt in the absence of Karkka during the hostilities regarding the installation of Amōghavarsha I on his throne, or during his minority, is now hardly tenable from the early date of our record. That Gōvinda III was still living when our plates were issued, is indicated by the dates of an unpublished plate[3] (Śaka 733), the Lōhārā[4] grant (Śaka 734) and the suspected to be spurious Kaḍaba plates[5] (Śaka 735). According to Prof. Mirashi[6], Amōghavarsha I was a fairly grown up boy of sixteen, when he came to the throne in *circa* Śaka 736. The reason why Karkka wanted to rule in company with Gōvindarāja should, therefore, be sought somewhere else than in his absence from Gujarāt to help Amōghavarsha I. It is also noteworthy to see that Karkka does not think of his own son Rājaputra Dantivarman as the probable candidate for the governorship of Gujarāt, who appears as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda plates[7] issued only two years after the date of our record. We have to take it, therefore, that both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of lands without each other's consent.

Unfortunately, our plates do not throw any additional light on the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Many verses of these plates have occurred in various Rāshṭrakūṭa records. Six of them, *viz.*, (2, 7, 8, 11, 13 and 14) and (2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11) are repeated in the Tōrkhēḍē[8] and Kāvi plates[9] of Gōvindarāja respectively, but most of them can be read together in the Kāpaḍvaṇaj plates[10] of Kṛishṇa II, where they follow the same order as is found in our plates. The only new verse occurring in this grant (v. 15) describes Gōvindarāja in the usual panegyric terms and is not important historically.

As regards the **geographical names** occurring in the grant, **Vāhāula**, which was the head-quarters of the division consisting of eighty-four villages including the donated village, may be identified with Vāhorā, a village about 4 miles south-east of Bhilodia, the find-spot of the plates, in the Baroda State. The village **Charmmaṇihauha**, where the donee was residing, is probably identical with Chāmarwārā, about midway between Bhilodia and Vāhorā, and the donated village **Usauṇaka** with Wāsaṇ, about 2 miles north-east of Chāmarwārā. Both Chāmarwārā and Wāsaṇ are on the right bank of the Hiraṇ river which is a tributary of the Orsang.[11] The **Gauḍa** country from where the donee came is obviously the eastern part of Bengal.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180; *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.
[2] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.
[3] Noticed by Diskalkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), III, p. 187.
[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 212.
[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 332.
[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 217.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 156.
[8] Above, Vol. III, p. 53.
[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.
[10] Above, Vol. I, p. 53.
[11] I am obliged to Prof. Mirashi for the identification of Charmmaṇihauha and Usauṇaka

TEXT[1]

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 7, 13, 16, 18, 20 and 21 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2 and 4 *Āryā* ; vv. 3 and 19 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 8 and 17 *Indravajrā* ; v. 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 14 *Vaṁśastha*; v. 22 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 ओं[2] आसीन्मुरारिसंकाशः कृष्णराजः क्षितेः पतिः । [अप्रमेयवसोर्द्दाता][3] साक्षाद्धर्म्म

2 इवापरः ।[। १॥*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्द्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं(णम्) [।*] ग्रीष्मेपि न-

3 भो निखिलं प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥[२॥*] तस्यात्मजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महा-
नुभावो-

4 प्रहतप्रतापः ॥(।) प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्क्कवपुर्व्व(र्ब्बो)[भूव] ॥[३॥*]

5 शशधरकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरनगाग्रसानुस्थैः [।*] परिगीय[ते समन्ता]-

6 द्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥[४॥*] तस्याप्यभूद्भुवनभारभृतः समर्त्थः पा-

7 र्त्थोपमः पृथुसमानगुणो गुणज्ञः [।*] दुर्व्वारवैरिवनितातुलतापहेतु-

8 र्ग्गोविन्दराज इति सूनुरिनप्रतापः ॥[५॥*] यस्य प्रभोश्चतुरचारुड[4][दार]-

9 कीर्त्तेरासीद्दिवान्निरुपमस्य पितुः सकाशात् ॥(।) सत्स्वप्यनेकतनये-

10 षु गुणातिरेकान्मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तनृपसम्मतमाद्य राज्यं(ज्यम्) ॥[६॥*] रक्षता ये-

11 न निःशेषं चतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं(तम्) ॥(।) राज्यं धर्म्मेण लोकानां कृता तुष्टिः प-

12 रा हृदि ॥[७॥*] भ्राता तु तस्येन्द्रसमानवीर्य्यः श्रीमान् भुवि क्ष्मापतिरिन्द्र-

13 राजः [।*] शास्ता बभूवाद्भुतकीर्त्तिसूतिस्तद्दत्तलाटेश्वरमण्डलस्य ॥[८॥*] य-

14 स्याङ्गमात्रजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य क्ष्मापालवेष-

Second Plate ; First Side

15 फलमेव बभूव सैन्यं ॥(।) मुक्ता(क्त्वा) च सर्व्वभुवने-

16 श्वरमादिदेवं नावन्द्य(न्द)तान्यममरेष्वपि यो मन-

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[1] From original plates and impressions.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Restored from Kāpaḍvaṇaj plates of Krishṇa II ; above, Vol. I, p. 52.

[4] Read *chāruruddāra-*.

17 स्वी ॥[८॥*] अद्यापि यस्य सुरकिन्नर[सिद्ध]सो(सा)ध्यविद्याधराधिपतयो गु-

18 णपक्षपातात् ॥(।) गायन्ति कुन्दकुसुमश्रि[1] यशो यथा स्वधामस्थिताः

19 सहचरीकुचदत्तहस्ताः ॥[१०॥*] सूनुर्ब्बभूव खलु तस्य महानुभावः

20 शास्त्रार्त्थबोधसुखलालितचित्तवृत्तिः [।*] यो गोग्गनामपरिवारसु-

21 वाह पूर्व्वं श्रीकर्कराजसुभगव्यपदेशमुच्चैः ॥[११॥] राज्ये यस्य न तस्कर-

22 स्य वसतिर्व्याधेः प्रसूतिर्मृता दुर्भ्भि(र्भि)क्षं न च विभ्रमस्य महिमा नेवो-

23 पसर्ग्गोद्भवः [।*] क्षीणः शत्रुगणः प्रतापविनता(तो)शेषारिवर्ग्गस्तथा नो

24 वि[द्व]त्परिपन्थिनी प्रभवती(ति) क्रूरा खलानां मतिः ॥[१२॥*] ज्ज्येष्ठस्यानुजस्तस्य सेवि-

25 तः सततं बुधैः [।*] [गो]विन्दराजो भूपालः साक्षाच्छंभुरिवापरः ॥[१३॥*] फलोन्मुखैरापतितैर्व्विदूरतः

26 समं समन्ताद्गुणपक्षपातिभिः [।*] महाहवे दानविधौ च मार्ग्गणैर्न्न कु[ण्ठि]तं [यस्य स]दैव

27 मानसं ॥[१४॥*] अन्तःस्थितेश्वरशिरोधृतशुभ्रचन्द्र—[2]नत्सुधारसविभावित[सर्व्वमूर्त्तिः?] [।*] लो-

28 कस्य निर्वृतिकरः स्पृहणीयजन्मा जातः सदामृतमयत्वगुणेन यश्च ॥[१५॥*] [स परमेश्व-[3]]

29 रः समधिगताशेषमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत(ति)प्रभूतवर्षश्रीगोवि[न्दराजदेवः सर्व्वा]-

30 नेव भाविभूमिपालान्समनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं । यथा मया माता[पित्रोरात्मन-]

31 श्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलावाप्त्यर्त्थं धर्म्मनिष्ठो[ह?]ग्राम[वास्तव्य]-

Second Plate; Second Side

32 गौडदेशादायाताचेयसगोत्रच्छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारि[ब्रा]ह्मणभोभिकाय [भट्टजयपुत्रा[4]]-

[1] See above, p. 250, n. 1.

[2] One *akshara* is illegible here, of which the subscript *yya* is seen on the plate. [I would read *śchyōtat-sudhā-rasa*.—B. C. C.]

[3] Only faint traces of the words in the brackets can be seen on the plates. [The portion possibly reads *sa cha Lāṭēśva*.—B. C. C.]

[4] Only faint traces of these words are seen on the plates.

33 य वलिचरुवैश्वा(श्व)देवाग्निहोत्रा(त्र)क्रतुक्रियाद्युस(त्स)र्प्पणार्त्थं वाहाउलचतुरश्रो[त्वन्तर्ग्गत — — —][1]

34 उसौणकग्रामः सहिरण्यादानः सभोगभागः सदण्डदशापराधः स(स्व)[सीमापर्यन्तः]

35 समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाद्य महावैशा[ख्यामुदका-]

36 तिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्य भुञ्जतो न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे प्रवर्त्तितव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ आगामि-
[भद्रन्]-

37 [प]तिभिरप्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलं तदपहरणे पा-

38 पञ्चावगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमत्त(न्त)व्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] तथाचोक्तं पुराणमह[र्षि]-

39 [भिः ॥ ब]हुभिर्व्वसु[धा] भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य[2] यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
तस्य

40 [तदा] फलं(लम्) ॥[१६॥*] उक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं
प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं

41 भूर्व्वैष्णवीसूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं गा-

42 ञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥[१७॥*] सर्व्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फल(लम्) ॥(।)
हाठ(ट)कचिति-

43 गौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुग्रं(गं) फलं(लम्) ॥[१८॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैदं(र्दा)नानि
धर्म्मायत-

44 नीकृतानिः(नि।) निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरा[ददी]-

45 त ॥[१९॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥(।) आच्छेत्ता [चानु-]

46 मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[२०॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शु[ष्क-]

Third Plate

47 कोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते[3]

48 भूमिदायापहारिणः ॥[२१॥*] उक्तञ्च भगवता रामभ-

[1] Probably two *aksharas* preceded the word *Usauṇaka*. [The original seems to read हृषड्टसौणक°.—C. R. K.]

[2] Read सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य-

[3] After this the scribe wrote the word भू but subsequently cancelled it.

49 द्रेण ॥ सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्त्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते

50 रामभद्रः [।*] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-

51 यो भवद्भिः ॥[२२॥*] स्वहस्तोयं श्रीगोविन्दराजस्य श्रीमदि-

52 न्द्रराजदेवपुत्रस्य ॥[1] लिखितञ्चैतन्मया शासनं

53 [म]हासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीपद्मनाभसुतजज्जुल्लेनेति ॥ शकनृपका-

54 [ला]तीतसंव[2] ७३२ वैशा[ख*] ब[3]हुल ७

TRANSLATION

(Lines 28-36.) And now the king *Śrī* **Gōvindarāja** *alias* **Prabhūtavarsha** the *Paramēśvara*, the overlord of the feudatory kings, who has acquired (*the right to the use of*) all the (*five*) musical instruments, commands all the future kings :

" Be it known to you (*all*) that, for the enhancement of the religious merit and renown of Our parents and Ourself, in this world and the next, the village **Usauṇaka** situated in the Vāhāula (*sub-division of*) eighty-four (*villages*), has been granted (*by Us*) with libation of water, on the Mahā-Vaiśākhī day, for the performance of the rites such as Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadēva, Agnihōtra, Kratu, etc., to the Brahmin Bhōbhika, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Jaya, of the Atri *gōtra*, a religious student of Sāma-vēda, residing in the village Charmmanihauha, an immigrant from the Gauḍa country, with all the assessments and the (*proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and ten offences, limited by the boundaries (*of this village*), without any interference from the royal officers, according to the customs of the cultivable and uncultivable lands (*bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna*), in which, while being enjoyed, nobody should cause any hindrance."

(Lines 51-54.) This is the sign-manual of the illustrious **Gōvindarāja** himself, son of the illustrious Indrarājadēva. This charter has been written by me, Jajjulla, son of Padmanābha, the officer in charge of war and treaties.

(*Dated this*) the seventh (*day*) of the dark half of (*the month of*) **Vaiśākha** when **seven hundred and thirty two years** had elapsed since the time of the **Śaka king**.

No. 35.—RATANPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF PRITHVIDEVA II ; THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 915

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Nagpur

This inscription was brought to notice as early as 1825 by Sir (then Mr.) Richard Jenkins who published a short account[4] of it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 504-5. It has since

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[1] An ornamental device precedes the *daṇḍas*.

[2] There is a sign after *va*, which cannot be taken for that of *t*. Read संवत्.

[3] There is a blank space for one *akshara* after ब.

[4] Jenkins' account of this record was based on the report of his assistant Sāstrī Vinayakrao Anandrao Aurangabadkar who examined this and some other records at Sirpur, Raipur and Ratanpur. The manuscript of his report written in the *Mōḍī* characters is still preserved in the India Office Library, London. An autograph copy of it was kindly supplied to me by the Librarian, Dr. H. N. Randle. As shown below ,the report is incorrect in several places.

been referred to twice in this journal[1] by Dr. Kielhorn and has also been briefly noticed by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar.*[2] It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which is now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

According to a manuscript history of Ratanpur, the stone bearing this inscription was discovered within the Bādal Mahāl[3] of the fort at **Ratanpur,** 16 miles north of Bilāspur in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces. More than 75 years ago one Reva Ram Kāyastha of Ratanpur prepared a transcript of the inscription for the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, which is now included in the aforementioned MS. history of Ratanpur.[4] The stone was then apparently in a state of good preservation, for Reva Ram's transcript has no lacunæ. It has since then suffered in a most deplorable manner especially in the middle of lines 5-35 where from 3 to 39 *aksharas* have been lost in each line. Lines 13 and 14 have been completely effaced except for a few *aksharas* at one end. In the extant portion also, several letters here and there have become partly or wholly illegible. Unfortunately Reva Ram's transcript affords little aid in such places, as it is full of inaccuracies, judging from the extant portions of the record.[5] A patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript from which it is possible to form a general idea of the whole record.

The inscribed portion measures 2′ 9½″ broad and 1′ 9¾″ high and contains 36 lines. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The medial diphthongs are shown by *prishṭha-mātrās* ; *ṅ* is still without a dot, see, *e.g., bhriṅga-*, l. 2 ; the rare *jh* occurs in *jhāṁkritaiḥ*, l. 24 and *jhaṁkāra*, l. 27 ; the upper loop of *th* is not open, see *pratyarthi-prithvīpatau*, l. 20 ; in its subscript form the letter is still laid on its side, see *pāntha-*, l. 24 ; finally, *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the left, see *dhārādharēṇa*, l. 2. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. It contains 45 verses, all of which seem to have been numbered. The **orthography** does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated and *v* is throughout used for *b*.

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[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 33 and Vol. V, Appendix, p. 60, n. 1.

[2] Second ed., pp. 127 ff. This is also probably the inscription mentioned by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 215, though he says that it is dated .a 979 ; for his description of it fits the present record. 'The centre of the slab which is a large one', says he, 'is worn quite smooth ; it opens with an invocation to Śiva.'

[3] Jenkins also says that the stone was 'within the fort of Ratanpur, near the Bādal Mahāl' (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505). Beglar, however, was told by some people at Bilāspur that the slab originally came from Dhangāon (*i.e.*, Dhanpur, now a village in the Peṇḍrā Zamīndārī in the Bilāspur District, which contains several ruins). If the object of the inscription was to record the gift of a village in honour of Śiva under the name Sōmanātha, installed at Kumarākōṭa (see vv. 36-39), the inscription may have been originally put up at that place and later on removed to Ratanpur.

[4] *Drug District Gazetteer* (1909), p. 47. This is referred to below as the Ratanpur MS.

[5] Jenkins' account of the contents of this inscription which was based on the report of Aurangabadkar is equally incorrect ; for according to him the present inscription contains a list of nine Rājās in the order of succession from father to son, including the one by whose order the inscription was engraved. Aurangabadkar's MS. mentions five of these, *viz.*, Prithvīpāla, Brahmadēva, Rudradēva, Prithvīdēva and Śrīdēva. The extant portion shows the names of Prithvīpāla, Brahmadēva and Prithvīdēva only. The other names seem to be due to mislection, for they do not occur in the manuscript history of Ratanpur also. Further, Jenkins speaks of Prithvīdēva as a fortunate king who in his old age resigned his kingdom called Kōsaladēśa to his son. This is evidently an incorrect interpretation of verse 21 of the present inscription. What the verse really means is that Prithvīdēva, who is identical with the Kalachuri king Prithvīdēva II of Ratanpur, called Brahmadeva to his capital and entrusting the government of his kingdom to him, led a life free from care.

The inscription is one of **Brahmadēva**, a feudatory prince of **Pṛithvīdēva II** of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur. The **object** of it is to record the religious and charitable works of Brahmadēva at several places. It is **dated in Saṁvat 915** (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era. This date must of course be referred to the **Kalachuri era**. The year, if expired, would correspond to A.D. 1163-64. This is the last known date for Pṛithvīdēva II, for the next certain Kalachuri date[1] 919 belongs to the reign of his successor Jājalladēva II.

The inscription opens with the customary obeisance to Śiva, which is followed by three verses invoking the blessings of the deity. The next verse describes Śēsha, the lord of serpents. Verses 5-8 eulogise the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* which is called an ornament of the earth. Then begins a description of the family of Brahmadēva who put up the present record. His father Pṛithvīpāla is eulogised in verses 9 and 10 as a very valiant and famous personage. His son Brahmadēva was the foremost of the feudatories (*māṇḍalik-āgraṇī*), evidently, of the Kalachuri king of Ratanpur (v. 11). The next nine verses (12-20) describe his valour, handsome form, learning and charity. The only point of historical interest mentioned in the extant portion is that he obtained a victory on Jaṭēśvara who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga. We are next told that Pṛithvīdēva, the lord of Kōsala, called him from the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* and entrusting the government of his country to him obtained peace of mind (v. 21). This Pṛithvīdēva is evidently the second prince of that name in the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratanpur.

The next eighteen verses (22-39) describe the benefactions of Brahmadēva. He constructed a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) at Mallāla and excavated a tank evidently at the same place. The religious merit of the former he assigned to his lord Pṛithvīdēva. Besides these, he built ten shrines of Tryambaka (Śiva) and dug two lotus-ponds at some place the name of which is lost. At Varēlāpura he constructed a grand temple of Śrīkaṇṭha and at Ratnapura he built nine shrines of Pārvatī. At the latter place he excavated also a large step-well and two tanks, one on the north and the other on the south of the city. Several other religious and charitable works of Brahmadēva are next mentioned, *viz.*, a tank at the village Gōṭhālī, a temple of Dhūrjaṭi at Nārāyaṇapura, tanks at Bamhaṇī, Charauya and Tējallapura, a temple of Śiva at Kumarākōṭa and a mango-grove as well as a charitable feeding-house evidently at the same place. Verse 39 records that he donated the village Lōṇākara to the god Sōmanātha who is probably identical with the deity installed in the temple at Kumarākōṭa.

The next two verses (40-41) are devoted to the description of Anantapāla of the Gauḍa lineage, who was a keeper of records, and his son Tribhuvanapāla who composed the present *praśasti*. Then are mentioned the scribe Kumārapāla[2] and the engravers Dhanapati and Īśvara (vv. 43-44). The *praśasti* closes with a verse expressing the hope that the *kīrtti* (evidently the temple of Sōmanātha at which the present *praśasti* was originally put up) may last for ever.

Brahmadēva, the chief of the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* was at first a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Pṛithvīdēva II. He seems to have taken a leading part in the defeat of Jaṭēśvara *alias*

[1] Hiralal read the date of the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) as 912, but his reading of the third figure of it is probably incorrect in view of the date of the present inscription which belongs to the reign of his father Pṛithvīdēva II.

[2] Kumārapāla belonged to the race of Sahasrārjuna from whom the Kalachuris also traced their descent. He is mentioned as the scribe in some other records also, *viz.*, in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II, dated V. 1207, (above, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.) and Mallār stone inscription of Jājalladēva II, dated K. 919 (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff)., etc. He had also considerable poetic talent; for he composed the Sheorinārāyaṇ stone inscription of the reign of Jājalladēva II, dated K. 919 (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1242) and the Kharod stone inscription of Ratnadēva III, dated K. 933 (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff.).

Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga. We know from several records[1] that Chōḍagaṅga invaded the Kalachuri kingdom and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II, the father of Pṛithvīdēva II. But that Jaṭēśvara also attempted a similar invasion which met with the same fate is not so well known. The defeat of Jaṭēśvara is mentioned in one other record only, *viz.*, in the Kharod stone inscription[2] of Ratnadēva **III**. Unfortunately the verse in that record which describes this event is partly mutilated, but my personal examination of the record *in situ* has yielded the further detail[3] that Jaṭēśvara was made captive by Pṛithvīdēva **II**. Verse 17 of the present record which describes Brahmadēva as well known for imprisoning a mighty foe may refer to the same event. Brahmadēva afterwards became Pṛithvīdēva's trusted minister and was entrusted with the government of the whole kingdom.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, **Mallāla** is evidently modern Mallār, 16 miles south-east of Bilāspur. **Varēlāpura** or Barēlāpura is Barēla, 10 miles south of Ratanpur. **Nārāyaṇapura** and **Bamhaṇī** still retain their old names; the former is situated on the Mahānadī in the Raipur District, while the latter is 4 miles north by east of Akaltarā. Rai Bahadur Hiralal identified **Kumarākōṭa** with Koṭgaḍh[4], but from some other records[5] the old name of the latter appears to have been Vikarṇapura. Gōṭhālī, Charauya and Tējallapura cannot now be traced, but the last of these may have been situated not very far from Sheorinārāyaṇ, for it seems to have been founded by Tējalladēva, a Kalachuri prince of a collateral branch, who is mentioned in an inscription at Sheorinārāyaṇ[6]. Finally, Talahāri-*maṇḍala* is probably identical with the ancient Taraḍaṁśaka-*bhōga* mentioned in the Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta.[7] It is highly glorified in the present inscription probably because Mallār and other places where Brahmadēva constructed his religious and charitable works were included in it. It seems thus to have comprised the southern portions of the Bilāspur and Jānjir *tahsils* and the northern portion of the Raipur District.

TEXT[8]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4-6, 11-17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31, 37, 38, 40 and 45, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 3, 9 and 20 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 7 and 26 *Mālinī* ; vv. 8, 10, 18, 24, 29 and 43 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 23 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 25, 27, 32-36 and 39 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 30 *Gīti* ; vv. 41, 42 and 44 *Āryā*.]

1 [सिद्धिः[9]] श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥ यद्यामी[करकु*]म्भसन्निभकुचद्वंद्वस्य रत्युत्सवक्रीडानेह सि
शैलराजदुहितुर्व्वक्त्रारविन्दस्य च । निःप(निष्प)र्यायदिदृक्षयेव भगवान्धत्ते स्म
नेत्रत्रयं स श्रेयांसि समातनोतु भवतामर्द्धेन्दुचूडा-

[1] See, *e.g.*, above, Vol. I, p. 40 and p. 47 ; Vol. XXI, p. 163 and Vol. XXIII, p. 4.

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163.

[3] I read the last quarter of verse 9 of this record as *kārāgāra-nīrāsi-va(ba)ndishu* ⏑ — — — *dharām(?) prāpitaḥ*.

[4] See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 127. The name of the place is not Kōṭapattana as stated by Hiralal, but Kumarākōṭapattana.

[5] A stone inscription which was originally found at Koṭgaḍh and is now at Akaltarā (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1585) records the construction of a tank and a temple of Rēvanta by Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva II and Prithvīdēva II. Another stone inscription of the same feudatory found at Ratanpur, while enumerating the benefactions of Vallabharāja, mentions the same tank and temple of Rēvanta as situated at Vikarṇapura. This shows that Vikarṇapura was the ancient name of Koṭgaḍh. Is Kumarākōṭa identical with Dhangaon ? See above, p. 256, n. 3.

[6] Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1242.

[7] Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 120.

[8] From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and inked estampages.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

2 [मणि:*] ॥१॥ य[त्क]ण्ठो भूति — —[1] [ध*]वलपरिसर: कज्जलेन्दीवरालीभृङ्गश्रेणी-
न्द्रनीलोपलगवलतम:स्तोमलक्ष्मीविडम्बी(म्बी) । भाति प्रालेयभूभृत्कटकतट इव
श्यामलेनांबु(म्बु)भारैर्व्यासो धाराधरेण प्रभवतु ।[2]

3 [भ]वतां स श्रिये नीलकण्ठ: ॥२॥ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मेंद्रोपें[द्र]चंद्रद्युमणिकुलगिरिक्ष्मासमुद्रादिरूपै-
र्लोकं संक्रान्तवि(बि)म्बं(म्बं) नखमुकुरतले यत्पदाब्जां(ब्जां)गुलीनाम् । दृष्ट्वा
शैलेंद्रपुत्री परिणयसमये विस्मयं प्राप लज्जानम्रीभूतान-

4 नेंदु: स हरतु दुरितं पार्व्वतीवल्लभो व: ॥३॥ यत्क्रोडे जठरैककोटरकुटीविश्रान्त-
विश्वस्थिरं लक्ष्मीपाणिसरोजलालितपदो निद्राति नारायण: । किञ्चानेकफणामणि-
व्यतिकरै रत्नाकरत्वं दधावम्भो-

5 धिर्व्विदधातु शर्म्म जगतां शेष: स भोगीश्वर: ॥४॥ उत्फुल्लांबु(म्बु)रुहै[:] [सरो-
भिरभितो गुञ्जद्विरेफैर्वृतं][3] — — — पवनोल्लसत्कदलिकारोचिष्णुभिर्भूषितम् ।
उद्यानै: कलकण्ठकूजितभरव्याजृम्भपुष्पायुधैर-

6 स्ति श्रीतल्लहारिमण्डलमिदं विश्वम्भराभूषणम् ॥५॥ उन्मीलन्नवनी[लनीरज] ⏑ — —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [वाचाल]-[4]
दिङ्मण्डले । झङ्कीतिध्वनिपूर्व्वक[र्ष]कुहरैरध्यापकै: कौतुकादन्तेवा-

7 सिगणस्य यत्र पठतो नावद्यमाकर्ण्यते ॥६॥ इह फणिपति — — — ⏑ —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
—[5] । भ्रमति यशसि शुभ्रे यस्य विष्वक्चकोरा: शशधरकरबु(बु)द्ध्याद्यापि
धाव-

8 न्ति सोत्का: ॥७॥ यद्दाटके झटिति धूमतति: स्फुरन्ती व्योमा[ङ्गणे] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — । — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —
आलोकिता जलदजालधिया ध्वनद्भि: ॥८॥ पृथ्वीपालस्ततोभूत्करतलक-

[1] The missing *aksharas* may have been *charchā*.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] The Ratanpur MS. reads *guñjad-dvirēph-āvalir=āmr-ādēḥ pavan-ōllasat* which makes no good sense. Perhaps the original reading was *s-āmr-ādy-ōpavan-ōllasat.*

[4] The Ratanpur MS. furnishes here the fairly satisfactory reading *vana-srāvyaṃ (syandan-) maranda-spṛihā-bhrāmyad-bhūri-madhuvrat-āli-vitatām (virutair)=vāchāla-diṅ-maṇḍalē.*

[5] The missing *aksharas* can be supplied with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *rākānātha-karpūra-pūra-pra chura-rajata-rētaḥ-kshīra-hār-ādik-ābhē.*

9 जितक्रूर[खड्गा]हतानां संग्रामे कंधराभ्यो रिपुवरणिभुजा[मुत्पत] — ⏑ — — । —
— — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — —
— ज्योतिः चगार्द्धं नयति निजतनुं पार्श्व[तां] भीरुतायाः ॥८॥ यस्यासिपा-

10 तदलितारिक[री]न्द्रकुम्भपीठोच्छलद्विमलमौक्तिक[शुभ्र]हारा । — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —
—[1] ॥१०॥ [क्रीडामन्दिर]मिंदुगौरयशसां सो(शो)र्यस्य विश्रामभूः सूनुर्म्माण्ड-

11 लिकाग्रणीः समजनि श्रीव(ब्र)ह्मदेवस्ततः । [निस्त्रिं]शाहतवीर[वैरिवनिता][2] — —
⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑
— — ⏑ — [॥११॥*] [संग्रामे] हतवीरवैरिनिवहैर्द्देवीभवद्भिर्द्रुतं कुर्व्वाणा युधि संकथां पथि सु-

12 दुर्व्वौकसां सङ्गताः । नाकालध्वनतोभिरामरमणा — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —
— — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥१२॥*]
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ लिमदः [श्राम]नृसिंहोच्युतः प्रोद्यच्चक्रधरो द्विजातिदयितो

13 भोगिप्रकाण्डस्थितिः[3] । उन्मील[न्नव] — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥१३॥*]
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — —
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —

14 — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — —
⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
— ⏑ — [॥१४॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — रजत[श्यामांशुका] कान्ति-मत्सान्द्रस्फारपयोधरा न-

15 वरता येन प्रिया स्वीकृता । रागात्कोशमपास्य — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ —
— ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑
— [॥१५॥*] — — [खड्गलताभिधा]ततडिति [कु]ध्यद्विपन्मण्डलीकण्ठोन्नच्छ-दसृक्प्रवाहनिवहैर्हु:सं-

[1] The Ratanpur MS. reads the second half of this verse as *kīrttir=bhuvaṁ(vō) gagana-maṇḍalam=āvihartum kāntā (krāntā ?) tadid-dhavala-kāṁtir=ivāraṇāya(?)*

[2] The Ratanpur MS. reads the following seven *aksharas* as *sīmanta-chandr-āmbuda[ḥ*]* which may be correct; but the reading of the fourth *pāda* cannot be restored.

[3] The Ratanpur Ms. reads *saṁtāpa-auch=chaṁdramāḥ*. This bears no relation to the actual text which is quite clear here. This clearly shows the unreliability of the readings in the MS.

16 चरे स[ङ्ग]रे । येनाक्रम्य ज[टेश्व]रो[1] रिपुनृप[:] [क्रू]र ⏑ — — ⏑ — — —
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ॥[१६॥*] —
— — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ [रितम:]स्तोमे सहस्रद्युति: प्रद्युम्न: प्रमदाजने
[सु]रगुरु: सभ्यग्गिरां निर्णये ॥(।)

17 विख्या[तो] व(ब)]लिवैरिव(ब)न्धनविधौ कृष्णो न कृष्णद्युति: — — — ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —[2] ॥[१७॥*] — — ⏑ — ⏑
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ दधान: स[त्त्व]प्रियो घनरसप्रकराभिराम: । लब्धो(ब्धो)न्नति:
प्रभुतयाऽखिलवाहि-

18 नीनां रत्नाकरोयमपि नाश्रयदो जडानाम् ॥१८॥ ये लीला ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑
⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
— — ⏑ — — ⏑ — । ये रामोद्धतसेतुवं(बं)धरुचिरा यस्य प्रचेत:पुरी-
नारीनाभिनिपीतसिन्धुपय-

19 स: कीर्त्त्या धरान्ता: स्थिता: ॥१९॥ यद्रूपालोकनोत्कागत[वरललनावक्त्रपंकेरुहाणां[3]]
— — — — ⏑ — — [द्रविणवितरणे याचकानां निकाये । भिक्षा]दानाय
चास्मद्भुवनमयमितीवामरौघै: प्रणुत्तो रक्षायै हाट-

20 काद्रेस्तटभुवमनिशं भास्करो वं(बं)भ्रमीति ॥२०॥ आनीते तलहारिमण्डलवराच्छी-
कौशल[स्वा][मिना*] [पृथ्वी]देव[4]नरेश्वरेण परमप्रेम्णा गुणानां निधौ । हस्तन्यस्त-
कृपाणपा[त]निहतप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतौ यस्मिन्राज्यधुरं

21 समर्प्य परमा लब्धा(ब्धा) मनोनिर्वृति: ॥२१॥ वाता[न्दोलित]—[ज?]रां स(श)तदलप्रा-
लेयविं(बिं)दूपमां लक्ष्मीं — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — विलसितप्रायाञ्चलावस्थितिम् ।
[खद्योतोन्मि]षितानुकारमवनीच[क्रे] नृणां यौव[नं] — —[5] [पा]र्ज्जितभूरिभूति-

22 रभजद्यो धर्म्ममेवाहत: ॥२२॥ कुर्व्वाणाभिर्ज्जंग ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ समाश्वसत्ते[:]
खेदस्वेदं पवनविचलद्वैजयन्तीभिराभि: । तेनो — —[6] प्रचुरकुमुदामोदिदिक्चक्र-
वाले मन्नालेऽस्मिन् लवलधवलं धूर्जटे[र्धा]म चक्रे ॥२३॥ उ-

[1] This historically important name is missing in the Ratanpur MS. which reads instead *yudh-āśvad* (?) *ripu-nripa*! Aurangabadkar's account also makes no mention of this king vanquished by Brahmadēva.

[2] The Ratanpur MS. reads the last *pāda* of this verse as *śyāmā yasya cha karṇikā kharatarā sūtē yaśō nirmalam*. This may be adopted, but *karṇika*, in the sense of an arrow, is neuter. Perhaps *śyāmā yasya kṛipāṇikā* is the correct reading.

[3] The *aksharas* in the bracket are supplied from the Ratanpur MS. They have left faint traces on the slab.

[4] This royal name is missing in the Ratanpur MS. It is fairly clear on the original stone.

[5] Restore *śaury-ō*.

[6] Restore *tphulla-*.

23 त्फुल्लपङ्कजकदम्व(म्ब)विराजमानं पौराङ्गनास्तनतटीदलितोर्म्मिमालम् । — —[1] सरो-
वरमकारि ◡ — ◡ नीरखेलन्मरालकुलसङ्कुलितं [समन्तात्] ॥२४॥ प्रासाद-
स्या[स्य] च[न्द्रां]शकुन्दसुन्दररोचिषः । पृथ्वीदेवनरेन्द्राय पुण्यं

24 पुण्यात्मने ददौ ॥२५॥ दश भवनवराणि चम्व(म्ब)क[स्थे]दुरोचिर्व्विकचकुमुदकुन्दस्फा-
टिकाद्रि ◡ — —[2] । [अरचयदलघूनि प्रौढदोर्दण्डलीला] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ॥२६॥ अत्रैव [पयसि] — ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲
[सु*]स्वरझांकृतैः । पान्यश्रुतिप-

25 थाह्लादि चारु पुष्करिणीद्वयम् ॥२७॥ तेनोदारमकारि तत्र पवनोद्धेल्लत्पताकाकुलं
श्रीकण्ठस्य [सुधांशुधामधवलं] श्रीमद्दरेलापुरे । यत्रावासमवाप्य चाप्यतितरां
तत्याज देवश्चिरम्रा — — ◡ ◡ मंवि(वि)कापरिवृढः कैलासवासस्पृहाम् ॥२८॥

26 प्रालेयशैलदुहितुः कुमुदेंदुकुन्दनीहारहारलवलीधवलानि तेन । सर्व्वोत्तमानि [पवनप्रच-
लत्पताकान्यभ्रंलि]हानि नव रत्नपुरे कृतानि ॥२८॥ क्रीड[न्नगर]पुरन्ध्रीपीनस्तन-
जनितवीचि[विक्षो]भाम् । विपुलतरामिह वापीञ्च[का]र रुचिरां

27 विचित्रसोपानाम् ॥३०॥ व्याकोचांवु(बु)जपुञ्जगुञ्जदलिनीझंकारवाचालितं खेलद्भूरिमराल-
संकुलतटं तेनोत्तरस्यां दिशि । श्रीमद्रत्नपुरस्य दक्षिणदिशि प्रोद्दामकामाङ्गना
— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡[3] रुचिरं चक्रे तडागद्वयम् ॥३१॥
गोठाली[4]ना-

28 म[नि ग्रा]मे च[का]र सरसीं शुभाम् । अनिमिषदृश्यां वृन्दैर्द्दिवमध्यासितामिव ॥३२॥
सुधांशुधवलं [तत्र धूर्ज्जटेर्धाम] निर्म्मितम् । नारायणपुरे तेन पताकोल्लिखिता-
म्व(म्ब)रम् ॥३३॥ अकारि [सरसी] — ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ विराजिता । भार-
तीव कथा तेन व(ब)म्हणीग्राम-

29 स[न्निधौ] ॥३४॥ चरौयनाम्नि विस्तीर्णं ग्रामे रम्यं सरोवरं(रम्) । चकार तेजल्ल-
पुरे ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ⏑̲ ◡[5] राजितम् ॥३५॥ निर्म्मितं मन्दिरं रम्यं कुमराकोट-
पत्तने । तेनैवान्वं[6] यशोराशि[प्रकाशं पार्व्वती]पतेः ॥३६॥ तेनैवाम्ब्रवणं[7] कृतं
घनत-

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[1] Restore *ramyaṁ*.

[2] Restore *prabhāṇi*.

[3] The missing *aksharas* can be restored with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *snāna-praskhalit-āmbaraṁ cha*.

[4] Aurangabadkar read this place-name as *Gōḍālī* and the Ratanpur MS. as *Gōḍhālī*. The *aksharas* are clearly as read above.

[5] The Ratanpur MS. reads *Śiva-dhāma-virājitam* which may be correct.

[6] Read *tēnaiv=ānvad*.

[7] Read *-āmra-vanaṁ*.

30 रच्छायानिरस्ता[तपं] पाणिप्राप्यफलोत्करैर्म्मधुरसैः पान्थव्रजं प्रीणयत् । कूज[त्कोकिल]-
काकलीव्यतिकरप्रारभ्यमान[स्म]रप्रौढाज्ञाविदलन्मनस्वितरुणीमानग्रहग्रन्थिकम् ॥३७॥
आकण्ठं विविधान्नपाननिवहैर्भुंक्ता मनोवा-

31 [ञ्छि]ते रात्रौ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ यस्य सततं सचे(त्रे) महासचि(त्ति)णः । इत्थं
कार्पटिकव्रजेन रभसा — — [भव]न्धारितो दिक्चक्रं मुखरीकरोति व(ब)हलः
कोलाहलः प्रत्यहम् ॥३८॥ देवाय सोमनाथाय ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ [पु*]ण्यवान् ।
असौ लोणाक[र] — —[1] स-

32 र्व्वादायैः स — ⏑ ⏓[2] ॥३९॥ निर्व्यूढः कविपद्धतौ धुरि सतां व(ब)द्धास्पदः
सन्ततं — — —[3] धिगमप्रसादितमतिः सा — ⏑[4] वादे सुधीः । आसीद्वि-
स्तृतकीर्त्तिरत्नपटलप्राप्तप्रतिष्ठः श्रि[यां] लीलागार ⏑ — ⏑[5] पालवि(बु)धो
गौडान्वया-

33 योद्भवः ॥४०॥ विधुरिव दुग्धपयोधेः प्रसाधिताशः कलानिधिर्न्नितराम् । अभव[त्त्रिभु-
वनपालः] पालितसकलद्विजस्तनुजः ॥४१॥ घनरसवतीं गभीरां स्वच्छतरां कवि-
विचाररमणीयाम् । सरसीमिव प्रशस्तिं त्रिभुवनपालो व्यधाद्वि(बु)धः ॥

34 ॥४२॥ हारावलीमिव सुवृत्तगुणां गुणाढ्यां कान्त्यान्वितां घनरसप्रकरां प्रशस्तिम् ।
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑[6] [कलारचितप्रकर्षः] कौतूहलात्कुमरपालवि(बु)धो लिलेख
॥४३॥ धनपतिनाम्ना कृतिना शिल्पिवरेणेश्वरेण च मनोज्ञा । उत्कीर्णा
प्रचुररसा प्र-

35 शस्तिरियमक्षरै रुचिरैः ॥४४॥ यावन्मण्डलमम्व(म्ब)रेम्व(म्ब)रमणेश्चण्डीशचूडामणि-
श्चन्द्रः सान्द्रकरोत्करेण कुरुते — — ⏑ — — कलाम् । यावद्वक्षसि चा-
[स्ति] पद्मसदना कौमोदकीलक्ष्मणस्तावत्कीर्त्तिरियं चकास्तु विशदा विश्वम्भरा-
मण्डले ॥४५॥

36 सम्वत्[7] ९१५ [॥*]

[1] Read *grāmam*.

[2] Read *samanvitam*.

[3] The first two of the missing *aksharas* appear to be *vēdā*. Read *vēd-ārth-ādhigama*.

[4] Read *sāhitya*—.

[5] The first three *aksharas* of this name are damaged, but from Aurangabadkar's mention of Anantapāla as the father of Tribhuvanapāla, the *aksharas* can be restored as *-m=Ananta-*.

[6] The missing *aksharas* can be supplied with the help of the Ratanpur MS. as *dyā-vinōdana*. Elsewhere the name of this scribe appears as *Kumārapāla*. The second *akshara* of the name is shortened here for the sake of the metre, following the adage: *api māshaṁ mashaṁ kuryāch=chhandō-bhaṅgaṁ na kārayēt*.

[7] Read *Saṁvat*.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration to Śiva!

(V. 1) May the divine half-moon-crested (*Śiva*) increase your welfare!—(*he*) who has three eyes as if because of his desire to see simultaneously, at the time of playful amorous enjoyment, the pair of gold-pitcher-like breasts and the lotus-like face of **Pārvatī**, the daughter of the mountain!

(V. 2) May that Nīlakaṇṭha (*i.e.*, Śiva) grant you fortune!—(*he*) whose neck with a white surrounding on account of [the smearing of] ashes, imitating the beauty of collyrium, a row of blue lotuses, a line of bees, a sapphire, wild buffaloes and a mass of darkness, appears like the slope of a ridge of the snow-mountain, covered with a cloud, dark with the surcharge of water!

(V. 3) May that lover of Pārvatī remove your sin!—seeing in the nails of whose lotus-like feet as in the surface of a mirror the reflection of the universe in the form of Brahman, Indra, Vishṇu, the moon, the jewel of heaven (*i.e.*, the sun), the principal mountains, the earth, the oceans and other things, the daughter of the lord of mountains (*Pārvatī*), at the time of her marriage, was struck with wonder, her moon-like face being bent in bashfulness!

(V. 4) May that lord of serpents, Śēsha, grant happiness to the worlds!—(*he*) on whose lap there sleeps for a long time Nārāyaṇa, in the unique cavity of whose belly as in a cottage there rests the universe and whose feet are caressed by the lotus-like hands of Lakshmī; and on account of the precious stones in whose numerous hoods the ocean came to be the store of jewels!

(V. 5) This famous province (*maṇḍala*) of **Talahāri** is the ornament of the earth—which is surrounded on all sides by tanks with full-blown lotuses and humming bees and is adorned with gardens which appear beautiful with plantain trees shining [in the groves of mangoes and other trees] and to which the god of love is attracted by the excessive warbling of cuckoos.

(V. 6) [In the Talahāri province] where the regions are noisy [with the humming of bees hovering on] blooming, fresh, blue lotuses [in the desire for honey dripping from them], the teachers, the cavities of whose ears are, in admiration, filled with the musical sound, do not mark the faulty (*pronunciation*) of crowds of pupils reciting (*their texts*).

(V. 7) Here, while its fair fame, resembling the lord of serpents, [the moon, camphor-powder, silver, milk, pearl-necklaces and others], is roaming in all directions, the *chakōra* birds even now eagerly fly (*after it*), mistaking it, for the rays of the moon.

(V. 8) In the sacrificial enclosures in it, the line of smoke, as it speedily touches the expanse of the sky, is looked at by the peacocks which scream in joy, mistaking it for a multitude of clouds.

(V. 9) Then there was born **Pṛithvīpāla**. From the necks of the hostile princes struck by him with the sharp sword grasped in his hand . . . . for half a moment subjects himself to apprehension.

(V. 10) [Whose fame of bright lustre resembling lightning] and wearing a white necklace of spotless pearls scattered from the large frontal globes of the best elephants of his enemies cleft by the strokes of his sword . . . . has gone from the earth to the region of the sky in order to divert itself.

(V. 11) From him was born the illustrious **Brahmadēva**, the foremost of feudatories, the play-house of fame white like the moon, (*and*) the resting place of valour,—(*he*) who is to the

parting line of hair of the wives of hostile warriors struck by his sword what a cloud is to the moon[1] . . . . .

(V. 12) [The heavenly damsels] gathering together again and again on the path of gods (*i.e.*, in the sky) and conversing with crowds of hostile warriors killed on the battle-field as they speedily became gods. . . . . rumbling out of seasons.

(V. 13) . . . like the man-lion, he is the best of men; like Achyuta (Vishṇu) wielding his uplifted discus, he leads a victorious army; like Vishṇu who is fond of the bird (*Garuḍa*) and reclines on the best of serpents, he is fond of the Brāhmaṇas and lives in the company of the best of kings[2] (or, Nāga princes ?)

(V. 14) (*This is completely effaced.*)

(V. 15) Who accepted a beloved clad in a black garment . . . . who had lovely, compact and large breasts, and who just then fell in love with him . . . . Taking off furiously the sheath (*of his sword*) . . . .

(V. 16) In the fight in which the strokes of his creeper-like sword appeared like (*flashes of*) lightning and in which it was difficult to move about on account of multitudes of streams of blood gushing forth from the necks of crowds of wrathful foes, he, having attacked the hostile king **Jaṭēśvara** . . . . .

(V. 17) He is to his enemies what the sun is to a mass of darkness; he is Pradyumna to women (*and*) the preceptor of gods (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati) in the right judgment of speech; being well known for imprisoning (*his*) mighty (*foe*)[3], he resembles Kṛishṇa (*who in his Dwarf incarnation imprisoned Bali, but, unlike Kṛishṇa*) he is not dark-complexioned[4]. . . . .

(V. 18) Though (*like the ocean*) he is . . . . dear to all creatures, appears charming with his great vitality (*as the ocean does with its abundant store of water*), has attained a supreme position by his command of all armies (*as the ocean has by its lordship over all rivers*), and is a receptacle of precious things (*as the ocean is a treasure of gems*), he does not (*unlike the ocean which gives shelter to water*) give refuge to dullards.

(V. 19) The regions at the extremity of the earth . . . . which appear beautiful with the magnificent bridge of Rāma (*and*) those, the water of the ocean in which is absorbed by the navels of the women in the city of Varuṇa, have been resorted to by his fame.[5]

(V. 20) 'This [Brahmadēva, who is the sun to] the lotuses which are the faces of the excellent ladies who come out of eagerness to see his handsome form, [may come] to our world to give away wealth to supplicants in charity'—Being as it were urged by gods through such apprehension[6], the sun moves continuously round the regions on the slopes of the golden mountain (Mēru) for its protection.

[1] As the moon hidden behind a cloud is no more visible, so the parting of hair on the part of those ladies is no longer to be seen, they being too full of grief to attend to their toilet.

[2] There is a play on the words *chakra* meaning (*i*) a discus and (*ii*) an army, *dvijāti* meaning (*i*) the bird Garuḍa and (*ii*) a Brāhmaṇa, and *bhōgin* meaning (*i*) a serpent and (*ii*) a Nāga prince or an officer in charge of a *Bhōga* or *Bhukti* (sub-division).

[3] This may refer to the imprisonment of Jaṭēśvara.

[4] There is contradiction here, since the prince Brahmadēva is said to be Kṛishṇa and still not to have the complexion of Krishṇa, but the contradiction is only apparent, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa*.

[5] The regions in all the four directions were described in this verse. The first hemistich which described the northern and eastern regions is almost completely lost. The description in the second hemistich refers to the southern and western regions.

[6] The idea in this verse occurs also in verse 17 of the Mallār stone inscription, above, Vol. I, p. 41.

(V. 21) Consigning the yoke of the government to him who, being a treasure of merits, had been brought over from the Talahāri-*maṇḍala* and who killed hostile kings with the strokes of the sword grasped in his hand, the king **Pṛithvīdēva** (II), the lord of the famous Kōśala country, obtained great mental happiness.

(V. 22) [Seeing that] on the orb of the earth . . . . is like dew-drops on (*the petal of*) a lotus . . . . .shaken by the wind, that wealth is of unsteady duration resembling mostly the flashes [of lightning] and that men's youth imitates (*in fickleness*) the shining of the fire-fly, he who had acquired abundant wealth [by valour] exerted himself for piety.

(V. 23) In this[1] Mallāla which renders the circle of regions fragrant with abundant [full-grown] lotuses, he constructed a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) (*distinguished*) by these banners set in motion by wind, which remove the perspiration, caused by fatigue, of the horses of the sun.

(V. 24) [And he constructed] a tank, which appears beautiful with clusters of full-blown lotuses, the rows of the waves of which are broken by the protruding breasts of town ladies, and which is crowded on all sides with multitudes of swans sporting in water. . . . .

(V. 25) The religious merit of this temple, the splendour of which is beautiful like that of the moon's rays and *kunda* flowers, he assigned to the king Pṛithvīdēva (II) of pious nature.

(V. 26) He . . . . constructed ten large and beautiful temples of Tryambaka (Śiva), [bright] like moon-light, full-blown night-lotuses, *kunda* flowers and the mountain of crystals (*i.e.*, Kailāsa).

(V. 27) At this very place he [constructed] two lotus-pools which delighted the ears of travellers with the sweet humming (*of bees*) . . . . . in water.

(V. 28) He erected at the famous Varēlāpura, a temple of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), white like the lustre of the moon, and covered with flags fluttering in the wind; having received habitation in which, the god (*Śiva*), the lord of Ambikā, has given up completely his longing for living on Kailāsa . . . . . .

(V. 29) By him there were built at Ratnapura nine cloud-kissing excellent temples of (*Pārvatī*) the daughter of the Himālaya. (*which are*) white like night-lotuses, the moon, *kunda* flowers, snow, pearl-necklaces and *lavalī* (*flowers and*) the flags of which flutter in the wind.

(V. 30) He made here a large and beautiful well, with wonderful steps, the waves of which were stirred by the plump breasts of town ladies sporting (*in its water*).

(V. 31) In the northern and southern directions of Ratnapura he made two beautiful tanks which are rendered noisy by the buzzing of the swarms of bees humming on clusters of full-blown lotuses and the banks of which are crowded with numerous swans sporting (*in their water*).

(V. 32) At the village named Gōṭhālī he made a pleasant tank which is occupied by crowds of fishes as heaven is by gods.[2]

(V. 33) He constructed at Nārāyaṇapura a temple of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), white like the moon, which with its flags scrapes the sky.

(V. 34) He made a tank near the village Bamhaṇī, which, like the story of the *Bhārata*[3] is . . . . . .

[1] The wording of verse 23 may be taken to signify that the inscription originally came from Mallāla, but notice a similar wording in V. 30.

[2] There is a play on the expression *a-nimēsha-dṛiś* (*lit.*, having unwinking eyes). It signifies (*i*) fishes and (*ii*) gods.

[3] The verse apparently contained an expression which by means of *double entendre* described both the tank and the story of the *Mahābhārata*.

(V. 35) He made a lovely large lake at the village called Charauya and [a beautiful temple of Śiva] at Tējallapura.

(V. 36) At the town of Kumarākōṭa he made another lovely temple of (*Śiva*) the husband of Pārvatī, resplendent like the mass of his own fame.

(V. 37) He himself planted a grove of mango trees which with their very dense shade removes the heat (*of the sun*) and with its multitude of fruits reached by the hand, pleases travellers and where the knot of stubborn reserve of proud young ladies gives way at the imperious command of the god of love, which is begun (*to be communicated*) by the mingling sweet notes of the warbling cuckoos.

(V. 38) Having partaken, to their hearts' content, of the various kinds of foods and drinks as desired in the charitable feeding house of the great sacrificer, such loud cries of pilgrims daily make the circle of regions resound, (*viz.*)............ .

(V. 39) To the god Sōmanātha the pious one granted [the village] Lōṇākara together with all taxes..........

(V. 40) There was the learned Anantapāla of extensive fame, born in the Gauḍa lineage, who mastered the path of poets, who always secured a place at the head of good people, whose thoughts were rendered pure by his knowledge [of the contents of the Vēdas], who was clever in literary discussions, who attained renown in the department of records (*and*) was a play-house of fortune.

(V. 41) [From him] was born Tribhuvanapāla who gives shelter to all Brāhmaṇas and who, being a treasure of arts, has (*all*) his desires completely fulfilled, even as from the milky ocean is produced the moon which, being the repository of digits, exceedingly adorns all quarters and maintains all (*chakōra*) birds.[1]

(V. 42) The learned Tribhuvanapāla has composed this *praśasti* (eulogy) resembling a lake,—which is full of flavour (*as a lake has abundant water*), is profound (*as a lake is deep*) and clear and is pleasing to the thoughts of poets.

(V. 43) The wise Kumārapāla, who has attained excellence in learning and fine arts, has with eagerness written this *praśasti* resembling a necklace of pearls—which has the merit of (*being composed in*) good metres (*as the necklace has that of having well-rounded pearls*), which is rich in merits (*as the necklace is in threads*) and which (*like the necklace*) appears brilliant and is full of deep sentiments (*as the necklace is possessed of great charm*).[2]

(V. 44) This pleasant *praśasti*, abounding in sentiments, is incised in beautiful letters by the skilful and best sculptors named Dhanapati and Īśvara.

(V. 45) As long as the moon, the gem of the sky and the crest-jewel of (*Śiva*) the lord of Chaṇḍī, makes the orb (*of the earth*) white with its dense rays, as long as the lotus-dwelling (*goddess of fortune*) rests on the breast of the god who is distinguished by the (*mace*) Kaumōdakī (*i.e.*, of Vishṇu), even so long may this bright temple[3] shine on the orb of the earth!

(L. 36) The Year 915.

[1] There is a play on three expressions here which are intended to be construed with Tribhuvanapāla and the moon.

[2] The expressions in the first hemistich of this verse are on account of *double entendre* intended to be construed with the *praśasti* (eulogy) as well as with the *hārāvalī* (pearl-necklace).

[3] The text has *kīrti* which means 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Sōmanātha mentioned in verses 26 and 39.

No. 36—RAJGHAT PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVA: V. S. 1197

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A., DELHI

The record edited below consists of **two copper-plates** which were unearthed 5′ below surface from an ancient mound at **Rājghāṭ** in the northern outskirts of the city of Benares in the beginning of July 1940 in course of earth-work excavation by the East Indian Railway in connection with the project of the extension and remodelling of the Kashi railway station and the regirdering of the Dufferin Bridge on the Ganges. On receiving information of their discovery, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, promptly acquired them from the railway authorities through Mr. S. J. P. Cambridge, Engineer-in-charge of the project. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur Dikshit for kindly according me permission and every facility to edit the plates which are now deposited in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares.

The mound from which the plates were recovered is situated immediately to the east of the Kashi goods yard. Though the actual findspot has been levelled down to a depth of about 8′ below the top of the mound an d abuts on the compound of the office of the said project, marking the middle of its northern boundary line, the continuation of the mound in the north, which is perched by some Muslim graves and a well, still stands intact and attests the original contour and height of the mound. An examination of the cutting of the mound revealed traces of old structural remains at the same level with the findspot of the plates, superimposed by a later concrete floor of perhaps the Muslim period. In view of the continued occupation in antiquity of the Rājghāṭ site from the Śuṅga to the Gāhaḍavāla period, which has been proved by the subsequent excavations of the Archæological Department, it is quite likely that the plates were found from the Gāhaḍavāla stratum, if not actually from the house of the grantee of the charter.

The set consists of two copper-plates, each measuring 15″×11½″. Their edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing which is inscribed on one side only of each plate. They are held together by a circular **ring** which passes through a ring-hole of ⅝″ diameter. The ring-hole is pierced through the middle of the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. To the ring is affixed a circular **seal**, measuring 2¾″ in diameter and bearing within a thin circular border and concentric band of incised indentations, representations of flying Garuḍa in the upper field and the *śaṅkha* in the lower, with the legend *Śrīmad-Gōviṁdachaṁdra-dēvaḥ*, engraved in Nāgarī in the middle. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 551 *tolas*. The plates were found securely packed in a roughly fashioned sandstone box made of two similar carved trays put one abo ve the other, each of which measures 24″×18″×3″. Originally the trays must have been held together by means of a string for which a number of grooves have been incised all along their outer edges. The inner recess of the stone receptacle was carved nearly to the size of the plates and a special projection with a deeply cut groove was provided in the middle of its width to accommodate the ring and the seal.

The plates are in an excellent state of preservation and the execution of the writing is careful and elegant. Altogether there are 35 lines of writing of which the first plate contains 18 lines and the second 17 lines. The height of the letters is ⅜″. The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. With the exception of 9 verses in the beginning and 10 imprecatory and benedictory verses in the end, the rest of the record is in prose. Like other Gāhaḍavāla records, the first verse of this is introductory in praise of Lakshmī and Vishṇu and the following eight are devoted to the eulogy of a succession of Gāhaḍavāla rulers ending with the donor of the grant.

In respect of **orthography** the following points are worth noting : (1) *B* is invariably denoted by the sign for *v*, e.g., *vāhu-valli-vaddh-* (l. 9), *=āmvu* (l.10), *vabhramur=* (l.11), *Kanyakuvj-* (ll. 12-13), *vōdhayaty=* (l. 18), etc. (2) *Sh* has been wrongly substituted for *kh* in *śēsharaṁ* (l. 22) and *kh* for *sh* in *°garttōkharaḥ* (l. 19). (3) *S* has been incorrectly used for *ś* in *yasaḥ* (l. 3), *Kāsi* (l. 5), *satasas=* (l. 6), *=ādisati* (l. 18), *visuddhaḥ* (l. 20), *sāsanam* (l. 35), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *śāṁdr-* (l. 10), *śēnāpati* (ll. 16-17), *sahaśrāṇi* (l. 28), *vaśundharāṁ* (l. 29), etc. (4) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been indiscriminately represented by either *anusvāra* or a nasal of the same class, e.g., *akuṇth-ōtkaṇṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *=āṅkitā* (l. 6), *maṇḍalē* (l. 8), *mantri-* (l. 16), etc., as against *Mahīchaṁdraś=* (ll. 2-3), *narēṁdraḥ* (l. 10), *Gōviṁdachaṁdra* (l. 15), *saṁplavam* (l. 32), *viṁdu* (l. 33), etc. (5) A consonant following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g., *dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjjitam* (l. 5), *-ōpārjjtta-* (l. 12), *sa-parṇṇ-* (l. 19), *tarppayitvā* (ll. 21-22), *gōkarṇṇa* (l. 23), *pūrvvakaṁ* (l. 24), *karmmāṇau* and *svargga-* (l. 27), *dharmmaḥ* (l. 33), etc., the few exceptions being *havirbhujaṁ* (l. 23), *sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ* (l. 34), etc. (6) *Anusvāra* has been rightly changed into final *m* at the end of the metrical stanza in *=ārjjitam* (l. 5), *phalam* (l. 31) and *saṁplavam* (l. 32), but not at the end of the second quarter as in *vaśundharāṁ* (l. 29), *aṅgulaṁ* (l. 31), etc. (7) *Kākapada* sign has been used at the end of lines 9, 12 and 24 to show in each case that the last word could not be completed in that line and is continued in the next line. (8) Ornamental scroll patterns have been introduced between the *daṇḍas* in lines 15, 26 and 35. Similar ornamental designs also occur in other Gāhaḍavāla records like the Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh plate of Gōvindachandradēva (V. S. 1186).[1]

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara* **Gōvindachandradēva**, the **Gāhaḍavāla** ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom as many as forty-three records[2] dating from V. S. 1171 to V. S. 1211 (A. D. 1114-1154) are already known. The present record repeats the draft of the other copper-plate grants of the ruler, the only new information which it yields being contained in the grant portion. The usual genealogy is given in verses 2-9 and again in lines 11-15.

The **date** of the grant is recorded both in words and in decimal figures in lines 20-21 as Sunday, the Kārttikī or the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1197, which regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1140. This date is not of much interest as we already have a grant of the ruler dated in V. S. 1197.[3]

The **object** of the grant is to record the gift of the village **Bhādapa-Nāṁdapa** together with its *pāṭakas*, in the **Amavālī**-*pattalā* to the Brahmin **Bhaṭṭa-Aṁtapāṇiśarmman,** of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and the three *pravaras*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Vatsa, son of Bhāṁmu and grandson of Jatanāyiva. The gift was made by Gōvindachandradēva after bathing in the Ganges at **Vārāṇasī** in the **Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa**. The Chandrāvati plate of Chandradēva of V. S. 1156, which also refers to the god Ādikēśava, is the earliest record to mention the Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa which is described as *janita-Surasarid-Varaṇ-āghamarshaṇa*,[4] implying that it was situated on the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Barnā. The present situation of the Ādikēśava *ghāṭ* exactly conforms to this description and it is interesting to note the close promixity of the *ghāṭ* to the findspot of the present copper-plates. Two other Gāhaḍavāla

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 22 ff.

[2] See R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 369 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 114.

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 198, l.16.

records mention the Ādikēśava-ghaṭṭa[1] and three more the god Ādikēśava[2], whose shrine then, as now, was situated on the *ghāṭ* bearing the same name. But the earliest epigraphical reference to this deity, probably the family deity of the Gāhaḍavālas, is found in the following verse occurring in the Chandrāvati plates of Chandradēva of V. S. 1150[3].

हैमानि येन मणिभिः खचितान्यनर्घ्यै-
र्दत्तानि विष्णुहरये च विभूषणानि ।
काश्यां व्यभूषयदनेकसुवर्णरत्नै-
र्यश्चादिकेशवविभोः प्रतिमां निवेश्य ॥[८ ॥*]

This gives us the valuable information that the image of Ādikēśava was installed by Chandradēva in or before V. S. 1150. It is true that the *Kāśi-Khaṇḍa*[4] of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* contains references to Ādikēśava, but as the age of the work is uncertain and the references are purely of a mythological character, it does not help us to determine whether or not the shrine existed before Chandradēva's period. In the absence of any contradictory evidence, we shall be justified in presuming that Chandradēva was the builder of the Ādikēśava shrine, which comes into prominence only from the 12th century A.D. onwards.

Fortunately the **localities** mentioned in the grant can nearly all be identified. **Bhādapa,** the first component of the compound name of the gift village Bhādapa-Nāṁdapa, is the same as the modern Bhadaūn village, which is hardly quarter of a mile to the west of Rājghāṭ where the plates were found. The latter half of the compound, *viz.* **Nāṁdapa,** is perhaps represented by Nadesar, situated in Benares Cantonment, about 2 miles further west. I am, however, unable to identify Amavālī-*pattalā* . This may be identical with the Amvuāli-*pattalā*, mentioned in the Benares plate of Jayachchandradēva of V. S. 1234[5], wherein it is described as *Daivahā-pāre, i.e.*, situated across the Daivahā (river).

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 787; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVI, Part I, p. 109, l. 19.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 252; Above, Vol. IV, p. 119, l.18 and p. 124, l. 24.

[3] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 192 ff. For the verse see plate opposite p. 191, l.6. It is strange that the editor of this record omitted even to transcribe some new and historically important verses occurring at the beginning of the record. Some of the verses are also found in the Chandrāvati plate of V. S. 1156, which is edited together with the former record. Among such verses are the following which throw light on the vexed question as to who the immediate predecessors of the Gāhaḍavālas were on the throne of Kanauj :

आसीदशे(शे)षनरनाथकिरीटकोटिसंघट्टघट्टिततलसन्नखिपादपीठः । श्रीदेवपालनृपतिस्त्र(स्त्रि)जगत्प्रगीतकुन्देन्दुधामहिमकैरवकान्तकीर्त्तिः ॥[१*] कालेन नाश(श)मथ तस्य गतेन्वबाये दोर्दण्डविक्रमहठार्ज्जितकन्यकुब्जः(ब्जः) । आवीयमत्र ब(ब)हुपवरयानुगम्यमानोऽथ ति- विजयते भुवि भूपवंशः ॥[२॥*] तस्मिन्वंशे समुत्पन्नो यशोविग्रहसंज्ञकः ।

This Dēvapāla is no doubt the homonymous chief of the Rāsthṭrakūṭa family, who has been eulogistically referred to in the Badaun inscription of Lakhanapāla (above, Vol. I, p. 64, l. 5). This further corroborates the view of Dr. Tripathi (*History of Kanauj*, p. 290) that a branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas ruled over Kanauj immediately before the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas.

[4] Chap. 58, vv. 17 ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 133, l. 20.

TEXT [1]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10—16, 19, *Anushṭubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, 17, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*; v. 18 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 ओं[2] सिद्धिः ॥ अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स श्रियः श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥[१॥*] आसीदशीतद्युति-

2 वंशजातक्ष्मापालमालासु दिवंगतासु । साक्षादिवस्वानिव भूरिधाम्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥[२॥*] तत्सुतोभून्म-

3 हीचंद्रश(श्चं)द्रधामनिभं निजं । येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यसः(शः) ॥[३॥*] तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिक[:*] क्रान्तद्विषन्म-

4 ण्डलो विद(ध्व)स्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिरश्श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मिताशेष-प्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधि-

5 राज्यमसमं दोर्व्विक्रमेणार्ज्जितम् ॥[॥*] तीर्थानि का[3]सि(शि)कुशिकोत्तरकोशलेंद्रस्थानी-यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य[4] । हेमात्म-

6 तुल्यमनिसं(शं) ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती स(श)तस(श)स्तुलाभिः ॥[५॥*] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीं[5]द्रचूडामणिर्व्विज-

7 यते निजगोत्रचंद्रः । यस्याभिषेककलसोल्लसितै पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरित्र्याः ॥[६॥*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रया-

8 णसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभरभ्रस्य(श्य)न्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नवि-भिन्नतालुगलितस्त्यानासृगुद्भा-

9 सितः शेषः पेषवशादिव क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥[७॥*] तस्मादजायत निजायतवा(बा)हुवल्लिव(ब)द्धावरुद्धनवरा-[6]

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[1] From the original plates and estampages.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] *Kā* in *Kāsi* occurs below the line and was obviously added subsequently.

[4] Almost all the other Gāhaḍavāla records substitute *adhigamya* for *abhigamya* which here means the same thing.

[5] The *anusvāra* everywhere appears on the right of the medial sign but here it occurs on the left.

[6] The *kākapada* sign occurs here.

10 न्यगजो नरेंद्रः । शां(सां)द्रामृतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवा(वां) यो गोविन्दचंद्र इति चंद्र इवाम्बु(म्बु)राशेः ॥[८॥*] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमास्तिसृ-

11 षु दिक्षु गजानथ वज्रिणः । ककुभि व(ब)भ्रमुरभ्रमुवल्लभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटा-गजाः ॥[९॥*] सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचर-

12 णः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्ज्जितश्रीकन्यकु-[1]

13 ब्जा(ब्जा)धिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमद-नपालदेवपा-

14 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रया-

15 धिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्गोविंदचंद्रदेवो विजयी ।[2] । श्रमवालोपत्तलायाम् । सपाटक-

16 भादपनांदपग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहित-प्रतीहारशे(से)ना-

17 पतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधि-कारिपुरुषा-

18 नाज्ञापयति वो(बो)धयत्यादिश(स)ति च [॥*] यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां[3] यथोपरिलि-खि[त*]ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः

Second Plate

19 समत्स्य[4](त्स्या)करः सगर्त्ताकरः सगर्त्तोख(ष)रः समधूकचूतवनविटपवाटिकातृणयूतिगोचर-पर्यन्तः सोद्ध(र्द्धा)धश्चतुराघाट-

20 विशु(शु)द्धः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सप्तनवत्यधिकैकादश(श)शतसम्वत्सरे कार्त्तिक्यां रविदिने अङ्कतोपि सम्वत् ११९७ कार्त्तिक सु(शु)दि १५

21 रवौ ॥ अद्येह श्रीमद्वाराणस्यां श्रीमदादिकेशवघट्टे विधिव[त्]स्नात्वा मन्त्रदेव-मुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्त-

22 [र्प्प]यित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहसमुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिशकलशेख(ख)रं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातु-

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[1] *Kākapada.*

[2] An ornamental pattern between two *daṇḍas* occupies one inch of space here.

[3] Between *bhava* and *tāṁ* there is a gap marked by a *daṇḍa* at either end because of the interposition of the ring-hole.

[4] The reading *sa-matsa-ākaraḥ* is also likely and will yield the same sense.

23 र्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-
वृद्धये गोकर्ण्णकुशलता-

24 पूतकरतलोदकपूर्व्वकं[1]मस्माभिः भारद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजआङ्गिरसवार्हस्पत्यत्रि:प्रवराय:[2] जतना-
यिव-[3]

25 पौत्राय भांसुपुत्राय भट्टश्रीअनंतपाणिस(श)र्म्मणे ब्राह्मणायाचंद्रार्क्कं यावच्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो
मत्वा यथादीयमान-

26 भागभोगकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्व्वादायानाज्ञाश्रवणा(णा)विधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ।
भवन्ति चात्र

27 पुण्यश्लोकाः ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यक-
र्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[१०॥*] शंखं भ-

28 द्रासनं च्छ(छ)त्रं वराश्वा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर
॥[११॥*] षष्ठिं(ष्टिं) वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमि-

29 दः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[१२॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरेत वसु(सु)न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा [पि]तृ-

30 भिः सह मज्जति ॥[१३॥*] तडागानां सहस्रे(स्रे)ण वाजपेयस(श)तेन च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥[१४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भु-

31 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[१५॥*]
सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमिरप्येकमङ्गुलं ।

32 हरन्न(न्न)रकमाप्नोति यावदाहूतसंप्लवम् ॥[१६॥*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपे(प)त्य-
मापातमात्रमधुरा विषयोपभोगाः । प्रा-

33 णास्तृणाग्रजलविंदुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[१७॥*] सर्व्वा-
नेतान्भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भू-

34 यो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः
॥[१८॥*] अस्मद्वंशे व्यतिक्रान्ते

35 यः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं करलग्नोस्मि सा(शा)सनं मा व्यतिक्रमेदिति
॥[१९॥*] श्रीं[5] ॥ [6]॥ [6]॥

[1] The *anusvāra* here is redundant.

[2] Read *tri-pravarāya*.

[3] The *kākapada* sign occurs here.

[4] Between the two *daṇḍas* occurs an ornamental design.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Ornamental design.

No. 37.—CAPE COMORIN INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I

BY R. VASUDEVA PODUVAL, B.A., DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGY, TRAVANCORE STATE

Cape Comorin, also called Kanyākumāri, is the southernmost point of India. It is, in some ancient records, mentioned as Kaḷikkuḍi[1] situated in the Puṟattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttama-Chōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, in Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍi-nāḍu (or-maṇḍalam)[2]. Kanyākumāri was named Gaṅgai-koṇḍachōḷapuram by Rājēndrachōḷadēva I. It is situated at a distance of 3½ miles from Agastīśvaram, a village in the taluk of that name in the Trivandrum Division of the Travancore State. The name 'Kanyākumāri' came into vogue after the virgin Goddess *i.e.*, Pārvatī or Durgā to whom the important temple in the place is dedicated. The place is variously known as Kanni, Kumari or Kanyākumāri.[3] It was included in the domain of the Pāṇḍya kings and formed its southern boundary.[4] From time immemorial, the Pāṇḍyas were the guardians of Kanyākumāri and its temple, one of their distinguishing titles being *Kaṉṉi-kāvalaṉ*, the guardian of Kanni *i.e.*, Kanyākumāri.[4]

Kanyākumāri is considered a very sacred place by the Hindus; and its antiquity can be traced to a remote past. "Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the Goddess once upon a time resided at the place and bathed."[5]

The *Mahābhārata*[6] and the *Maṇimēkalai*[7] speak of the sanctity of Kanyākumāri. The author of Periplus (A.D. 85), Ptolemy (A.D. 150), the Muhammadan historian Abulfeida (A.D. 1203), the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (A.D. 13th century) and many Tamiḻ poets of the Śaṅgam age have made references to Cape Comorin.

The temple of the Goddess Kanyākumāri is built on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. It has a large wealth of epigraphical material throwing light on the history of some of the South Indian dynasties such as the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, Vijayanagara kings, and the royal house of Travancore. The inscription of Vīrarājēndra[8] is the most important one in the temple, and may be fitly called the *Chōḷa-vaṁśa-praśasti*. It is extremely important for the history of the Chōḷas as it contains much information hitherto unknown to history.

The existence of several Chōḷa inscriptions in Cape Comorin and its suburbs shows that the southern part of Travancore was once under the rule of Chōḷa kings in ancient days. Especially during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, the power of Chōḷa kings was considerably strengthened in the Tamil land. An inscription of Kulōttuṅga at Chidambaram[9] states that the king defeated an army at Kōṭṭār (in South Travancore) and burnt the fortress of the place. It also mentions that he erected a pillar of victory at the sea-coast.

[1] *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I, p. 161.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[3] *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (1894), pp. 3 and 21.
[4] *Tamil Nigaṇḍu.*
[5] Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 19; *I. A. S.*, vol. III, p. 87 ff.
[6] *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan.
[7] *Maṇimēkalai* (1931), pp. 57, 142 and 199.
[8] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21--55, and *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 85—158.
[9] Above, Vol. V, p. 103 f.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a pillar on the north of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* in front of the *utsava* shrine of the Kanyābhagavatī temple. It belongs to the **fourteenth year** of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva** I (A.D. 1084). The record is in sixteen lines and occupies a space of 24 inches square. Some of the letters in lines 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16 are indistinct. The **language** and **script** of the inscription are Tamiḻ and bear a close resemblance to those of the Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam record of Kulōttuṅga I[1].

There are four inscriptions[2] of Kulōttuṅga I already published in the *Travancore Archæological Series.* Two of them are from the Śiva temple at Chōḷapuram and one from Vāriyūr in South Travancore. The present one is the fifth of his records discovered in Travancore and the first noticed at Cape Comorin. It refers to certain arrangements for the feeding of Brahmins in the temple of Kanyā-Paṭāriyār at **Kumari** situated in **Puṟattāya-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Uttamachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu** in Rājarāja—Ppāṇḍināḍu.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu** is the tract of land which included Kanyākumāri or modern Cape Comorin. **Uttamachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu** is a division of the Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu. **Puṟattāya-nāḍu** means a *nāḍu* which is outside the country. The country east of Kōṭṭār was known in the olden days as Puṟattāya-nāḍu or the country outside Vēṇāḍ.[3] It was a sub-division of Uttamachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu mentioned above. **Rāyakkuḍi, Peruṅkuḍi** and **Śeṅgaḷūr** are villages contiguous to Kanyākumāri.

TEXT

1 Svasti Śrī[||*]**Kulōttuṅga-[Chōḷadē]-**
2 **vaṟku yāṇḍu [padiṉṉālāvadu]**
3 Irājarāja-[Ppāṇḍi-nāṭṭu] Ut-
4 tama-Chōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu Puṟattā-
5 ya-nāṭṭu=**Kkumari**-Kkaṉṉi[yā-paṭā]ri-
6 yār kōyillil Brāhmaṇarai amidu-
7 cheyya=kkaṟpitta kalam nam[4] Rāya-
8 kkuḍi-chchālābōgattiṟ=kalam pa-
9 nniraṇḍum Peruṅkuḍi-chchālā-
10 bōgattil kalam irupattira[ṇ*]ḍum
11 Śeṅgaḷūr-āṉa Śikā[5]....maṅgalat-
12 tu=kkalam panniraṇḍum ....
13 Chchāttaṉēri-kkalam iraṇḍum ā
14 ....[6]i-chchā-
15 lābōgattil [aimpa]du[7] Brāhmaṇā-
16 r=amirdu variyil-iṭṭukkuḍuttōm [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the **14th (regnal) year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva** (I), We have given for the feeding of Brahmins in the Kaṉṉiyā-Paṭāriyār temple at **Kumari** belonging to Puṟattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttamachōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍināḍu: 12 *kalams* from our Rāyakkuḍi *śālābhōgam* (*i.e.*, endowment of land for the maintenance of a rest house, etc.), 2 *kalams* from Peruṅkuḍi *śālābhōgam*, 12 *kalams* from Śengaḷūr *alias Śikā*......maṅgalam and two *kalams* from ....Chāttanēri.

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 165 ff.

[2] *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 242—248.

[3] *Travancore State Manual* (1906), Vol. I, p. 180.

[4] [Reading is *Naṟṟirāyakkuḍi*; and this village is apparently the same as Naṟṟirākkuḍi mentioned in the Kanyākumāri inscription Vīrarājēndra (*T. A. S.*, Vol. III, p. 149, text-line 440).—N. L. R.]

[5] [Reading is *Śikaraṇamaṅgalattu*.—N. L. R.]

[6] [Reading is *ga kalam nāṟpattu eṭṭum*.—V. V.]

[7] [Reading is *nimanta*.—V. V.]

No. 38.—BAUDH PLATES OF SALONABHANJA

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A., SAMBALPUR

These **copper-plates** were sent to Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Officiating Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the 9th July, 1939, by Mr. S. Roy, B.A., Bar-at-law, the Dewan of the Baudh State, Orissa. According to the information furnished by the latter, they were found by one Braja Padhan, a cultivator of **Baudhgarh,** the capital of the State, while cultivating his paddy field on the 4th July, 1939. I am indebted to Mr. Ramachandran for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plates.

They are **three** in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{10}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ across the centre, and are held together by a copper **ring** about 12″ in circumference, which passes through the hole made in the top centre of each plate. The ends of the ring are secured by a **seal** containing the figure of a vase in relief, but no legend. The inscription consists of 42 lines of writing incised on both the sides of the middle sheet and on the inner face of the first and last sheets. The letters are well-formed and deep-cut, and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh about 134 *tolas*.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The composition of the record is mostly in verse and partly in prose. It contains some grammatical and spelling mistakes which are corrected in their proper places. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: (1) *v* is used for *b* invariably; (2) a consonant following *r* is in some cases reduplicated and in others left single, *e.g.*, *kīrttiḥ* and *Durjaya*, l. 5; (3) *s* is often used for *ś* as in *vaṁsē*. l. 2; (4) *anusvāra* occasionally takes the place of a class nasal and a final *m*, for example, in *maṁḍal-*, l. 6, and *varjitaṁ*, l. 16.

The **characters** used in the record are proto-Oriya and may be classed with those used in the Ādipur plate of Durjayabhañja[1], the Mahaḍā plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman[2], the Patna Museum plates of Sōmēśvara[3] and the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja[4]. The last named grant has been assigned to the third quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar. If this dating be accepted, the present plates must be placed in the middle or the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., because in the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja, certain letters, such as *p*, *m*, *s*, and *y* still retain their earlier forms and are found along with most other letters, without rounded tops, while in the present grant, they as well as most other letters show distinct rounded tops, which is a peculiarity of the modern Oriya script and which must have taken at least a century to develop. But in the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. we find full-fledged Oriya script, with very slight difference from the modern one in one copper-plate grant of Purushōttamadēva, King of Orissa.[5] The charter under review, therefore, cannot be assigned to the fifteenth century, much less to the sixteenth century A.D. It must be placed in the fourteenth century A.D. at the latest and consequently other plates containing proto-Oriya characters with less developed rounded tops must be pushed back to the thirteenth century A.D. or even earlier.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Nayaḍā** situated in the Khatyā- *vishaya* of the Gandharavāḍi- *maṇḍala* to a Brahmin named Mahādēva, son of Krishṇa and grandson of Gōnla, belonging to the Kāśyapa-*gōtra* and the Yajurvēda by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śrī-**Salōṇabhañjadēva,** son of Durjayabhañja and grandson of Śilābhañja.

[1] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 172 f., and plate.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff., and plate
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff., and plat
[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 356-374, and plates.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, pp. 355 ff., and plate.

Salōṇabhañja, the donor, is not known from any other record. Sōlaṇabhañja of the Baudh plates of Kanakabhañja,[1] represented as the father of Raṇabhañja and grandfather of Kanakabhañja, must be an altogether different person, since, in view of the foregoing palæographical discussions, the two records cannot be regarded as belonging to one and the same period. The donor, unlike other Bhañja rulers of Khijjiṅgakōṭṭa[2] and Khiñjali[3], does not trace the origin of his family to a peahen's egg nor speaks of Vaśishṭha as the protector of the family. But like Kanakabhañja of the Baudh plates, he represents Kāśyapa as the progenitor of his family—a name which is generally connected with the persons whose family name is unknown. It seems probable that this branch of the Bhañja family to which the donor belonged, forgot its ancient connection with the main Bhañja line and came to be regarded as a distinct dynasty.

Svarṇṇapura from which Durjayabhañja, the father of the donor, is said to have ruled, may be identical with modern Sonepur, the headquarters of the State of the same name. **Gandharavāḍi** and **Khatyā** may respectively be identified with Gōchhābāri in the Baudh State and Kaintrāgarh in the Athmallik State. The latter is situated on the north bank of the Mahānadī river and is not far from the headquarters of the Athmallik State. Since the gift village Nayaḍā included in the *vishaya* of Khatyā is said to have the Mahānadī river as its northern boundary (l. 25), the identification of Khatyā with Kaintrā is placed on surer grounds. The word *garh* (fort) which is generally added to the names of old places in Orissa, must have come to be associated with it later on. From the identification of the place-names given above, it seems clear that the territories ruled over by Salōṇabhañja, his father and grandfather roughly comprised the tracts now known as Sonepur, Baudh and Athmallik States of Orissa.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Siddham[5] [||*] Ōṁ namō Nārāyaṇāya || Svasti śrī-Kāsya (śya)pō dhanyō mu-

2 ni-mā(r=mā)nyas=tapō-dhikaḥ | tad-vaṁsē(śē) **Bhañja**-vaṁśō=yam=āsīch=chhūra-

3 ḥ sva-dharma-kṛita(t) || [1*][6] Yō maṇḍalaṁ **Gandharavāḍi**-saṁjñam=utpādayāmāsa bhu-

4 jā-va(ba)lēna | va(ba)lēna Sōm-ōdbhava-bhuktam=āsīt=sa śrī-**Śilābhañja** u-

5 dāra-kīrttiḥ || [2*][7] Tasy=ātmajō **Durjayabhañja**-nāmā nṛipō=vasat=**Svarṇṇapurē**-nvaśā-

6 [8]ch=cha | yō maṁḍal-ēsō(śā)n=nija-vā(bā)hu-vīryād=āsīd=raṇē śūra-jan-āgraṇi(ṇī)-gyaḥ(jñaḥ)[9] || [3*][7]

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 356 ff.

[2] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol., XIII, pp. 418 ff.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 429 ff. The editor of this document, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, wrongly reads *vō-(bō)dhayati* as *Baudha-pati*, which also seems to have been accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India, No.* 1490.

[4] From inked impressions and the original.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

[7] Metre : *Upajāti.*

[8] Before *ch=cha* there is a cancelled letter.

[9] [The reading appears to be *-āgralēgrayaḥ* which is presumably intended for *-āgraṇīr=yaḥ*.—B. C. C.]

7 Tat-sūnuḥ śrī-**Salōṇaḥ** sakala-jana-manō-vāñchhit-ārtha-pradātā datta-kshmā-gō-

8 hiraṇy-ānna-kṛita-va(ba)hu-vṛi(bṛi)hat[1]-pushkara(ri)ṇy-ādi-va(ba)ndhaḥ || (|) nity-ānush ṭhāna-karma-praja-

9 nita-yaśas=āchchhādita-dvēshi-paska(paksha)ḥ śaśvat saṁgrāma-mūrddhany=ari-nikara-śirō

10 lāghavēna nyavādāt || [4*][2] Madhya-dēś-ōdbhavō vipraḥ śruti-smṛti-purāṇa-vit || (|) nā-

11 mnā Gōula ity=āsich=chhāntaḥ Kāśyapa-gōtrajaḥ || [5*][3] Tat-putraḥ Kṛishṇa-nām=āsīd= Yaju-

12 rvēda-vid=ātmavit [|*] vra(bra)hma-nyasta-manaskaḥ san=nīta-kā[l]-āvaśēshakaḥ || [6*][3] Tat-sū-

Second Plate ; First Side

13 nus=tārkikō jñāta-vēdāntō vēda-vit=kaviḥ | upāsanī-

14 Mahādēvaḥ śrīmān=pātraṁ sa uttamaṁ(m) || [7*][3] Khatyā-vishaya-sa-

15 mva(mba)ddhaṁ Gandharavāḍi-maṇḍalē | **Nayaḍā**-grāmam=ētasmai sa-

16 rv-ōpadrava-varjitaṁ(m) | [8*][3] Sa-nidhy-upanidhiñ=ch=ēmaṁ s-ōpajāt-ānya-

17 vastukaṁ | sa śrī-Salōṇabhaṁjō=yaṁ dattavān-pu-

18 ṇya-vṛiddhayē || [9*][3] Prati-saṁvatsaraṁ dēyaṁ nṛipa-vandāpa-

19 n-ārthakaṁ(m) | grām-ādhipatinā vāsō-yugam=ēkaṁ nṛipē=pa-

20 raṁ(m)[4] [10*][3] Grāmaś=ch=āyaṁ pūrvasyāṁ diśi rāja-prativa(ba)d·dha-

21 purushair=vishaya-pradhāna-purushaiś=cha dṛishṭa-sīm-ā-

22 rōpita-śil-āvachchhinnaḥ | dakshiṇasyām=api diśi tai-

23 r=dṛi[shṭa]-sīmā-samārōpita-śilā-vichchhinnaḥ | paśchi-

Second Plate ; Second Side

24 mataḥ Tuṇḍariḍhiṅgā-sīmā-vichchhinnaḥ | utta-

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[1] This *t* is final, not conjoined with the following *pu*.

[2] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[3] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[4] This means : " The village-lord, however, should every year present the king with a pair of garments as a token of respect for the king". The village-lord here undoubtedly refers to the donee, as the village granted was to be entirely his personal property. There is nothing unusual in Brahmins or priests making presents of shawls, etc., accompanied with their blessings, to the ruling chiefs, but to make a stipulation of that nature in a charter as is done in the present instance, strikes as something very uncommon and revolting to the orthodox idea. Such a thing, so far as I know, is not met with in any other grant from Orissa or elsewhere. Still, I may observe that in the Orissa feudatory States there is a custom prevalent to this day, which requires every Brahmin holding rent-free land under a copper-plate grant to present the ruler with one rupee, a cocoanut and a sacred thread (*upavīta*). Formerly that was done on the Orissa new-year day, but now it is done at any time in the year. The non-presentation of the last two items is generally tolerated, but the rupee is realised even through legal procedure. The headman entrusted with the collection of these presents is called *Pāṇigrāhī* who enjoys the largest share of the land in a Brahmin village (*śāsana*). This custom seems to be a vestige of the one spoken of in the present record. [It may be added that in some later inscriptions from Chambā (*Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, under publication), the Brahmin donees are likewise asked to pay certain annual tribute to the ruler. From the Jungrāṛ plate of Bhōtavarman (c. A. D. 1397-1436), for instance, we learn that the grantee was required to supply the king, presumably every year, with four pieces of elephants' rugs.—B. C. C.]

25 ratō diśi Mahānady-arddha-srōtaḥ-sīmā-vichchhinna-

26 ḥ || ēvaṁ chatuḥ-sīmā-parichchhinnō=yam=asmad-**Bhañja-vaṁśē**

27 yē maṇḍal-ādhikāriṇō bhavishyanti tair=avaśyaṁ yathāvat

28 paripālanīyaḥ || tathā ch=āsminn=arthē maharshibhir=udāhṛitaṁ śā-

29 straṁ smaranti | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |

30 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [11*][1] Mā bhūd=aphala-

31 śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dattāt=phalam=ādhikyaṁ para-da-

32 tt-ānupālanē || [12*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkam=vā bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgu-

33 laṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaḥ || [13*][1] Sva-dattāṁ para-

Third Plate

34 dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | kra(kṛi)mir=bhūtaḥ sa vishṭhā-

35 yāṁ pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē | (||) [14*][1] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhū-

36 miṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau niyatau svarga-gāminau [15*][1] kiñ=cha |

37 Mama va[ṁ*]śē parī(ri)kshīṇē yaḥ kaśchin=nṛipatir=bhavēt | tasy=āhaṁ pāda-la=

38 gnō=smi mama dattaṁ na lōpayēd=iti(d[|| 16*] iti) || 0 ||[1] Vakaisiṁg-āvasthitau | para-

39 ma-vaishṇava-samasta-praśasty-alaṁkṛita-mahāmaṁḍalēśvara-śrī-Sa-

40 lōṇabhaṁjadēvasya pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē **saptaviṁśati-**

41 **tamē saṁvatsarē** Phālguna-śukla-trayōdasyāṁ(śyāṁ).......... [2]|| 0 ||

42 likhitam=idaṁ tāma(mra)śāsanam=iti ||

No. 39.—A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF KING MALAYAVARMAN

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University

The inscription, which is here being edited for the first time, has been engraved on a stone fragment, which was lying with an overseer of the P. W. D. of the Kotah State, posted at **Mongrol.** When I visited this place in 1936 during the course of my archæological explorations organised by the state authorities, the overseer was good enough to show me the inscribed piece lying with him. He could not say from where it was obtained, but it is obvious that it could not have been from a place far away from Mongrol. The stone fragment is very irregular in shape. Its breadth varies from five to ten inches, and its height from two to six inches. It is at present preserved in the office of the State Historian, Kotah.

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] These two letters, which were probably *miti*, are cancelled.

Letters of nine lines are visible on the stone; of these the first is too fragmentary to permit any intelligent reading. The existence of a tenth line can be inferred from the slight traces of the tops of two of its letters that can be seen below the ninth line. The original line of the inscription was longer than the longest line preserved on the stone, but how much longer it was we cannot say. Nor can we make any conjecture as to how many lines the record originally contained.

The inscription has been very neatly engraved and the **characters** are the Nāgarī characters of the 13th century A. D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is, so far as the preserved portion shows, composed in verse. The composer was a good master of the ornate style of poetry, which was popular in contemporary times.

To judge from the fragments preserved, it would appear that the inscription contained the eulogy of a king named **Malayavarman.** His name appears thrice in the preserved portion, in ll. 2, 3 and 7, though in slightly varying forms. The pedigree of the king and the name of his house are not to be found in the present fragment, but there can be no doubt that king Malayavarman of our record is to be identified with the ruler of the same name belonging to the **feudatory Pratīhāra family ruling at Gwalior,** who is known to us from his own plate found at Kurēṭhā in Gwalior State, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1277, and from that of his brother Nṛivarman, found at the same place and dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1304.[1] It is unfortunate that both these records should still remain unpublished; we have only their brief summaries given by Dr. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report. A. S. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 59. From these it appears that king Malayavarman belonged to the Pratīhāra family ruling at Gwalior, that his grandfather was Pratāpasiṁha and father Vigraha. His mother was Lālhaṇadēvī, daughter of the Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇadēva of Nāḍōl. He had a younger brother named Nṛivarman. The identification of king Malayavarman of our record with the Pratīhāra king mentioned in the above two records is based upon two grounds. Firstly, the palæography of our record shows that it may have belonged to the 13th century A. D. Secondly, Mongrol, where this inscribed stone was recovered, is only about 100 miles from Gwalior, which was under the rule of the Pratīhāra kings Malayavarman and Nṛivarman. It may further be pointed out that we do not yet know of any other king, named Malayavarman, ruling in this part of the country during the 12th or the 13th century A.D.

The Malayavarman of our record is further to be identified with the king of the same name, whose coins have been published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* at p. 92 and Plate X. These coins have the crude figure of a horseman on one side and the king's name, written in three lines, on the other. The coins are rather unique, because after the king's name, they also give the year of their issue. Saṁvat 1280 and [12]83 are the dates supplied by coins for Malayavarman, and his Kurēṭhā plate was issued in Vikrama Saṁvat 1277. It is thus clear that the Malayavarman of the coins is identical with the Malayavarman of the Kurēṭhā plate, as proved conclusively by their dates; our Malayavarman can be no different personage. It may be added that the coins of Malayavarman are found at Gwalior, Jhansi and Narwar, which are not far distant from Kotah State, where this inscription was found.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. Only the letters *-tyatō-* of the first line are visible, but we cannot make out any sense from then.. The second line opens with the name of king Malayavarman; what follows is too fragmentary to be made out. The third line once more mentions the name of the king as one 'in which the word *malaya* precedes the word

[1] Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 475 and 541.

varma ; the words *chētō mama* occurring at its beginning cannot be confidently construed. The beginning of the fourth line can be definitely restored as [*yadī*]*yaṁ yaśaḥ* ; it obviously referred to the king's fame. We are told that its constant proclamation stunned people into deafness and raised tears of joy in their eyes, as described in the remaining part of the line. The next three lines seem to refer to the marriage of the king. In l. 5 apparently the hope is expressed that a certain lady may ascend the bed of dalliance of the king. In l. 6 there is a reference to a *brahmachārī* ; it was probably the smoke of the sacrifice in his marriage which blinded the eyes of the damsels moving in the sky, as stated in the remaining portion of the line. The term *ēnām* of the next line (l. 7), which is placed in close juxtaposition with king Malaya, probably refers to the bride, the marriage with whom was described in the previous line. L. 8 refers to a world-conquering warrior, who was killed, obviously by the hero of the record. The conquests (*jitāni*) mentioned in the next line must also be attributed to him. It is unfortunate that the portions of our record which mentioned the name of the enemy killed by Malayavarman and, gave further details of his conquest, should not have been preserved in the fragment now available. But from the data supplied by the Kurēṭhā plate of king Malayavarman and the accounts of the Muslim historians, we can well infer as to what may have been described in this part of the record.

Qutbu-d-din Aibak had captured the fort of Gwalior from the Pratīhāras in 1196 A. D. The Kurēṭhā plate of Malayavarman claims that this fort was recaptured by the king from the Muslims,[1] and the Muslim historians also admit that in the confusion that followed the death of Aibak, the Hindus were able to recapture the fort and retain it in their possession till it was stormed by Iltutmish in 1232 A. D.[2] It is probably this exploit of king Malayavarman that is referred to in ll. 8 and 9 of our record. We are told that the opponent of Malayavarman was killed. It would appear that the Muslim general, who was in charge of the fort of Gwalior, died fighting when he lost the fort to king Malayavarman. The word *jitāni* (conquests), which alone is preserved in the next line, obviously referred to the further achievements of our hero.

What remains of the record makes it fairly clear that it was a very important historical record, giving the Hindu version of the recapture of Gwalior. It is a pity that only a fragment of it should have been found.

TEXT.[3]

1 . . त्यतो . . . . .

2 श्रीमलयवर्म्मणः । रञ्जितेर्ष्यञ्जु[तौ] य . .

3 च चेतो मम मलयपुरी वर्म्मस(सं)प्रचितोन्दो(न्द्रो)[4] .. ..

4 [यदी]यं यशः । मूकत्वेव पुनः पुनर्व्व(र्व्वं)धिरतां धत्ते च हर्षाश्रु[भिः ।][5]

5 तन्नो हि सः । लीलातल्पमसौ तवैव हि पुनर्म्मूं ..

[1] *PRAS. W. C.*, 1915-6, p. 59.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. II, p. 379.

[3] From an ink-impression.

[4] Metre : *Sragdharā*.

[5] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

6 स ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारी । धूमयक्रेम्ब(म्ब)रचरवधूबा(बा)ष्पवर्षं वि[1] .. .

7 ·ै नो हरिः । यच्चेनां मलयचितोश्वर[2] . . .

8 ... विश्वविजयी नामावशेषीकृतः । कु . . .

9 . . . जितानि . . .

10 . . . .

No. 40—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SILAHARA CHHADVAIDEVA

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND M.G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

This grant was first brought to notice by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1919-20, pp. 55-6. No information is available about its original find-spot. It was in the collection of the late Mr. Gerson Da Cunha and was purchased by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in 1919. It has since been preserved in that Museum. In the aforementioned report Mr. Banerji has given a brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of the grant, but it has nowhere been critically edited so far.[3] In view of its historical importance, we edit it here with the kind permission of the authorities of the Prince of Wales Museum, which we secured through the good offices of Mr. G. R. Gyani, M.A., Curator of the Archæological Section of the Museum.

The grant is engraved on **three copper-plates**, of which the first and the third bear writing on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates measure about 7·4" broad and 6" high. Their total weight is 175 *tolas*. At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole[4] ·5" in diameter for the ring which originally held all the plates together, but no ring or seal has yet been found. The inscription contains 76 lines of writing, of which twenty are written on the inner side of the first plate, twenty-one and twenty on the first and the second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining fifteen on the inner side of the third plate. The writing is throughout in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Sinda prince Ādityavarman's grant dated Śaka 887[5]. Like the latter record, the present grant is written in a cursive hand. The technical execution is very bad as the record has throughout been written and engraved in a most negligent manner. Several letters, being very crudely and imperfectly formed, are changed quite out of recognition. There are, besides, mistakes of orthography, omissions of letters, and words and in two places (*viz.*, in lines 20 and 21) of nearly half a verse. As Mr. Banerji

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[1] Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

[2] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[3] Dr. Altekar has cited two passages from it and discussed some historical information contained in it in his *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 106 and 109, but he has not included it in his list of Śilāhāra inscriptions in the *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 430 ff.

[4] Banerji's statement that the copper-plates were not joined together as there is no hole in any one of them is incorrect.

[5] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff.

has remarked, these defects make the task of the decipherer none too enviable. In the genealogical portion which is in verse, the metre and the context often help him to make a lucky guess, but these aids also fail him when he has to read the formal portion, especially that which contains place-names. The subjoined transcript, therefore, shows, notwithstanding our best attempts, some lacunæ and uncertain readings, but nothing of historical interest has, we hope, been left undeciphered. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial genealogical portion in lines 1-39 is in verse. Then follows the formal portion in prose in lines 39-61. The usual benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 62-74. The record finally closes with a sentence in prose, mentioning the royal sanction of the grant. As shown below, the present inscription records a grant by a **Śilāhāra** prince of North Koṅkaṇ, but the draft of the genealogical portion used here is altogether different from that of the later grants of the Northern Śilāhāras. Curious as it might appear, however, it has one hemistich and one complete verse[1] in common with the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates dated Śaka 930 of the Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja who ruled over South Koṅkaṇ. As regards **orthography**, we may point out that the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* as in *ṭrilōki*, l. 6 ; the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled as in *puttrō-*, l. 8 ; *tarppit-*, l. 3 ; *v* is throughout used for *b* and the final *n* is in some places wrongly changed to *anusvāra*, see *bhagavāṁ*, l. 31.

The inscription is one of the Śilāhāra Mahāsāmanta **Chhadvaidēva**[2] of North Koṅkaṇ. The **object** of it is to record that Chhadvaidēva executed the grant which had been made by the illustrious Vajjaḍadēva[3], son of the illustrious Goggi, who, as shown below, was Chhadvaidēva's elder brother and predecessor on the throne. It seems that the grant though promised by Vajjaḍa I had not been reduced to writing during his lifetime. Lines 75-6 tell us that on coming to know of it, Chhadvaidēva granted the present charter recording the religious gift (*dharmadāya*[4]) without any alterations. The grant was of some land situated in the eastern part of the village Sālaṇaka[5] in the *vishaya* of Pāṇāda.[6] It was bounded on the east by the boundary of Manchakapallī, on the south by the road leading to Vakōlā and some salty land, on the west by a ditch and on the north by the junction of two streams. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Chāḍādēva[7] of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* who was a student of the Ṛigvēda and was then residing at Janhupura.[8]

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[1] The first hemistich of verse 7 of the present record appears as the first half of verse 3 in the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates, while verse 11 which describes Kṛishṇa III occurs in the same context as verse 6 in the latter grant. See above, Vol. III, p. 298.

[2] The name of this prince occurs four times (not twice as said by Banerji), *viz.*, in verses 16 and 25 in the metrical portion and in lines 42 and 75 in the prose portion. In the first two cases its reading is not quite certain owing to the extremely cursive nature of the letters, but in the last two cases the reading is undoubted. The form must have been *Chhadaya* in v. 25, *Chhadvai* in all other cases.

[3] Owing to the carelessness of the drafter of the record the text in l. 49 seems to convey that Chhadvaidēva himself made the grant. Lines 74 and 75, however, make it clear that it had already been made by Vajjaḍa (I) and that Chhadvaidēva only caused it to be recorded on the copper-plates.

[4] Banerji seems to have read *dharmmō=yaṁ* (instead of *dharmmadāyō=yaṁ*) in ll. 74-5. He doubtfully translated it as ' this law '.

[5] Banerji gives the name of the village as Salaprāka in one place and as Salapaka in another. The name probably occurred in two places, *viz.*, in lines 44-5 and 57-8, but the reading in the latter place is uncertain.

[6] Banerji read the name of the *vishaya* as Mālāda, but the impression before us certainly reads Pāṇāḍa.

[7] The name is clearly Chāḍādēva, not Chāḍadēva as read by Banerji.

[8] According to Banerji the donee was a *Brahmachārin* of the Vājasanēya (branch of the Yajurvēda), but the text in lines 54-5 seems to read *vahvṛicha-sa-vrahmachāriṇē*.

The inscription is not dated and in the absence of the necessary details the lunar eclipse mentioned in it cannot be verified. But as shown below, Chhadvaidēva was a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Kṛishṇa III. As the latter is known to have reigned from A. D. 939 to A. D. 967,[1] the record under discussion can be assigned to the middle of the 10th century A. D. It may be noted in this connection that the Bhādāna grant of Chhadvaidēva's nephew Aparājita, who apparently succeeded him is dated Śaka 919 (A. D. 987). As stated above, the characters of the present grant resemble those of the Sinda Ādityavarman's grant which is dated Śaka 887 and therefore both the grants belong to the same period.

The inscription opens with two *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Vishṇu and Śiva,[2] the second of which usually occurs in the beginning of Rāshṭrakūṭa records. The inscription then proceeds to give the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[3] to whom the Northern Śilāhāras owed allegiance. After mentioning such mythological and legendary ancestors as the moon, Budha, Purūravas, Āyu, Yayāti and Yadu, the inscription introduces the Rāshṭrakūṭa family in verse 6. The next verse mentions the following rulers: Dantidurga; his uncle, Kṛishṇarāja (I); Gōvinda (II); Nirupama (Dhruva); his son Jagattuṅga (*i e.*, Gōvinda III); his son Amōghavarsha (I); his son Akālavarsha (*i. e.*, Kṛishṇa II) and his grandson Indra (III). Verse 8 states that Indra III's brother Amōghavarsha (III)[4] completely eradicated the former's son Gōjjiga (*i.e.*, Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly and ruled the earth so as to please Śiva. It will be noticed that the present record omits the name of Amōghavarsha II, the elder son of Indra III, who preceded Gōvinda IV. Again, it does not state what injustice Gōvinda IV had committed. It has been suggested that the injustice was in respect of Gōvinda's elder brother Amōghavarsha II[5]. From the Bhādāna grant we know that the latter ruled only for a year. The Deoli and Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III state that Amōghavarsha went to heaven soon after his father as if out of love for him. The premature death of this prince is regarded as suspicious. It has been suggested that it was brought about or at least hastened by Gōvinda IV and confirmation of this is sought in the following verse which occurs in Gōvinda's own Sāngli[6] and Cambay[7] grants :—

सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे क्रूरता
व(ब)न्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्ज्जितं नायशः ।
शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाच्यमङ्गीकृतं
त्यागेनासमसाहसैश्च भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोभवत् ॥

which means "Ignominious cruelty was not practised (*by him*) with regard to (*his*) elder brother, (*though he*) had the power; (*he*) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (*illicit*) inter-course with the wife of (*his*) brother; (*he*) did not through fear resort to diabolical conduct which is

[1] See Altekar's *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., pp. 115 and 122, and above, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

[2] Banerji's statement that both the verses are devoted to the praise of Śiva and Umā is not quite correct.

[3] Three other Śilāhāra grants are known to have opened with the genealogies of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, *viz.*, the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates of Raṭṭarāja (above, Vol, III, pp. 297 ff.), the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita (*ibid.*, pp. 267 ff.), and another grant of the same king which has not yet been published. See Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.

[4] Banerji's statement that Amōghavarsha mentioned in v.8 is Amōghavarsha II and that he was uprooted in battle by Gōvinda IV is absolutely wrong.

[5] Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas, etc.*, p. 106,

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249,

[7] Above, Vol. VII, p. 36.

indifferent to what is pure and impure; (*but*) by (*his*) munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāṅka in the world"[1]. This is supposed to be a case of protesting too much and it is believed that Gōvinda IV, if not actually caused, at least hastened the death of his elder brother, had incestuous connection with his wife and usurped his throne.

But one would like to have stronger evidence to prove these serious charges. The aforementioned verse institutes a comparison between Gōvinda IV and the Gupta king Sāhasāṅka (*i.e.*, Chandragupta II). It states that though Gōvinda IV resembled Chandragupta II in munificence and daring, he did none of the heinous crimes of which the latter was guilty. We must remember that a similar comparison occurs in the Sañjān plates[2] of Amōghavarsha I. He is described therein as feeling ashamed when he was compared with a Gupta prince known for liberality (evidently Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya) as the latter had killed his brother and married his wife. In the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśēkhara again we have a comparison between Rāmagupta and Kārttikēya who has elsewhere[3] been shown to be the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla I of Kanauj. It seems that it was the practice of court-poets to institute such comparisons between their patrons and well-known princes of the Gupta dynasty and to show the superiority of the former to the latter. It would be unwise and unjust to see unintended insinuations in such comparisons. Besides, we have no other reference to the alleged evil actions of Gōvinda IV in any records of his successors, some of whom had little love for him and therefore would not have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true. From other inscriptions[4] we know that Amōghavarsha III fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV, which cost the latter his life. The present record also states that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV. It is therefore noteworthy that the Deoli and Karhāḍ plates of Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa III refer to Gōvinda's dissolute life[5], but are silent about these charges. On the other hand, they intimate that Amōghavarsha II died a natural, though premature, death. In the absence of further evidence, therefore, we are not inclined to hold Gōvinda IV guilty of the murder of his elder brother.

To the glorification of Amōghavarsha III the present inscription devotes two more verses. Verse 9 states that with the water of his coronation Amōghavarsha washed away his taints as well as his wealth and greatly purified his self. Verse 10 states that he surpassed the god of love in handsome form and that, as he had three white royal umbrellas, he was as it were waited upon by the moon in three forms, mistaking him for Mahēśa (Śiva). Amōghavarsha's handsome form is described in the Bhādāna grant[6] of Aparājita also, but that he had three royal umbrellas indicative of his suzerainty over three countries is stated nowhere else. The record under discussion does not specifically mention these countries, but the Deoli plates[7] of Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa III, which were issued soon after his accession, mention some victories which he had gained while he was a crown-prince. We learn that Kṛishṇa killed Rachhyāmalla (Rāchamalla),

[1] This translation is practically the same as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's (above, Vol. VII, p. 44), except that *bandhu* has been rendered as 'a brother' and not as 'a relative' in view of the information supplied by the recently published extracts from the *Dēvī-Chandragupta*.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 201 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 328 ff.

[5] Even these statements appear to be suspicious. They seem to imply that Gōvinda died of consumption as a result of his dissolute life. But the present record and the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa show that he lost his life in a rebellion of his feudatories fomented by Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III.

[6] Above, Vol. III, p. 271.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff. The verses occur also in the Karhāḍ plates of the same king which were issued sometime later.

the ruler of Gaṅgapāṭi or Gaṅgavāḍi and gave his kingdom to Bhūtārya (or Būtuga) and that he defeated and reduced to a sad condition the Pallava Aṇṇiga. Bhūtārya and Aṇṇiga are known from other records[1] also as the rulers of Gaṅgavāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi respectively. They were contemporaries of Amōghavarsha III. Gaṅgavāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi were thus included in the Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire during the time of Amōghavarsha III, though they were actually governed by his feudatories. These were evidently two of the three countries implied in v. 10. The third country must of course have been Kuntala, the home-province of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Kṛishṇa III who succeeded Amōghavarsha III is eulogised in five verses (11-15), but the description is merely conventional. He is said to have made several new grants and restored old ones and to have overthrown four kinds of feudatories[2]. The genealogy of Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers stops with Kṛishṇa III, during whose time the present grant was evidently made.

With verse 16 begins the description of the Śilāhāra dynasty. The dynastic name appears here in the form Śilāra. Verse 17 mentions the Vidyādhara Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtakētu, who offered his body to save serpents. His descendants assumed the form of Śilāra in order to give protection to the ocean when it was harrassed by the arrow of (Jāmadagnya, *i.e.*, Paraśurāma)[3]. Since then the princes of this dynasty came to be known as Śilāras. This is a novel interpretation of the dynastic name which, so far as we know, occurs nowhere else. The text does not make clear what is meant by Śilāra and no Sanskrit dictionary gives this word. The dynastic name sometimes appears in the form Śilāhāra and is then usually taken to mean 'food on a rock' with reference to the story of the Vidyādhara Jīmūtavāhana who sat on a rock to serve as food to Garuḍa.

Verses 20-25 name the following Śilāhāra princes: Kapardin (I); his son Pulaśakti; his son Kapardin (II); his son Vappuvana; his son Jhañjha; his younger brother Gōggi; his son Vajjaḍa (I)[4]; and finally, his younger brother **Chhadvaya (or Chhadvaideva)**, the donor of the present plates. The description of all these princes is quite conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest. About Chhadvaidēva we are told that he bore the title *Mahāsāmanta* and attained the right to the five great (musical) sounds.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it has brought to notice a prince of the Śilāhāra dynasty who was not known from any other source. The Bhādāna plates dated Śaka 919, which were issued by Vajjaḍa I's son Aparājita, give the same genealogy as the record before us, but they omit the name of Chhadvaidēva. This prince is not again mentioned in any of the numerous later records of the Śilāhāras. The reason for this omission is not clear. It cannot be said that Chhadvaidēva's name was omitted because he was a collateral; for, as Banerji has already pointed out, Śilāhāra records invariably mention Jhañjha, though his progeny did not reign, and he was succeeded by his brother Gōggi. Another instance is that of Arikēsarin

[1] See *e. g.*, above, Vol. IV, p. 351, and Vol. X, pp. 54 ff.

[2] The Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III also mention four kinds of feudatories, but they are said to have received different kinds of treatment at his hands. See above, Vol. IV, p. 285. In verse 15 of the present inscription there is an interesting comparison of Kṛishṇa III with a physician, based on a play on the words *maṇḍalin*, *narēndra*, etc., but the verse is not completely legible.

[3] The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (III, 57, vv. 47 ff) graphically describes the consternation in the ocean caused by Paraśurāma's arrow. It further states that Varuṇa, the lord of the ocean, ultimately submitted to Paraśurāma and withdrew the ocean from the Sūrpāraka-kshētra. The *Purāṇa* does not of course make any mention of the Śilāras.

[4] Banerji's statement that the name of Vajjaḍadēva is omitted in the genealogy of the Śilāra family in the second plate is not correct; for his name occurs in the second half of verse 24, though in a corrupt form.

alias Kēśirāja who ascended the throne after his brother Vajjaḍa II. He was succeeded by his nephew Chhittarājadēva, the son of Vajjaḍa II, but his name is not omitted in the later records[1] of the Śilāhāras. Chhadvaidēva again was not probably a usurper; for, in the present record, he not only states that the grant had been promised by his elder brother and was only executed by himself, but also pays a tribute of praise to him in verse 24. Nor does he seem to have been only a regent during the minority of his nephew Aparājita; for he claims the title *Mahāsāmanta* for himself and does not even mention his nephew, the *de jure* ruler of the kingdom. The record may therefore be suspected to be spurious. Apart from the absence of the date, however, there does not seem to be any cause for suspicion. As stated before, the characters, though very carelessly written and engraved, are of the age to which the record refers itself. There are no discrepancies in the description of the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Śilāhāra genealogies which occur in verses 7-15 and 20-25 respectively. On the other hand, the grant furnishes certain details which, though not met with in other records, are not inconsistent with their evidence. It is of course true that the draft of the genealogical and formal portions of the grant differs from that used in later Śilāhāra grants, but that is because no particular draft had yet become stereotyped in the Śilāhāra secretariat. Even in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, which was made some years later, the stereotyped draft has not been used. There does not therefore appear any reason why the present grant should not be regarded as genuine.

This is the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Śilāhāra dynasty of North Koṅkaṇ. Some earlier inscriptions of this dynasty have of course been discovered at Kāṇhēri[2], but they are all inscribed on stone. The last of them which belongs to the reign of Kapardin II is dated Śaka 799. The next inscriptional date of this dynasty so far known was Śaka 919, furnished by the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita. There was thus a gap of 120 years during which we had no record of this dynasty. The present grant though undated belongs to this period. Like the Kānhēri stone inscriptions, it belongs to a time when the Rāshṭrakūṭas held imperial sway over North Koṅkaṇ. Like the present record two other Śilāhāra grants[3] open with a Rāshṭrakūṭa genealogy, *viz.* the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, dated Śaka 919, and the Khārēpāṭan grant of Raṭṭarāja, dated Śaka 930, but the Rāshṭrakūṭas had then been overthrown by Tailapa, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty. The present record is thus of special interest as it shows what position the Śilāhāras enjoyed during the heyday of Rāshṭrakūṭa paramountcy. As Mr. Banerji has already pointed out, the record under discussion shows that the Śilāhāras did not then assume such high-sounding titles as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tagarapura-paramēśvara, Abhimāna-mahōdadhi, Gaṇḍakandarpa,* which we find in the later records of Aparājita, Chhittarāja and others. They had to content themselves with the modest title of *Mahāsāmanta*[4] which we notice also in the earlier inscriptions of Pulaśakti and Kapardin II.

In the absence of any information about the original findspot of the present plates, it is difficult to locate definitely the **places** mentioned in it. But we tentatively suggest the following identifications. **Pāṇāḍa,** the headquarters of the Pāṇāḍa-*vishaya* may be Poināḍ about 8 miles

[1] See, for instance, the Bhāṇḍūp plates of Chhittarāja (above, Vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.); the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Mummuṇi, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 ff., etc.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff.

[3] A third of the same type, dated Śaka 915, which belongs to the reign of Aparājita was discovered some years ago, but is now untraceable. See C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 349 ff. and Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., p. 110. See below, p. 288, f.n. 1.

[4] In two Kānhēri inscriptions the title is *Mahāsāmantaśēkhara*. In the third no title is mentioned at all. It may be noted, however, that none of these is an official record of the Śilāhāras.

north by east of Alibāg, in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency. The village Sālaṇaka in which the donated land was situated may be Sālinde which lies about 6 miles south by east of Poinād.[1] **Mañchakapalli** is possibly represented by Pālē about a mile to the north of Sālinde. **Vākōla** may be Kolēti which lies about 4 miles to the south. The map shows two small streams joining each other to the north of Sālinde as stated in the present grant. Janhupura where the donee was residing we are unable to identify.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1-5, 18, 19, 27-29 and 31-33 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 6 and 21 *Upajāti* ; vv. 7 and 13 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 8, 9, 12, 16, 24 and 25 *Āryā* ; v. 10 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 11, 14, 17 and 20 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 22 and 23 *Gīti* ; v. 26 *Indravajrā* ; v. 30 *Śālinī* ; and v. 34 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 श्रीं[3] [।*] श्रीर्व्वर्द्धतां नवोद्यानराजीवायतनेत्रया[4] । शिव: सद्दोमया चास्तां राजो-
वायतनेत्रया ॥[१॥*]

2 स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं क्रतं(तम्) । [ह]रश्च यस्य कान्तेंदुकलया
कमलंक्रतम् ॥[२*]

3 मैत्रादत्रेरभूद्भूरिसुधां[ध्व:][5] तर्प्पितामर: । चंद्रमा जगदानन्दकन्दकन्दलनक्षम: ॥[३॥*]

4 तस्यांगजोजनि वु(बु)धो विवु(बु)धाधीशपूजित: । सुत: पुरूरवास्तस्य तस्याप्यायुरजायत
॥[४॥*]

5 एवमच्छिन्नसंतानजायमानेषु राजसु । ययातिरभवत्तस्य सूनुर्यदुरभूदिह ॥[५॥*]

6 ततस्तूलोकी[6]तिलकायमानो वंशो यदूनामभवत्पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटापरनामधेयो

7 [य]श्चाभिलेभे हरिरा[त्म]जन्म ॥[६॥*] तत्रासीद्दन्तिदुर्गः प्रभुरपि च तत: क्र[ष्ण]-
राज: पि-

8 तृव्यस्तस्माद्गोविंदराजस्तदनु ति(नि)रुपमोस्माज्जगत्तुंगदेव: । पुत्रोस्यामोघव-

[1] After this article was sent to the press we noticed Mr. A. S. Gadre's account of two unpublished copper-plate inscriptions of the Silāhāra Aparājita, dated Śaka 915. (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 880.) These inscriptions were found at Muruṇḍa-Janjirā in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency, and are now preserved in the Baroda Museum. One of them registers the grant of an orchard in the village Sālāṇaka lying in the Pāṇāḍa district. These places are evidently identical with those of the same names mentioned in the present grant of Chhadvaidēva, which we have located in the Kolābā District. This account has unexpectedly confirmed our readings of the place-names and their identifications proposed above. The two grants have since been published by Mr. Gadre in *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

[2] From ink-impressions.

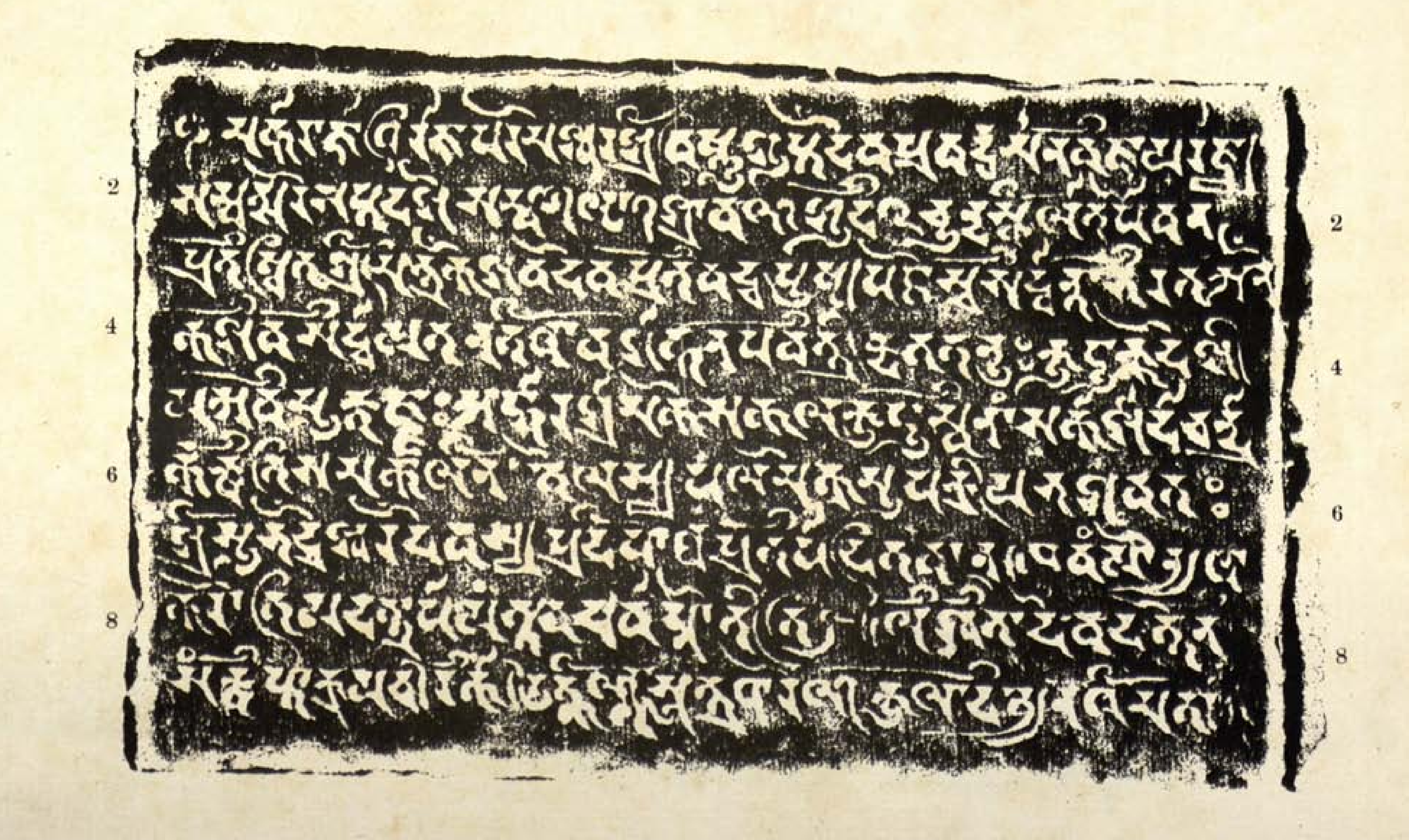
[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] The expression means ' who resorts to (Vishṇu) whose eyes are long like a fresh garden-lotus '.

[5] Read *-sudh-āṁśus=tarppit-*.

[6] Read *tatastrilōkī-*.

Mangraon Inscription of Vishnugupta's time; the year 17.



N. P. Chakravarti

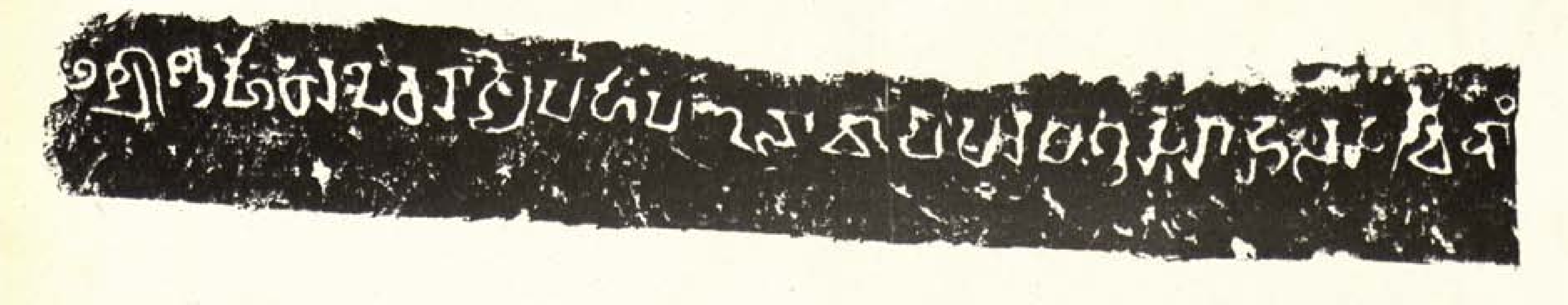
SCALE: TWO-THIRDS

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-290—X-290'46.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

KHADIPADA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SUBHAKARA.

Left side



Right side



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
..ta. No. 3977 E'36-310 —X—310'48.

SCALE: ONE-THIRD

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

A Fragmentary Inscription of King Malayavarman.

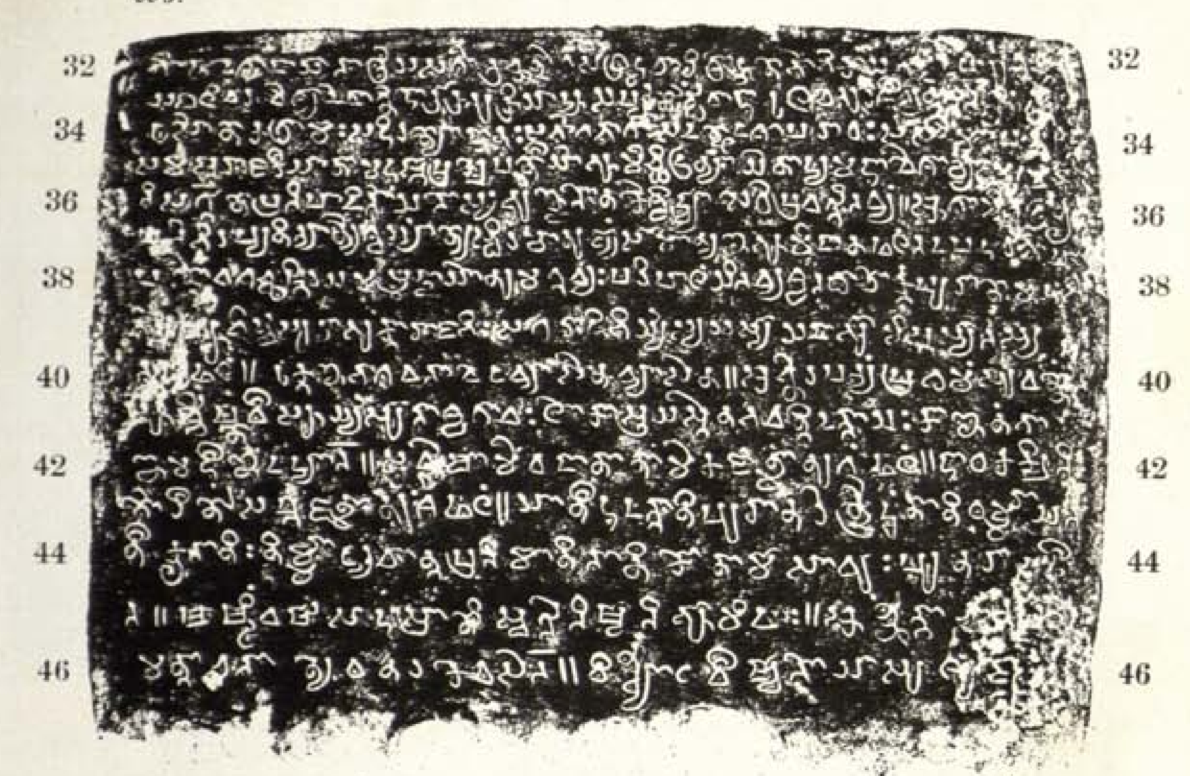
N. P. Chakravarti.

Scale: Four-Fifths.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No. 3977 E'56-290 —

ii b.



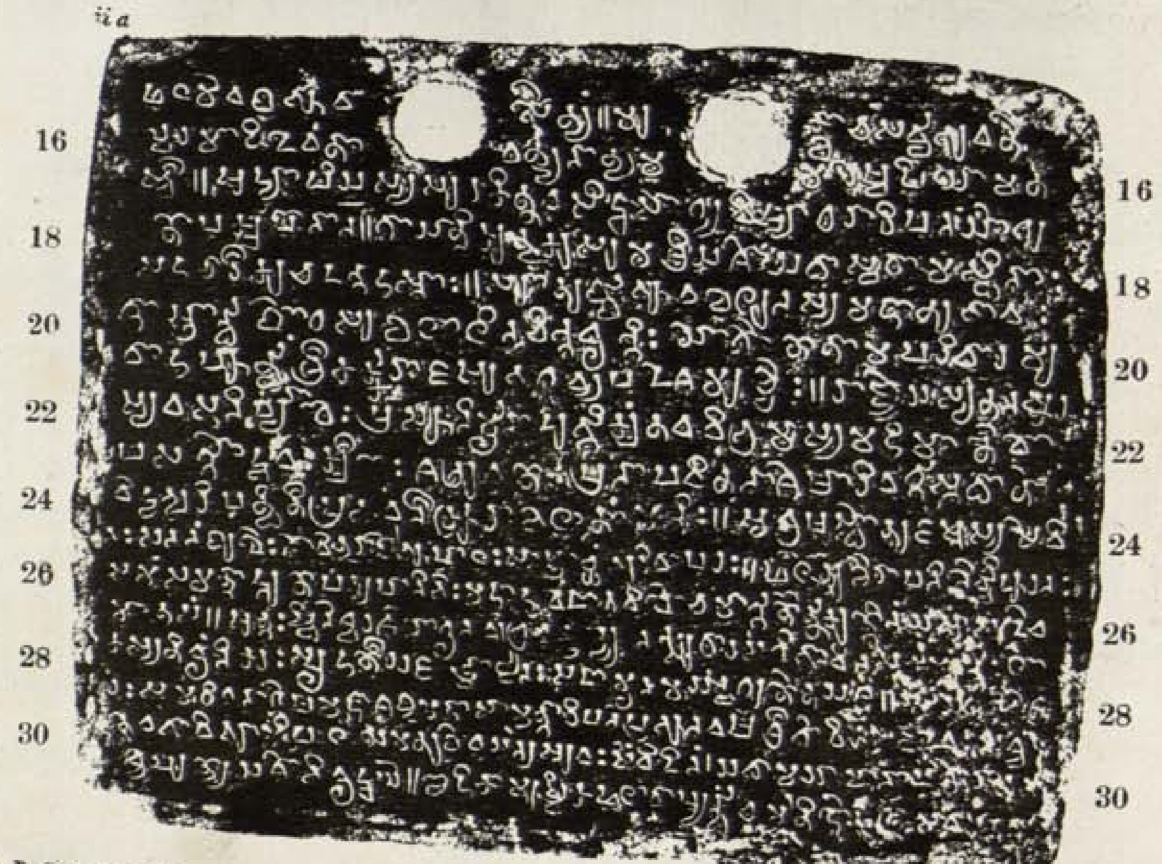
iii.



PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF GOVINDARAJA; SAKA 732.

i

ii a



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI

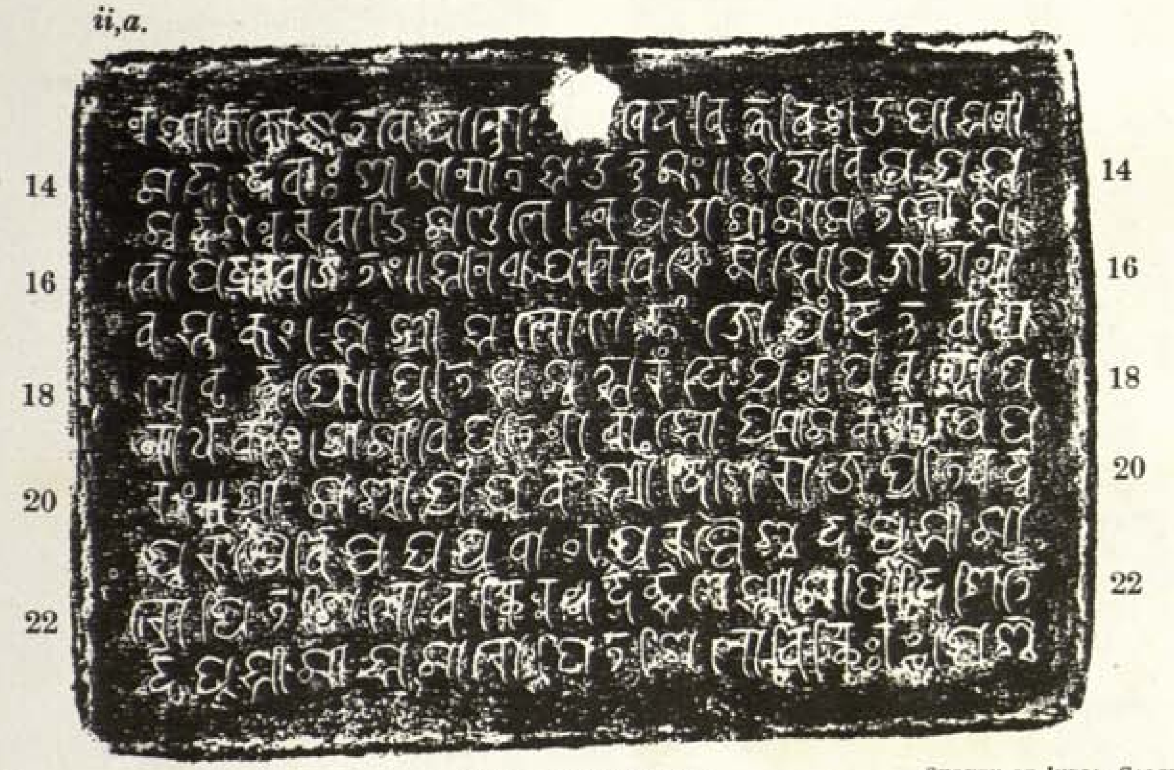
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-290—X-290'48.

SCALE: THREE-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA. CALCUTTA.

i.

ii,a.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

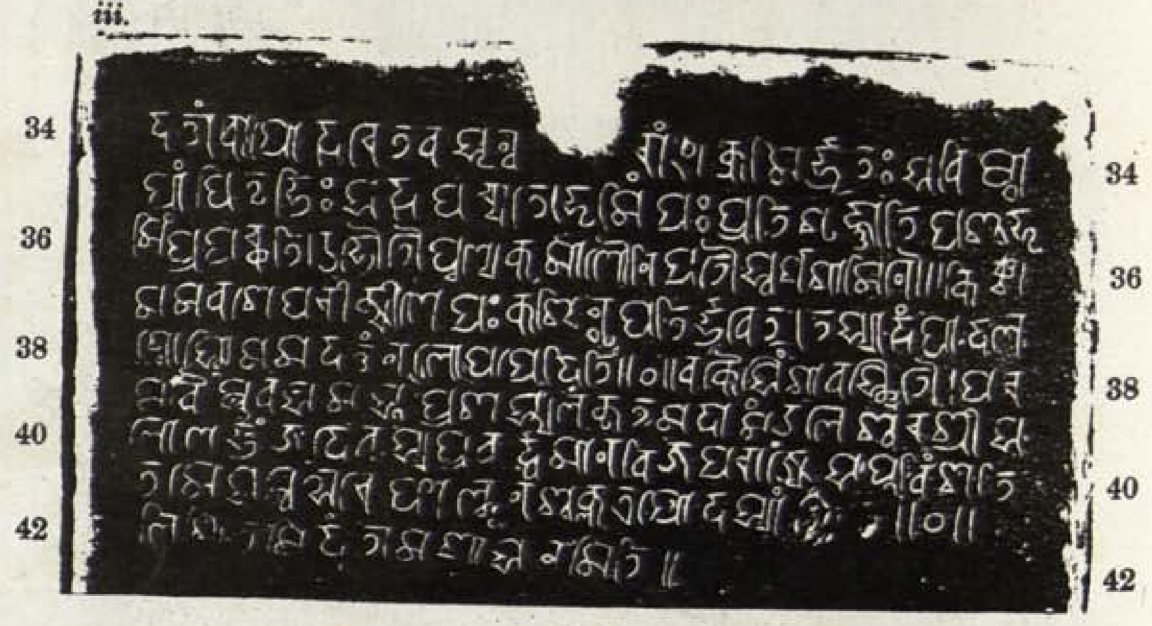
SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3977 E'38-290-290'48.

ii, b.

iii.



SEAL.



(TWICE ACTUAL SIZE).

i.

ii.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
REG. No. 3977 E'36-290-290'48.

Seal.



(from a photograph).

9 [षः] सकलगुणनिधिः[1] तस्य चाकालवर्शः(र्षः) ।[2] तन्नप्ता श्रींद्रराजः प्रथितपृथु[य*]शाः सार्व्व-

10 भौमः प्रजातः ॥[७॥*] श्रीमात(न)मोघव[र्षो] भ्रातास्य सुत(तं) समूलमुन्मूल्य । गोज्जिग-
मन्या-

11 यकृतं सा(सोऽ)मोघं [स्व]य[3]मशात्पृर्थ्वीं(थ्वीम्) ॥[८॥*] श्रभि[षे]कजलेन समं तपस्वि[षु][4]
श्रेयसे स-

12 मुच्छृ[त्य][5] । येन धनानीव मलान[6]नीयतात्मा परां शुद्धिं(द्धिम्) ॥[९॥*] सितात-
पत्र[त्र]यमध्यव-

13 र्त्ती रराज यो रूपजितेक्षुधन्वा । उपास्यमानः शर्वदिवुनेव त्रिरूपतामेत्य महे[श]-

14 वुध्या[7] ॥[१०॥*] शंभोः षडा[न]न इवात्त्रिमुनेरिवेंदू रामो यथा दशरथस्य ◡ —[8]
जंयं[तः] ।

15 तस्यांगजोपि चतुरंवु(बु)धिमेखलाया भर्त्ता भुवः समभवद्भुवि कृष्णराजः ॥[११॥*] सत्य-

16 पि र[त्ना]भरणे जानानोपि प्रसाधनविशेषं(षम्) । यो वहति भुजेन सदा कुव-
लय[9]माश्च-

17 र्यंकं लोके ॥[१२॥*] लक्ष्म्या नागेंद्रकर्णातिशयचपलतां यौवनस्यायुषश्च ।[10] यां(यान्)
देवव्र(ब्र)ह्म-

18 [दायां][11] लुलुपुरवनिपाः पूर्व्वजा विस्मरन्तः । संसारासारभा[वं] मनसि कलय-

19 ता येत(न) तेन्येपि मुक्ता ।[10] दत्तास्तेभा(भ्य)श्च[12] गात्वः[13] शिवभवनजुषां कोटिशः कांचनं
च

[1] Here *sandhi* has not been observed.

[2] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] Dr. Altekar reads *s-āmōghamayam=*. See his *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, etc., p. 106, n. 59. Perhaps *sāmōghapriyam=* is the intended reading. *Amōgha* is a name of Śiva.

[4] Dr. Altekar doubtfully reads *tapaś=chiyuḥ*, *ibid.*, p. 109, n. 68. The context requires a reading like *tapasvibhiḥ*.

[5] The context requires a reading like *samunmṛijya*.

[6] Dr. Altekar reads *malād=* but the *aksharas* are clearly as read abovp.

[7] Read-*buddhyā*.

[8] The two *aksharas* lost here were *Harē* as seen in verse 3 of the Khārēpāṭan grant of Raṭṭarāja; above, Vol. III, p. 298.

[9] There is a play on this word which means (1) a blue lotus, and (2) the orb of the earth.

[10] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] Read -*brahmadāyāl=lulupur=*.

[12] The context requires a reading like =*tēshāñ=cha*.

[13] Perhaps *gāvaḥ* is intended.

20 ॥[१३॥*] तस्मिन्प्रशा[1]सति महीं समहीधरेंद्रा(न्द्रां) सि[ङ्ह][2]युतौ चतुरुदत्व(न्व)दनिघ्नकांचीं[म्] । ग[त्वा ?] हि-[3]

Second Plate ; First Side.

21 [4]तानतिज[वा]न्मायाविनो घा[त]का[न्] चंडान्मंडलिनो [वि]लुप्तसमयान्-

22 ध्रु(द्रु)त्य [संत्रासयन् ?] । — — — ◡ ◡ मंत्रधर्मरभसा[न्] दंडेन पा[षंडि?]-

23 [कान्?] [सा]मंतांश्चतुरोपि येन दलता का[मं] नरेंद्रायितं(तम्) ॥[१५॥*] तस्मिन(न्) शास-

24 ति पृथ्वीं [कृ]ष्णनरेंद्रे(न्द्रे) नरादि(धि)पः श्रीमान(न्) [।*] शी[ला]रामलवंशे सकल-गुणालंकृते . . .[5]

25 —॥[१६॥*] विद्याधर[:*] [स्व]चरिताधरितान्यकीर्त्तिर्जी[मू]त[के]तुतनयो नयविक्रमाद्यः [।*]

26 जी[मू]तवाहन इति प्र[थि]तः पृथि[व्यां] श्रीमा[न्*] स्वकायमुपदाय सु[6](?)दञ्चता-

27 हीन् ।[। १७॥*] [गन्धर्वं ?] ⏑̱ ◡ — — ⏑̱ [श्रु]त्वाहिञ्च दिवि [पु](प्रि)यं(यम्) । गुणानुरागा[ज्जन्मा ?]थं [पू]-

28 र्व्वजा [यम]शिश्रियत्(न्) ।[।१८॥*] जामदग्न्यशरात्र(स्त्र)[स्तः] शीलारच्छद्मना तदा । [साग][रो*]

29 रक्षित[स्तं]श्च प्रापुस्तन्नाम पू[र्व्वं]जाः ।[।१९॥*] शीलारनाम्नि तद[ढ]यवेन[7] देवः

30 सा[क्षा]दभा[8] निजभुजार्जितकामदेवः । [आ]रातिसिधु(न्धु)मुपम[थ्य] करे क-

31 -पर्द्दी लक्ष्मीम[धत्त] सत(तु)कांनण[9]कंकणेन ।[।२०॥*] त[स्यात्म]जो [यः] पुलशक्तिना[मा*]

32 [पृथु]पमः पार्थसमानकीर्त्तिः । [आसी]त्प्र(त्पृ)[थि]व्या(व्यां) प्रथितप्रतापः समस्त-

33 सामन्तनतांघ्र(घ्रि)[भूप]: ॥[२१॥*] तस्याप्यपरः श्रीमान्कपर्द्दिनामाभवताभा[10] नृप-

[1] The *akshara sa* which was at first omitted is written below the line.

[2] Read *siṁha*.

[3] The further portion of this fourteenth verse has been omitted inadvertently.

[4] The first seven *aksharas* of this verse have been omitted.

[5] Perhaps the name of the donor *Chhadvai* occurred at the end of this verse. Read=*bhavach=Chhadvai* [in which case the metre of this verse will be *Gīti*.—B. C. C.] The *akshara* at the beginning of the next line has two *mātrās* at the top.

[6] The context requires a reading like *amuñchat=āhīn*, but it would involve a hiatus.

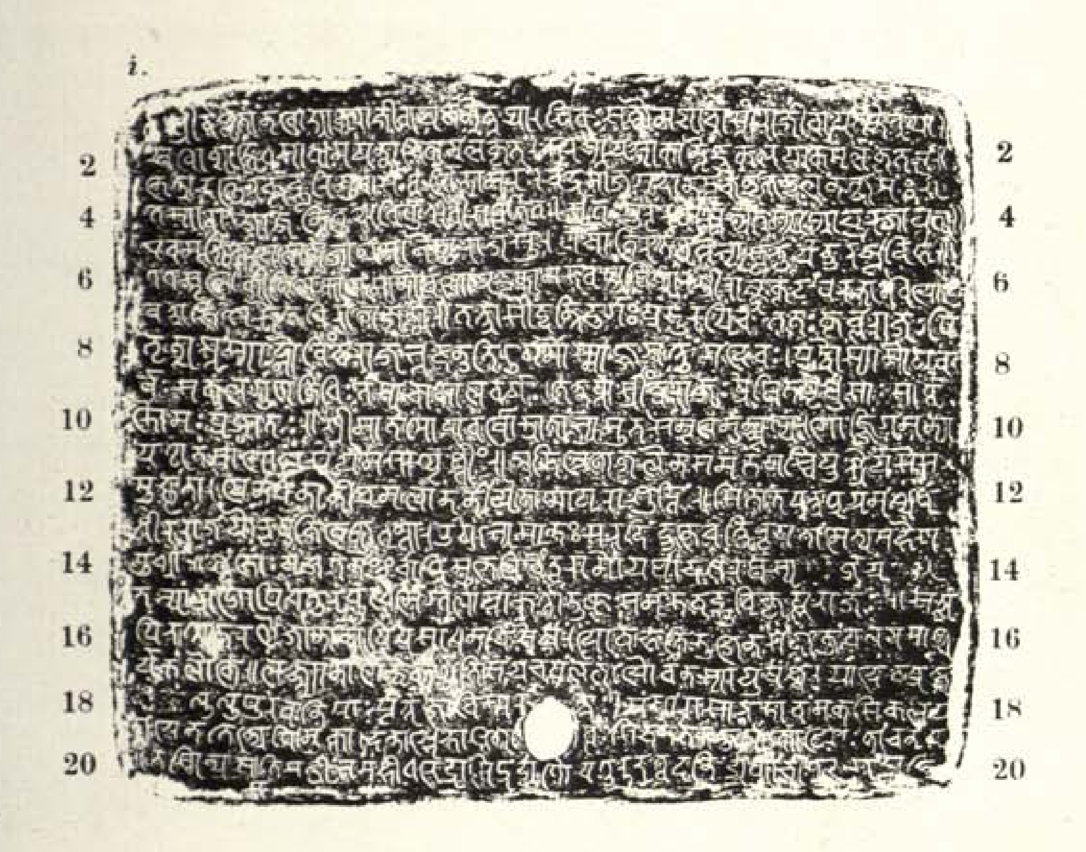
[7] The reading is uncertain here. Besides, one *akshara* is wanting.

[8] Read *sākshād=babhau-*

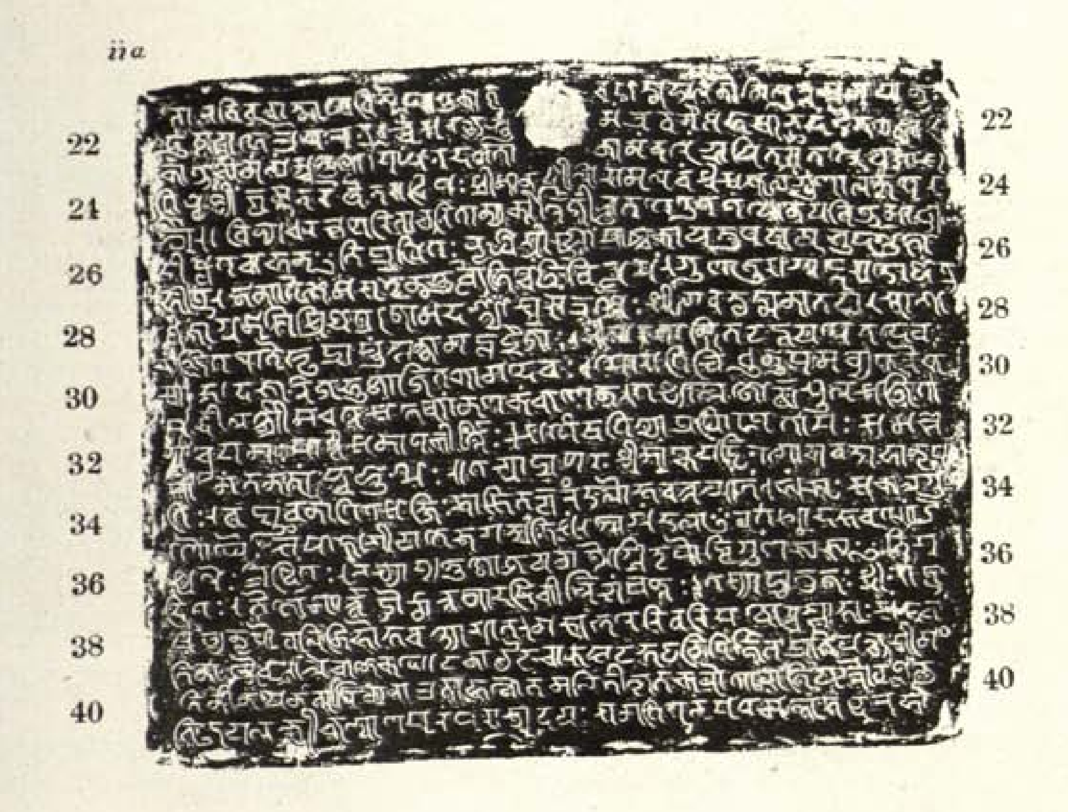
[9] Read *kāñchana*.

[10] Read *bhavat=sutā*.

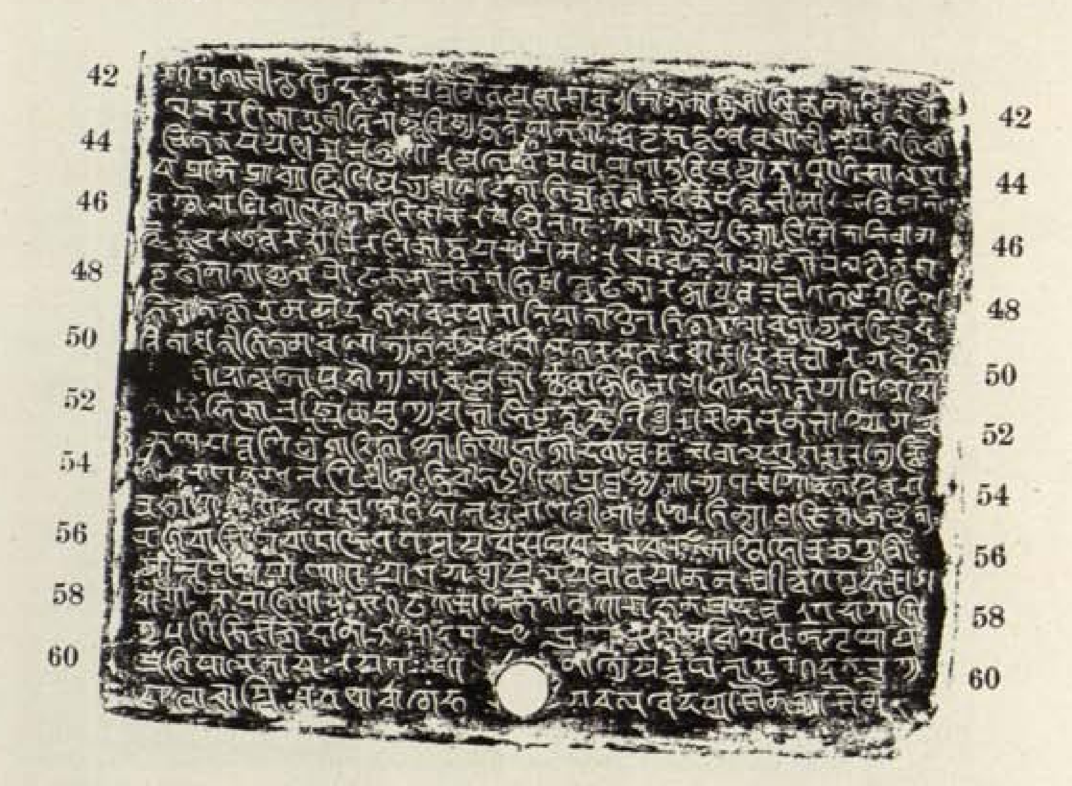
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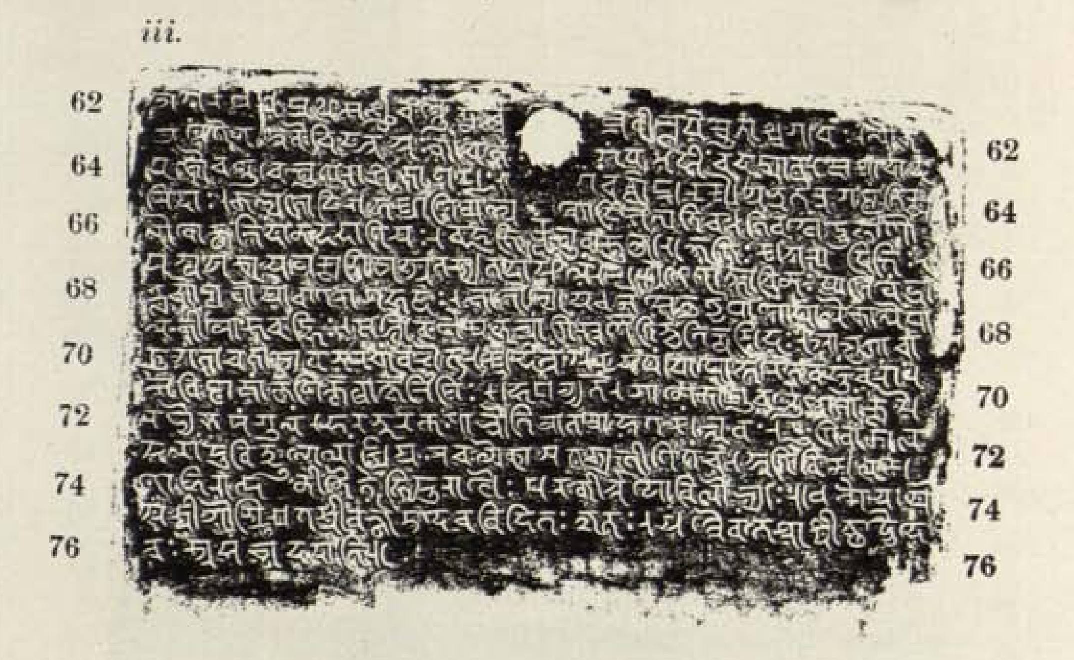
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ii b.



iii.



34 तिः । वप्पुवनोति(मि)तश[क्ति]ः शासित[भूमं]डलोभवत्त[स्मा]त् ।[। २२॥*] भंभः सक-
लग-

35 णौघैः संपहो(न्नो) गीयते जगत्यनिशं(शम्) । आखंडल इव तस्मादभवत्सां[ग्रामिकैर्*]

36 गुणैः [वि]दितः[1] ।[।२३॥*] तस्याप्यनुजो जयवा[न्*] गोग्गिनृपो द्विगुणभंभ इति ग-

37 दितः । [तेना मार्त्तंडोर्वा ?][2]त्त[स्मा]दपि कीर्त्ति[संप]न्नः ।[।२४॥*]. तस्याप्यनुजः
श्री[माछ ?][3]

38 [दय]नृपो व(ब)लिनिभोभवत्त्यागात् । महाहरेरिव रिपवो ध्वस्ता ह्यः(ह्या)संश्च

39 ति[4]नाम्नंव ॥[२५॥*] स चानेकघोटका[रू]ढचाह(?)हा(चा)टभटविनि[जि]तप्रतिपक्षसीमं-

40 तिनीनयनवारि[धा]रा[प्रवा]ह[धौ]तमलिनीकृतकरो[5] [आ ?]रातिय[शो]व[गुंठ]-

41 [वि]जयलक्ष्मीकल्याणपरंपराभ्युदयः समधिगत[पं]चम[हा]शव्द(ब्द)महा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

42 सा[मं]ता(तः) [श्री][6]च्छद्वदेवः सर्व्वानेव यथासंव(ब)ध्यमानका[न्] शौल्किकगौल्वि(ल्मि)कचौ-

43 रे(रो)[द्ध]रणिकान् कीर्त्तिता[7]न्भविष्यद्वर्त्तमानकांश्च [भू*]भुद्रं(द्रं)[धू]न(न्) चरादीन् [प्र]ति[दि]न्च(श्य)

44 चितकपयंश्च(?)[8] समनुवो(बो)धयत्येवं य[था] पाणाड[9]विषयांतःपाति[10]साल[ण]-

45 कग्रामे प्राच्यां दिशि[11] यस्य चाघाटनानि [पू]र्व्वतो [मं]चकपल्ले(ल्ली)सीमा । दक्षिणतो

46 व[को]लावि[ध्या][12] लव[ण]चरिका च । पश्चिमतः [13][तपारुप्यंतिकारिसंकानिवा?]ग-

[1] Read *guṇair=viditaḥ.*

[2] The text is very corrupt here. One would expect a reading like *tasy=āpi Vajjaḍō=bhūt.*

[3] Read *śrīmāṁś=Chhadaya.*

[4] This *akshara* is superfluous.

[5] Read *-kara.*

[6] For the form of *chchha* here, see the same *akshara* in *Śīlāra-chchhadmanā* in l. 28 above.

[7] The usual expression is *kīrttit-ākīrttitān.*

[8] [Could the intended reading be pratinivāsinaḥ krishakāṁś=cha ? B. C. C.]

[9] Banerji read the name of the *vishaya* as *Mālāda*, but the *aksharas* are clearly as read above.

[10] Banerji gives the name of this village as *Salaprāka* in his account of the plates and as *Salapaka* in the heading of the section ; see *P. R. A. S. I. W. C.* for 1919-20, p. 55. But both the readings are incorrect.

[11] Here some word denoting the object of the gift (such as *kshētra-trayam* which occurs below in l. 57) is required.

[12] Read *-vīthiḥ.*

[13] We are not certain about the reading of these eleven *aksharas.*

47 त्तॅवं च । उत्तरतो भिरिकाद्वयसंगमः । एवं चतुराघाट[नो]पल[क्षि]तं स-

48 वृक्षमालाकुलं पोढकस[मे]तं गंहि[रा]तटे कारं[जा]वृ[क्ष]समेततलगटि[त](?)-

49 निवातक्षेत्रं मयेदं जलधरधारानिपात[मि][1]तं [निवाता]वनोद्यततति(डि)[द्दु*]द्दु(द्दु)व-

50 विनाशजीवितमवलोक्य जललवलोलतरलतरं चासारं सं[सा]र[म]वेत्य

51 पुत्रपौत्रान्व[यो]पभोग्यमाचंद्रार्का[र्णं]वक्षितिसमकालीनतया पित्रोरा[त्म*]-

52 न[श्चं]हिका[मु]ष्मिकपुण्यय[शो]भिवृद्ध[ये] विषुप्र(प्रा)सेन तनंत्ता[2](?)योग[प्र]-

53 [ह]णपर्व्वंणि [अं]गारि[कायां]तिथौ[3] ह[स्तो]दकपूर्व्वं(र्व्वं) [स]कलसुरासुराभ्य[र्च्चि-]

54 तच्चरण[कमल]—[4] श्रीमच्छिवभट्टारकं [प्रपूज्य ?] [का]श्यपसगोत्र[व(ब)]ह्वृ[च]स-

55 [व(ब्र)]ह्मचारि[णे*] वेदवेदां[ग]वेदा[न्त]पुराणमीमां[सास्मृ]तिन्याय(या)भिज्ञ][जन्हु]पु-

56 रनिवासिने चाडादेव[भ]ट्टाय [5]वेसद्यववलचरुकाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रि-

57 या[द्यु]पसर्प्पंणा[र्थं] ग्रा[मम]ध्य(ध्ये) [6]प्रलयवाव[मा]न(ने)न श्रीक्षतत्[यं][7] स[श ?]-[8]

58 कगा(ग्रा)[मान्तः*]पातिपानपोढकसहितं ता[म्र][शास]नेन प्रदत्तं(त्तम्) । तदागामि-

59 नृपतिभि[श्च] भूदाना[9] . . . . . पुण्यफलमवेत्य धर्म[दा]योयं

60 प्रतिपालना(नी)यः । यतः सामान्येयं [भू]दान[पालन ?]पुण्य-

61 फलावाप्तिः । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [व्या]से[न] [।*]

Third Plate.

62 अ[ग्ने]रप[त्यं] प्रथमं सुवर्णं भू[र्व्वैष्ण]वी [सू]र्यसुताश्च गावः । लाक-

63 [त्र]यं तेन भवेधि(द्धि) दत्तं यः कांचनं गं(गां) च महीं च दद्यात् ।[।२६॥*] [यस्मा[10]]दाद(दा)-

[1] The reading of this and the next seven *aksharas* is uncertain.

[2] These three *aksharas* are uncertain.

[3] This *tithi* occurs when the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of a month falls on a Tuesday.

[4] One *akshara* is illegible here. [The reading looks like *-charaṇa-nakha-[ma]ṇim.*—N.L.R.]

[5] Read *vaiśvadēva-bali.*

[6] We are not certain about the reading of these eight *aksharas*. Perhaps some expression like *tad-vishaya-mānēna* denoting the intended measure is required.

[7] Perhaps *kshētra-trayaṁ* is meant, but line 49 mentions only one *kshētra*.

[8] Perhaps the intended reading is *Sālaṇaka* as in lines 44-45 above.

[9] Five *aksharas* are illegible here. The context requires some expression like *bhūdānasya sāmānyaṁ*.

[10] These five *aksharas* are doubtful.

64 य सौवर्णं(र्णं) वसुधारा(धी)शसानव[1][:] । गव(वा)[ञ्चोद्धारको] यत्र तत्र गच्छति [भू]-

65 [मि]दाः ।[। २७॥*] कल्पकोटि[स]हस्राणि [क]ल्पकोटि[शता]नि च । निवस्ते[2] पुरुषो

66 लोके क्ष(क्षि)[ति]दानं ददाति यः ।[। २८॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्व[सु]धा भु[क्ता] रा[ज]भिः सगरादिभिः ।

67 य[स्य] यस्य य[दा] भू[मि]स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।२९॥*] [सर्व्वाने]तान्भाविनः पार्थि(र्थि)वेंद्रा-

68 न्भू[यो] [भूयो] याचते रा[म]भ[द्र]ः | [सामा]न्योयं ध[र्मं]सेतुर्नृ(र्नृ)पाणां पा(का)ले काले पा-

69 लनी[यो] भवद्भिः ।[। ३०॥*] ष[ष्टि]व[र्षसहस्राणि] [स्व]र्गे ति[ष्ठ]ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चा-

70 नु[मं]ता च तान्येव नरकं(के) वसेत् ।[। ३१॥*] स्वदत्तं(त्तां) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्) ।

71 [स] वि[ष्ठा]यां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृ[मि]भिः सह पच्यते ।[। ३२॥*] गामेकां सुवर्णमेकं भूमे-

72 रप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति [या]त(व)दाह(भू)तसंप्लवं(वम्) ।[। ३३॥*] इति कमल-

73 दलांवु(बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमयलो[क्य] म[नु]ष्यजीवितं च । [अ]तिविमलम-

74 [नो]भिरात्मनीनै[नं] हि पु[रुषै]ः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[३४*॥] ध[र्म्मदा]यो-

75 यं श्रीगो[ग्गिसु]तश्रीव[ज्जं](ज्ज)डदेववि[हि]तः शृ(श्रु)तः । यथैवं तथा श्रीच्छ्रंदे-

76 वः [शा]सनं ददाति ॥

NO. 41.—DATE OF MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This inscription was discovered at **Mathurā** by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna. It is incised on the pedestal of a broken statue of the **Buddha**. It has been edited before, with a photo-lithograph, by Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni in this journal, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f. It is proposed to discuss the date of this epigraph here in view of its importance for the Kushāṇa period of Indian history.

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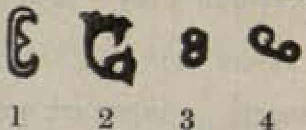
[1] Read *-mānavaḥ*.

[2] The correct form would be *nivasati*, but it would not suit the metre. Read *ramate*.

The date of this inscription was read by Sahni as *Mahārāja-Dēvaputrasya Kaṇishkasya saṁvatsarē 10 4 Pausha-māsa-divasē 10*, i.e., on the 10th day of the month of Pausha in the year 14 of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka. Sahni referred this inscription to the reign of Kanishka, the great founder of the Kushāṇa era. His reading of the date and the consequent attribution of the record have not generally been called in question.[1] But even a cursory glance at the photo-lithograph which accompanies his article will show that the date has been misread. As in other Kushāṇa records, it is expressed in numerical symbols. The year of the date is shown by two symbols, the second of which is undoubtedly 4 as read by Sahni. The first symbol,[2] however, does not stand for 10. This will be quite clear from the fact that it is not identical with the symbol for 10 used further on in the same line to denote the day. I read this symbol as **50**, so that the date of the record is 50 4, *i.e.*, the year **54**.

In support of my reading I call attention to the form of the symbol which occurs in another Mathurā inscription of the same year,[3] edited by Bühler. There the form is the same as in the present inscription with only this difference that, whereas the symbol appears quite vertical in the former, it is slanting in the latter. It is a cursive form of the usual symbol for 50 which consists of an arc open to the right, with both the ends turned inside. See, for instance, the form of the symbol in the Ginjā inscription of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 52.[4] In both the aforementioned Mathurā inscriptions of the year 54, the lower and upper curves of the symbol are turned into loops. An intermediate form is shown by the symbol used in another

Symbols for 50 used in the Brāhmī records of Mathurā.



inscription found at Mathurā itself, which is dated in the year 50.[5] In this only the lower curve has been turned into a loop. The value of this symbol is clearly shown by two inscriptions[6] from Mathurā dated in the years 52 and 57 where the date is given both in words and in numerical symbols.

The Mathurā pedestal inscription is thus dated on the 10th day of the month Pausha in the year 54 during the reign of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka.[7] As already remarked by Sahni,

[1] It has of course been pointed out by some that the characters of this inscription are too developed for the reign of the great Emperor Kanishka, the founder of the Kushāṇa era ; for, it shows the cursive forms of *m*, *s* and *h* which are believed to have become current in the Gupta age. But the difficulty is sought to be removed by one scholar by referring the date to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A. D. 248-49 (See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, p. 413). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has accepted the reading of the date given by Sahni (above, Vol. XXI, p. 2).

[2] See above, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 97 and No. 4 of the symbols reproduced here.

[3] Above, Vol. I, p. 391, No. XXI, and plate. See No. 3 of the symbols reproduced here. Bühler at first read this symbol as 80, but in view of another inscription from Mathurā (above, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 38, and plate), in which the year 57 is given both in words and numerical symbols, he took it to be equivalent to 50. Vincent Smith read the same symbol as 40, but, as Lüders has shown, it undoubtedly stands for 50. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 105.

[4] See No. 1 of the symbols reproduced here.

[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVII, and pl. See No. 2 of the symbols reproduced here.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 203, No. XVIII, and p. 210, No. XXXVIII, and plates.

[7] This will also explain why the characters of this inscription are somewhat more developed than those in the records of Kanishka I. As a matter of fact, the looped *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 25 as shown by Bühler (above, Vol. I, pp. 372-73). *M* with an unjoined middle and cursive *h* occurs in an inscription of Śaka 127 at Jasdan (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) as pointed out by D. R. Bhandarkar (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 2-3).

this is a peculiar date, for it is recorded in a Hindu solar month instead of in seasons as in other Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā. This should not, however, cause any suspicion, for we have now another Kushāṇa Brāhmī inscription from Mathurā which also has a peculiar date. The latter is recorded in the Macedonian month Gurppiya.[1]

This new reading of the date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription presents a problem to which we may now turn. As stated before, the inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka. The reign of this Kanishka overlaps that of Huvishka. We have had till now records of Kanishka dated in the years 2-23,[2] those of Vāsishka dated in the years 24 and 28[3] and those of Huvishka dated in the years 28-60.[4] It has therefore been supposed that Kanishka was succeeded by Vāsishka in the year 24 and the latter by Huvishka in the year 28. Huvishka is known to have ruled at least till the year 60. How is it then that this *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka appears suddenly at Mathurā in the year 54 ? The discovery of the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41 which referred itself to the reign of *Mahārāja, Rājātirājā, Dēvaputra, Kaïsara* Kanishka, the son of Vājhēshka, had also presented a similar difficulty ; for its date also fell in the reign of Huvishka. Two explanations of this sudden appearance of Kanishka in the year 41 were given. According to R. D. Banerji who indentified Kanishka of the Ārā inscription with the great founder of the Kushāṇa era, 'the only explanation of the synchronism of Kanishka and Huvishka, ... is that, after the first ten years of Kanishka's reign, Huvishka was left in charge of Indian affairs with full imperial titles, while the former attended to the long war in the frontier and in trying to reclaim the lost provinces.'[5] This explanation was adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith in the third edition of his *Early History of India*. As an inscription of Vāsishka dated in the year 24 was subsequently found, Smith suggested the following reconciliation of the known data :—' Vāsishka and Huvishka were sons of Kanishka, who both acted in succession as Viceroys of Upper India while their father was warring beyond the mountains. Vāsishka, of whom no coins are known, seems to have predeceased his father, who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka.'[6] Dr. Lüders, on the other hand, suggested that Kanishka of the Ārā inscription who calls himself the son of Vājhēshka was different from the homonymous great Emperor. He was the latter's grandson, being the son of Vāsishka (called Vajheshka in the Ārā inscription) who is known to have ruled at least from the year 24 to the year 28. He thus described the course of events :—' Kaṇishka was followed by Vāsishka between the years 11 and 24.[7] After Vāsishka's death, which occurred probably soon after Saṁ. 28, there was a division of the empire. Kaṇishka II took possession of the northern portion of the kingdom. In India proper, Huvishka made himself king. The reign of Kaṇishka II endured at least as far as Saṁ. 41, the date of our (*i.e.*, Ārā) inscription. But before Saṁ. 52 Huvishka must have recovered the authority of the northern portion of the empire, for in this year he is mentioned as king in the Kharōshṭhī inscription which was found at Wardak to the south west of Kābul'.[8] This theory was adopted by Dr. Sten Konow. He pointed out that Huvishka did not make himself independent before the year 40, for until then he is simply styled *Mahārāja Dēvaputra*. Soon after that

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 55 ff.

[2] The latest date of Kanishka is the year 23 recorded in a stone inscription in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā. *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1920-21, p. 35. It is very desirable that this record should be published.

[3] Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 149a and 161.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 51 ff. and Lüders' *List*, etc., No. 56.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 59.

[6] V. A. Smith. *Early History of India* (Third Ed.), p. 270.

[7] We now know that Kanishka I continued to rule till the year 23; see note 2 above.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 135.

he declared his independence and began to issue coins in his own name. 'We cannot tell,' says Dr. Konow, 'whether Kanishka II survived this new departure of Huvishka by more than a year, or if it was brought about by rumours of his approaching death.'[1]

The date of the Mathurā pedestal inscription throws fresh light on these problems. In the first place, the proximity of its date to that of the Ārā inscription shows that the Kanishkas mentioned in the two records are identical. Secondly, it is clear that this Kanishka must be distinguished from the great Emperor Kanishka who founded the Kushāṇa era. Before the discovery of this date 54, it was possible to argue that the year 41 of the Ārā inscription was of the reign of Kanishka I, for a reign of 41 years is not very unlikely. But it is improbable, though not impossible, that Kanishka I ruled for 54 years. This Kanishka of the Ārā and Mathurā pedestal inscriptions may therefore be called Kanishka II.[2] As conjectured by Lüders, Vajheshka is probably identical with Vāsishka[3] who may have been a son of Kanishka I and who is known to have ruled from the year 24 to the year 28. Kanishka II seems thus to have been a grandson of Kanishka I, for in India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

As stated before, the reigns of Huvishka and Kanishka II are overlapping. So long as only one inscription of Kanishka II was known, it was possible to explain this by supposing that Kanishka II ruled over the northern and Huvishka over the southern parts of the great Kushāṇa empire; for, the inscription of Kanishka II was found at Ārā near Peshāwar, while the inscriptions of Huvishka were found in the vicinity of Mathurā and Aligarh in the United Provinces.[4] But now this inscription of Kanishka II comes from the same part of the country over which Huvishka was ruling. And what is more, its date (year 54) falls just midway between the years 50 and 58 recorded in inscriptions of the reign of Huvishka[5] found at Mathurā itself. It is again noteworthy that in all these three inscriptions of the years 50, 54 and 58 found at Mathurā, both huvishka and Kanishka II bear the ordinary title of *Mahārāja*.[6] In the Ārā inscription dated in the year 41, Kanishka II bears the imperial titles *Rājātirāja* and *Kaïsara*, while in the Wardak inscription dated in the year 50, Huvishka also bears the imperial title *Rājātirāja*. It will be noticed that the aforementioned Mathurā inscriptions of both Huvishka and Kanishka mention no such imperial titles in connection with either of them. To reconcile these apparently contradictory data, it may be suggested that there was a civil war in the Kushāṇa Empire after the death of Vāsishka. At first Kanishka II was victorious and he ruled as Emperor till the year 41. Some time between 41 and 50 he suffered reverses at the hands of Huvishka who reduced him to a subordinate position. Soon thereafter both of them were defeated by some one else and made to assume the subordinate rank of *Mahārāja*.

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i., p. lxxxi.

[2] Lüders thought that the use of the patronymic in the Ārā inscription was intended to distinguish Kanishka II from Kanishka I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 135). The argument now loses its force, because in the present inscription which belongs to the reign of the same king Kanishka II no such patronymic has been used.

[3] [Vāsishka is undoubtedly identical with Vajheshka, Vajhushka of inscriptions and Jushka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Sten Konow has already shown that *j*, *jh* and *s* are attempts at rendering the voiced *s*. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i., p. 163—Ed.]

[4] An inscription of the reign of Huvishka dated in the year 45 from the collection of Pandit Bhagwanlal was found in the Library of the Bombay University, but its original find-spot is not known. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 269 ff.

[5] Lüders' *List*, etc., Nos. 51 and 42: above, Vol. XIV, p. 138.

[6] In two of these (*viz.*, in those of the years 50 and 54) the title *Dēvaputra* is used in addition to *Mahārājā(a)*.

Such a reconstruction of Kushāṇa history, however, does not seem probable; for, the titles mentioned in these private records may be merely matters of accident. We notice the same thing in the case of Kanishka I. The records of the years 2 and 3 of his reign mention only the title *Mahārāja*.[1] Even this title is absent in the subsequent record of the year 5.[2] Then we find the title *Rājātirāja* in the records of the years 7, 8 and 11,[3] but it is absent again in those of the years 9 and 10.[4] We cannot therefore draw any conclusion from the absence of the imperial titles in the records of Huvishka and Kanishka II.

How then are we to explain this strange phenomenon of both Huvishka and Kanishka II ruling at Mathurā in the years 50-58? I think the only theory which can explain it is that of the joint rule of these kings. In the Andhau inscription of Śaka 52,[5] we have a very similar case of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman ruling jointly in Mālwā and Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[6] Another analogous instance is that of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes Karka and his younger brother Gōvinda who were ruling in Gujarāt jointly from Śaka 732 to Śaka 748.[7] Kanishka and Huvishka may similarly have ruled jointly at least during the period from the year 41 to the year 54.

No. 42.—DATES OF SOME EARLY KINGS OF KAUSAMBI.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

From several stone inscriptions discovered at Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī) and Giñjā in the United Provinces and Bāndhogarh in the Rewah State, we have come to know the names of some ancient rulers of Kauśāmbī. The records are dated in an era, the beginning of which is still to be determined. It is proposed to examine the question in this article and to suggest a solution.

The records at Kosam and Giñjā, which have been published, may be chronologically arranged as follows. Their date portions are also given below for ready reference.

(1) Giñjā inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna (year 52)[8]—Mahārājasya Śrī-Bhīmasēnasya sa[ṁ*]vatsarē 50 2 gimha-pakshē 4 divasa 10 2.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 212; and Lüders' *List*, etc., No. 925.

Ibid., No. 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 21; above, Vol. XVII, p. 11 and *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 138 ff.

[4] Lüders' *List*, etc., Nos. 22 and 23.

[5] Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

[6] For a discussion of this problem, see *J. R. A. S.* for 1926, pp. 659 ff.

[7] Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734, 738, 743 and 748 and those of his younger brother Gōvinda in Śaka 732, 735, and 749. In his grants Gōvinda does not say that he made them with the permission of his elder brother. Again he pays in them a tribute to Karka which makes the theory of a civil war and usurpation of the kingdom by Gōvinda unlikely. As the villages granted by these brothers are in the same part of the country, nay, in some cases are situated within a few miles of one another, the theory that there was a division of the kingdom between them is also untenable. Dr. Altekar has suggested that Gōvinda was governing Gujarāt as a deputy for his elder brother while the latter was acting as a regent for the boy king Amōghavarsha I, but the discovery of Gōvinda's grant dated Śaka 732 has shown that Gōvinda was holding Gujarāt even before the death of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. We must therefore suppose that the two brothers were ruling jointly in Gujarāt.

[8] Cunningham, *A.S.R.* Vol. XXI, Pl. XXX, and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

(2) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (year 81)[1]—Maharajasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya sa[ṁ*]vatsarē ēkasitē 80 1 grishma-pakshē dvitiyē 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

(3—4) Allahabad Museum (Kosam) inscriptions of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (year 87)[2]—Mahār[ā]jasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya sa[ṁ]vatsarē sapt[ā]śitē 80 7 varsha-paksha tritiya 3 divasa 5.

(5) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (year 88)[3]—Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[aghasya] [saṁvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha-paksha 3 divasa 5.

(6) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa (year 107)[4]—[Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya śrī-Vaiśrava-[ṇasya] saṁvatsarē sapt-ōttara-śatimē 100 7 grishma-pakshē saptamē 7 divasē prathamē.

(7) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Śivamagha (date lost)[5]—[Mahā]rajasya śrī-Śivamaghasya sa[ṁvatsarē]....[varsha-pakshē] 2 divasē prathamē 1.

(8) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (year 130)[6]—Maharāja-śrī-Bh[ī]mavarmaṇāṁ saṁvatsa[rē*] tri[ṁ]ś-ōttara-śatimē 100 30 grishma-pakshē prathamē 1 di[vasē].

(9) Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (year 139)[7]—Mahar[ā]jasya śrī-Bhīmavarmmaṇah saṁva[t*] 100 30 9....2(?) diva 7.

The records found at Bāndhogarh have not yet been published, but from the information occasionally communicated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, we learn that they are records of the reigns of the *Mahārāja* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasēna (year 51) and his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) (? 76) and grandson Bhadadēva (year 90).[8] Two other small inscriptions discovered at Bāndhogarh record each the construction of a cave by the *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa,[9] son of the *Mahāsēnāpati* Bhadrabāla. They are not dated. Two sealings, one of *Rājan* Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasēna and the other of *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamagha were found during excavations at Bhīṭā.[10] They contain among others the devices of the bull and the tree-in-railing, which, as stated below, occur on the coins of the kings of Kauśāmbi. Some coins of Prishṭhaśriya with the same devices were also discovered at Bhīṭā.[11] As conjectured by Dr. Motichandra,[12] this Prishṭhaśriya is probably identical with Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogarh inscription. Again, a hoard of copper coins has recently been discovered at Sāton in the Fatehpur District of U. P. It has been described by Dr. Motichandra.[13] It contained the coins of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Śivamagha and Bhīmavarman. These coins have the same devices of the bull and the tree-in-railing. Again, Dr. Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (*Ancient India*), pp. 157-58, describes some coins with the legend Jayama[gha*]. It is

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 253 ff., and plate.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff., and plate.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, and plate. Jayaswal read the date as 86. (*History of India*, 150 *A.D.*—350 *A.D.*, p. 230.) According to Dr. Konow this inscription is of the same date as Nos. 3 and 4 above.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff., and plate.

[5] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, and plate.

[6] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., and plate.

[7] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 266 ff., and plate. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar refers the date of this record to the Chēdi era (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 173, n. 3), while Mr. A. Ghosh refers it to the Gupta era (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. III, pp. 178 ff), both on palæographic grounds. Its characters do not materially differ from those of other Kosam inscriptions listed here. Its date must therefore be referred to the same reckoning.

[8] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 146, n. 2.

[9] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 101.

[10] *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, p. 51.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[12] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 99, n. 18.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff.

not known if this legend is complete, for these coins are not illustrated there. Perhaps it is not, for I saw with Dr. A. S. Altekar some Kauśāmbī coins from the collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyasa, on which the king's name appears to be Vijayamagha. Some of the Kauśāmbī coins found in the excavations at Bhīṭā had the incomplete legends (i) viya (? ja), (ii) vi- and (iii) yama-.[1] They also probably belong to the same king Vijayamagha.

From all this material we can arrange these kings chronologically as follows :—

No.	Name of King.	Title.	Years.	Places where stone records have been found.	Places where sealing was found.	Places where coins were found.
1	Vāsishṭhīputra-Bhīmasēna.	Rājan, Mahārāja.	51, 52	Giñjā, Bāndhogarh.	Bhīṭā . .	....
2	Prishṭhaśriya, son of (1).	(Not known)	86 (? 76)[2]	Bāndhogarh .	..	Bhīṭā.
3	Bhadramagha, son of (2).	Mahārāja, Mahāsēnāpati.	81, 87, 88, 90	Kosam, Bāndhogarh.	..	Fatehpur, Kosam.
4	Vaiśravaṇa, son of (3)	Rājan, Mahārāja.	107	Kosam . .	..	Fatehpur, Kosam.
5	Gautamīputra Śivamagha.	Mahārāja .	(Date lost)	Kosam . .	Bhīṭā . .	Fatehpur.
6	Bhīmavarman . .	Mahārāja .	130, 139	Kosam . .	..	Fatehpur.
7	Vijayamagha . .	..	..	....	..	Kosam, Bhīṭā.

The order of succession from Bhīmasēna to Vaiśravaṇa is settled by the relationship these kings bore to one another. I place Śivamagha after Vaiśravaṇa, because the characters of his Kosam record appear to be somewhat more cursive than those of Bhīmasēna's record. Vijayamagha is tentatively placed last of all, because his coins have been found only in the vicinity of Kauśāmbī. These kings held the country from Kosam to Bāndhogarh, a large part of which was included in the ancient Chēdi or Ḍāhala. It is not definitely known where they had their capital, but it is not unlikely that they ruled from Kauśāmbī, the ancient capital of the Vatsa country, where the records and coins of most of them have been found.

It will be noticed that the known dates of these kings range from the year 51 to the year 139. They evidently refer to one and the same reckoning, but it is nowhere specified. The inscriptions, again, do not mention any contemporary kings and thus afford no definite clue to the period in which these kings flourished.[3] We have therefore to examine this question in the light

[1] *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, p. 67.

[2] I have suggested here that the year 86 found in a record of Prishṭhaśriya from Bāndhogarh is a mistake for 76, because it overlaps the dates of his son Bhadramagha. After this article had been sent to the press, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, in reply to an enquiry in this connection, informed me that as many as five records of the reign of Poṭhasiri (Prishṭhaśriya) dated in the year 86 have been discovered at Bāndhogarh and that the reading of the number of the year is decidedly *86*, as it is expressed not only in symbols but also in words (*chhāsiṭe*). He also informs me that there is another inscription pertaining to the reign of the same king, which is dated in the year 87. There is thus no mistake about the reading and the dates undoubtedly overlap. One way of explaining this would be to distinguish between *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha and *Mahāsēnāpati* Bhadrabāla or Bhadadēva (Bhadradēva) and to suppose that the former was ruling at Kosam and the latter, like his father Prishṭhaśriya and son Vaiśravaṇa, was holding Bāndhogarh. But as the coins of Prishṭhaśriya and Vaiśravaṇa have been found at Bhīṭā, at Kosam and near Fatehpur, it seems that the rule of these kings extended to the Vatsa country in the north. Perhaps Prishṭhaśriya and his son Bhadramagha or Bhadrabāla were ruling jointly. For similar cases of joint rule in ancient India, see above, p. 297.

[3] The *Purāṇas* state that nine kings named Mēgha ruled in Kōsalā which usually denotes modern Chhattisgarh. But no coins or records of the kings of this dynasty have been found there.

of other evidence, more or less indefinite, of palæography, language and the mode of dating adopted in these records and the stratification of the level at which their coins and seals were found.

As regards **palæography** the following peculiarities have been noticed :—

(1) The medial short *i* is shown by a small curve on the top of a letter as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records this curve is brought down much lower on the left of the letter.

(2) The medial *ē* is generally indicated by a short horizontal stroke to the left as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records the *mātrā* is usually placed on the top.

(3) The medial *ō* is shown by a concave curve as in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. In the Gupta records, the vowel is shown by two *mātrās* turned in opposite directions.

(4) The right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ś* are of the same length as the left ones. This is a peculiarity of the Kushāṇa records. In the Gupta inscriptions the right verticals of these letters are much elongated.

(5) *Gh*, *p* and *y* are rectangular as in the Kushāṇa period. In the Gupta period these letters become round and cursive.

(6) *N* has a curved base as in the Kushāṇa records, but no loop except in the late inscription of Vaiśravaṇa's reign. This letter became looped in the Gupta period.

(7) *M* and *h* have the later, so-called eastern, forms known from Gupta records, though on the coins of these kings *m* has the archaic shape of the Kushāṇa period.

(8) *S* appears both in looped and unlooped forms. The unlooped form of it was generally current in the Kushāṇa period and the looped one in the Gupta period.

As regards **language**, these records bear affinity to the Kushāṇa rather than to the Gupta records. They are written in a **mixed dialect** which was current in the Kushāṇa age. Such Prākrit expressions as *ētāya puruvaya* for *ētasyām pūrvāyām* or *śatimē* for *śatatamē* are used side by side with correct Sanskrit forms. The language of the Gupta records is generally good Sanskrit.

The method of **dating** adopted in these records is slightly different from that of the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā. The dates are recorded in years and seasons, but instead of mentioning the number of months within the seasons as in the Kushāṇa records from Mathurā, they state the number of fortnights like the Sātavāhana records from the Deccan.[1] In North India such season dates were current during the Kushāṇa period, but they seem to have gone out of use in the Gupta age as there is not a single certain date of that age recorded in seasons.[2]

[1] Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1122-26.

[2] Mr. R. D. Banerji drew attention to the date of a Mathurā Brāhmī inscription which he took as indicating a compromise between solar month dates and season dates. He read the date as *Vijaya-rājya saṁ 100 10 3 Kā[rttika Hēma*]nta mā[sa 3] di[va]sa 20* (above, Vol. II, p. 210, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 46). But the facsimile shows that the reading *Hēmanta* is extremely uncertain. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the date of the record appears to be 110, not 113. Mr. A. Ghosh mentions three season dates of the Gupta period, but they too are not certain. Of these the first one, *viz.*, the date of the Kosam inscription of Bhīmavarman (year 139) refers to the same era as those of the other Kosam inscriptions of this dynasty, as shown above. The date of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II is not a season date as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. As there was an intercalary month in the Gupta year 61, Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the lost letters of the date were *Āshāḍha-māsē* is quite plausible. As for the date of the Mathurā inscription No. XXXVIII, (above, Vol. II, p. 210), its attribution to the Gupta period rests only on palæographic evidence which is not quite certain. See also *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 11. In South India the custom of using season dates lingered much longer ; for we have some records of the Vākāṭakas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D., which have season dates. See above, Vol. III, p. 262 ; Vol. IV, p. 197 ; Vol. XVII, p. 339, etc.

As regards the evidence of stratification, it may be pointed out that the sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha were found during excavations at Bhīṭā at the level of the lower floor of Nāgadēva's house all the finds of which belong to the Kushāṇa period.[1] According to Sir John Marshall the house was deserted, owing to some catastrophe, in the Kushāṇa period.

Having thus stated the nature of the evidence available for determining the age of these records, let us proceed to examine the theories advanced so far.

(I) Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni referred the date of the Kosam stone inscription of Bhadramagha to the **Gupta era**. The years 51—139 of these records would, on this supposition, correspond to A.D. 370—458. This theory does not appear plausible; for, though these inscriptions exhibit some forms of letters (such as *m* with unjoined middle, the cursive *h* and the looped *s*) which are believed to have become current in the Gupta period, the general appearance of their characters is **pre-Gupta**. The evidence of language and the manner of dating is also against this theory as stated above.

(II) The second theory, which has been advocated by Dr. Jayaswal, and Messrs. N. G. Majumder, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, refers these dates to the **Chēdi era**. It is pointed out that these Kosam records show greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating to the Gupta in cursiveness.[2] They thus belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language are also believed to point to the same period. These records are, therefore, assigned to 'some time from the third to the fourth century A.D.'. The only era in this period to which the dates could be referred is the Chēdi era of A.D. 248-49.

This theory has much plausibility and the fact that some of these records come from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lends colour to it. The origin of the Chēdi era is still uncertain. The earliest certain date[3] of this era so far known is the year 207 recorded in the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka Dahrasēna. The era was current in Gujarāt, Koṅkan and northern Mahārāshṭra down to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. It is found used in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalachuris, Western Chālukyas and their feudatories. Later on it was taken by the Kalachuris to the United Provinces and Chhattīsgarh when they founded their kingdoms there. But no dates of the first two centuries of this era have been found till now. The discovery of these Kosam records which apparently belong to the third or fourth century A. D. seemed to supply the early dates of the era which had been missing so far.

This theory does not, however, appear to be convincing; for, if these dates are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become the contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors, Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. That the Guptas extended their sway to Allahābād and the Ganges-Jumna Doab soon after their rise appears clear from an oft-quoted statement in the *Purāṇas*.[4] If these rulers of Kauśāmbī (36 miles from Allahabad) were ruling in the fourth century A. D., they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. It seems strange therefore that none of these records mentions the name of any Gupta overlord. The explanation that these are private records will not avail, because even when Vaiśravaṇa records his excavation of a cave at Bāndhogarh he does not name any suzerain.

[1] *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1911-12, pp. 34, 51, 66 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 255.

[3] The dates of the Uchchakalpa records which are earlier are referred by some to the Chēdi era, but this does not seem to be the correct view. See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

[4] anu-Gaṅgā Prayāgaṁ cha Sākētaṁ Magadhāṁs=tathā |
ētān janapadān sarvān bhōkshyantē Gupta-vaṁśajāḥ|| Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53.

Secondly, it does not appear credible that the Gupta Emperors allowed these feudatories to strike coins in their own names. The Guptas seemed to have valued highly the Imperial prerogative of issuing their own coinage; for, instead of allowing the coins of the Kushāṇas to circulate in their kingdom, they issued a varied and magnificent coinage of their own. When Chandragupta II exterminated the Western Śaka Satraps and annexed Mālwā and Kāthiāwāḍ he issued fresh silver coins to meet the needs of the people of the newly acquired provinces. It may be urged that the coins of these Kauśāmbī kings are all of copper, while no copper coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta have yet been found.[1] The first Gupta king whose copper coins have been discovered is Chandragupta II.[2] Chandragupta I and Samudragupta may therefore have allowed these coins to circulate in their kingdom for the sake of convenience. But this argument does not explain why Bhīmavarman who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II was allowed to strike coins in his own name. From inscriptional records we know of some feudatories of the Guptas, but the coins of none of them have been found. It is extremely unlikely that the Guptas made an exception in the case of these feudatories of Kauśāmbī.

(III) The third theory is that these dates refer to the **Kushāṇa era** founded by Kanishka. The palæographical evidence detailed above shows that these Kosam records must be classed with the Kushāṇa and this has indeed been admitted even by the advocates of the second theory. But they point out that some of the letters, *viz.*, *m*, *s* and *h*, have more developed forms which are usually met with in Gupta records. It is, however, not realized that if these dates are referred to the Chēdi era, the resemblances should be many more and striking; for, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become then the contemporaries of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The stone pillar on which Harishēṇa's *praśasti* of Samudragupta is incised is believed to have originally stood at Kauśāmbī itself.[3] The inscription was incised about A.D. 360,[4] *i.e.*, somewhat earlier than the inscription of Vaiśravaṇa and much earlier than those of Bhīmavarman. A comparison of Harishēṇa's *praśasti* with the Kosam records will show that its characters are much more developed than those of the latter. It exhibits throughout the looped *n*, *sh* and *s*; the right verticals of *g*, *t* and *ś* are elongated and the letters are generally cursive, instead of being squat and square. In all these respects the letters of the Kosam records, especially those of Bhīmavarman's inscription dated in the year 130, present decidedly early forms approximating those of the Kushāṇa. As for the letters *m*, *s* and *h*, it may be pointed out that the so-called eastern Gupta forms of these occur much earlier than the age of the Guptas and as far west as Mathurā and Jasdan in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Bühler pointed out long ago that the looped form of *s* occurs throughout in a Mathurā inscription dated in the year 20 of the era of Kanishka.[5] Dr. D. R. Bhandarakar has recently drawn attention to the

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[1] Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, p. lxxxvii. Prof. C. J. Brown thinks that Samudragupta did not mint copper coins because in the time of the Guptas, the bazars must have been full of Kushāṇa copper money (*The Coins of India*, p. 42).

[2] R. D. Banerji states in his *Age of the Imperial Guptas* (p. 214) that he saw two copper coins of Samudragupta They have not been published.

[3] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 2.

[4] V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (third ed.), p. 282. This *praśasti* does not mention Samudragupta's performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. According to Dr. H. R. Divekar, the expression *kṛipaṇa-dīn-ānāth-ātura-jan-ōddharaṇa-ma(sa)ttra-dīksh-ābhyupagata-manasaḥ* in l. 26 indicates the intention of Samudragupta to perform the sacrifice (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. VII, p. 165). But this is incorrect. *Sattra-dīkshā* is used there only for a metaphorical description, the figure being *rūpaka*. For an exactly similar idea, see *āpanna-ābhaya-sattrēshu dīkshitāḥ khalu Pauravāḥ* in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*, Act II, v. 16.

[5] Above, Vol. I, pp. 372-73.

occurrence of the so-called eastern forms of *m* and *h* in a Western Kshatrapa record of Śaka 127 (A. D. 205).[1] The Gupta forms of these letters were thus not unknown in the second and third centuries A. D.

But it may be objected that these forms occur only sporadically in the aforementioned records of the Kushāṇa period. They do not show that these forms had become current at the time. To prove this we must have some record which definitely belongs to the Kushāṇa period and exhibits all these forms together as in the Kosam inscriptions under consideration. Such a record is not difficult to find. I draw attention to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the reign of Kanishka.[2] The characters of this inscription closely resemble those of the Kosam records. They include the so-called Eastern Gupta forms of the letters *m*, *s* and *h*. In other respects, such as the forms of the medial vowels, of *n*, *v*, *sh*, etc., they are akin to other Kushāṇa records, though they are somewhat more cursive. The date of this record should give a clue to the age of the Kosam records under discussion.

This Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Dēvaputra* Kanishka. It is dated on the 10th day of Pausha in the year 54.[3] As shown elsewhere, this Kanishka must be identified with Kanishka II whose Ārā inscription is dated in the year 41. The date 54 must of course be referred to the era started by Kanishka I. The beginning of this era is still uncertain, but most scholars are now in favour of identifying it with the Śaka era of A. D. 78.[4] In view of the similarity of the characters used in this Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 54 and the Kosam records of the years 52—139, it seems certain that all these records are dated in the same era, *viz.*, the Kushāṇa era founded by Kanishka. And this is but natural; for Kanishka carried his arms as far as Pāṭaliputra in the east. In the south his empire extended at least up to the Narmadā. His era seems to have been current throughout his extensive empire long after his death. Inscriptions dated in it have been found at Sārnāth in the east, Sānchi in the south and Wardak near Kābul in the north-west. Once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to use it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha continued to be used long after him, though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. We do not know who founded the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.[5] But it was used in Gujarāt, Kōkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra for several centuries after the memory of its founder had faded from the public mind. The same thing must have happened in the case of the Kushāṇa era.

It is not known if the Vatsa and Chēdi countries were included in the Kushāṇa Empire during the reign of Huvishka; for, no inscriptions of the king have been found there.[6] R. D. Banerji conjectured from the absence of Kushāṇa records between the years 60 and 74 that during the last years of Huvishka's reign the Kushāṇa Empire in India was convulsed by civil

1 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 2 f.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f., and plate.

3 See for the discussion on the date of this record, above, pp. 293 ff.

4 Dr. Sten Konow places the beginning of this era in A. D. 128-29 (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. xcv).

5 Though this era is usually called the Chēdi era, it does not seem that it originated in the Chēdi country; for, its early dates come from the Bombay Presidency. The name *Chēdi-saṁvat* occurs for the first time in a record of the year 919 (A. D. 1167-68) from Chhattisgarh. It was *then* current in the Chēdi country. In an earlier record of the year 831 (A. D. 1079) the date is introduced with the words *Chēdīśasya saṁvat* evidently because it was used by the Kalachuris who were then ruling over the Chēdi country. The connection of the Kalachuris with this era does not go before the year 347 (A. D. 595).

6 It is conjectured from the discovery of the impression of a medal of Huvishka under the Vajrāsana throne inside the temple of Bodh Gayā that the Empire of Huvishka included Bihar (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 60).

wars and revolution.[1] If the kings of Kauśāmbī were at first feudatories of the Kushāṇas, they must have asserted their independence in this period. No inscriptions of the reign of Vāsudēva have been found outside the Mathurā region. The kings of Kauśāmbī may therefore have been virtually independent during his time. After the death of Vāsudēva, there was no power in North India which could have held them in subjection till the rise of the Guptas.

The last known king of this line is Vijayamagha, but we need not suppose that the dynasty ended with him. His successors may have continued to rule at least over the territory round Kauśāmbī till the rise of the Guptas. Balavarman who is mentioned in the Allahābād *praśasti* as one of the rulers of Āryāvarta (North India) exterminated by Samudragupta may have been ruling at Kauśāmbī. His name does not of course end in *magha*, but this presents no difficulty; for *magha* was not the invariable suffix of the names of these kings. R. D. Banerji proposed to identify this Balavarman with the homonymous ancestor of Bhāskaravarman of Assam.[2] But the identification does not appear to be correct for two reasons. Firstly, Balavarman was ninth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman. From the *Harshacharita* he seems to have come to the throne about A. D. 600. Taking 25 years as the average period of each reign, we find that this Balavarman of Assam must have ruled from circa A. D. 375 to 400. He was thus a contemporary of Chandragupta II, not of Samudragupta. Secondly, we find Kāmarūpa (Assam) included in the list of border kingdoms, the rulers of which paid homage and tribute to Samudragupta. Its ruler was not therefore exterminated by the Gupta Emperor.

Balavarman is therefore more likely to have been a ruler of Central India who was overthrown and whose territory was annexed by Samudragupta. He may have been ruling at Kauśāmbī. That Kauśāmbī was directly under the rule of the Guptas appears clear not only from the aforementioned statement in the *Purāṇas* about the extent of the Gupta kingdom, but also from the *praśasti* on the stone pillar at Allahābād, which seems to have originally stood at Kauśāmbī.

Thus the theory that **the dates of these Kings of Kauśāmbī refer to the Kushāṇa (or Śaka) era** presents no difficulties.[3] It harmonises all data satisfactorily and squares with our present knowledge of the history of Central India in the pre-Gupta period.

No. 43.—ASOGE PLATES OF KADAMBA JAYAKESIN (II); SAKA 1055.

BY G. H. KHARE, POONA.

The plates were originally edited by me from the reading, etc., supplied by Mr. Dāmūtātyā Bokāḍe of Hubli, Dharwar District.[4] Afterwards I was able to acquire the plates in question for the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa, from their owner, Gaṇapatarao Ināmdār of **Asoge**, Khānāpur, Belgaum District and re-edited them from the originals with facsimiles.[5] I again edit them here for the benefit of English-knowing scholars.

[1] R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 131.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 13. K. P. Jayaswal on the other hand, suggested that Balvarman was the second or *abhishēka* name of Kalyāṇavarman who is mentioned as the ruler of Pāṭalīputra in the *Kaumudīmahōtsava*, see his *History of India*, etc., p. 142, but the historicity of the drama is not above suspicion.

[3] The view that these kings flourished in the second and third centuries A. D. has also been supported by Mr. G. S. Chatterji (*Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.), Dr. Motichandra (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.) and Dr. Sten Konow (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.).

[4] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Dekkan* (*Marāṭhī*) Vol. I p. 26 *et seq.*

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 9 *et seq.*

The record consists of **three plates**, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{10}''$ in dimensions. The plates were, as informed by Mr. Bokāḍe, originally strung on a circular ring, the two ends of which were soldered into a **seal** bearing the figure of a **boar** in relief. I was, however, unable to acquire the seal. The inner sides of the first and the third and both the sides of the second plate are inscribed, containing 49 lines of writing in all. The sides contain 12, 13, 12 and 12 lines respectively. The rims of the plates being raised, the writing is perfectly preserved. The whole set weighs 170 *tolas*.

The charter is written in Dēvanāgarī **characters** of the 12th century of the Christian era, which closely resemble those found in the Kadamba inscriptions of the time and call for no special remarks. *Prishṭhamātrās* are invariably used. The form of *th* in *sthi* is peculiar and resembles that of *chh*. It occurs in ll. 1, 10, 21, 38. A *daṇḍa* appearing at the end of ll. 1, 17, 18, 23, 38, 43 and 44 stands to serve the purpose of a hyphen, showing that the word is continued in the next line.

About **orthography** three points deserve mention here. *B* is generally substituted by *v* as *vibharti* (l. 3), *Kādaṁva* (l. 10), *vivudhō* (l. 47), etc., and *ś* by *s* in some cases, as in *saurya* (l. 21) *Galagēsvara* (l. 28), *sākē* (l. 38). *Visarga* followed by *ś* and *s* is invariably changed to *ś* and *s* respectively. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse throughout.

The following **place-names** occur in this grant: **Koṅkaṇa** (l. 8); the river **Malaprahāriṇī** (l. 25); **Palasī**-*dēśa* (l. 29); the *kampaṇa* **Kālagiri** including the village **Kūpaṭṭōggarikā** (l. 33). Koṅkaṇa does not require any elucidation. Malaprahāriṇī is evidently the old name of the modern Malaprabhā. Palasī is the modern Halsī in the Khānāpur *taluqa* of the Belgaum District.[1] There is a shrine called Galagēśvara at the village of Baloge, which is evidently identical with the one mentioned in the record, as it is situated on the bank of the river Malaprabhā, the Malaprahāriṇī of the inscription. It is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Khānāpur. The *kampaṇa* Kālagiri is referred to in a similar inscription.[2] The *Postal Village Directory of the Bombay Circle* notes Kālagiri as a deserted village in Khānāpur[3]. It may be the old Kālagiri. Kūpaṭṭōggarikā seems to be Kopulgeree of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 41, shown some 3 miles due south-east of Khānāpur.

The details of the **date**, as given in ll. 38-40, are the **Śaka year 1055**, expressed by the words *śara* (=5), *śara* (=5) and *āśā* (=10), **the cyclic year Pramādin, the first day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, Saturday and the solar eclipse.** According to the *Indian Chronology*[4] by Pillai, the expired Śaka year 1055 coincides with the cyclic year Pramādin and there was a solar eclipse on the newmoon day of Māgha of that year which fell on Friday. But as the period after the occurrence of the eclipse is also reckoned as auspicious for making grants, Saturday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, is cited here as the day of the grant.

[1] For other references to Palasī and its variants Palāśikā, Palasige, etc., see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 285, 288, 289, 298 note 2, 358 note 1, 451, 452, 456, 460, 476, 486, 565, 568-570.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 279 and 280.

[3] But the *Indian Altas* (published in 1852 A. D.), sheet no. 41, does not show this village.

[4] Tables, page 87.

But it should also be borne in mind that Mr. Pillai has given the mean ending moment of the newmoon day there. The Christian equivalent of the date is 27th January A. D. 1134.[1]

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant, by **Kādamba Jayakēśin** II of Goa, of the village Kūpaṭṭōggarikā to one Śivaśakti, a 'store of penance', for the worship of the God Galagēśvara, for the repairs of his temple and for the accomplishment of *satras* on auspicious occasions such as *Chaitra, pavitra*, etc.

After the first two benedictory verses praying for the favour of Hari and Śiva, the record goes on to describe the origin and genealogy of the Kādambas of Goa. From the drops of sweat of Śiva fallen at the foot of a *kadamba* tree sprang Trilōchana-Kadamba, who resided in the Koṅkaṇa and from whom the family got the name Kādamba. In this family was born Jayakēśin (I), who received the title *Rāyapitāmaha* by his successfully reconciling the Chālukya and Chōla kings at Kāñchī who were hostile to each other. This fact has been also referred to in the Kiri-Halasige plates[2] thus :—

चालुक्यचोलभूपालौ कांच्यां मित्रे विधाय यः ।

पेर्मड्ढितूर्यनिर्घोषोप्यासीद्रायपितामहः ॥

From him was born Vijayāditya who begot Jayakēśin (II). The only fact recorded about him in this inscription is that a certain king gave his daughter in marriage to him. Unfortunately the name of either the king or his daughter is not mentioned here, but we know these names from other records. For instance, the same Kiri-Halasige plates have the following verse :—

भूभृत्त्राणपरायणः पृथुयशा गांभीर्यरत्नाकरः

श्रीपेर्माडिनृपः पयोनिधिनिभः सोमानुजां कन्यकाम् ।

यस्मै विस्मयकारिभूरिविभवैर्दत्वं(त्वे)भकोशादिभिः

ख्यातः श्रीपतये स मैललमहादेवीं कृतार्थोभवत् ॥

This verse apparently states that the King Permāḍi (=Chālukya Vikramāditya VI) gave his daughter Mailalamahādēvī, the younger sister of Sōmēśvara III, to him.[3] There is perhaps one more fact recorded about Jayakēśin (II). The 13th verse begins with the phrase *Kṛita-Bhōgapur-āvāsō* which means that he made Bhōgapura his residence. If we accept this meaning, we must try to identify Bhōgapura. But as it is mentioned singly, we are practically helpless in the matter.

[1] [What Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has shown at the cited place evidently refers to the Christian equivalent of the *amāvāsyā* of the month of Māgha in the year concerned, which is Friday, 26th January A. D. 1134, without referring to the exact duration of that *tithi*. The solar eclipse, however, appears to have taken place in the early hours of the following day, namely Saturday, 27th January A. D. 1134, when the *amāvāsyā* ended about two hours and a half after the mean sun-rise, the rest, or the major part, of that day thus being counted as the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna, the *tithi* mentioned in the inscription. This is made clear by referring to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 270. From this it follows that the donation was both actually made and recorded on the same day, though by a few hours' difference the recording fell on the following *tithi*. The date of the record may thus be regarded as perfectly regular.—B. C. C.]

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

[3] *Ibid.* The fact is also clearly mentioned in the Dēgāṁve, Halsī, and Gōḷihaḷḷi inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp. 267, 279, 288, 296), Goa plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 289) and the first Narēndra inscription (above, Vol. XIII, p. 298) and inferred in the second Narēndra inscription (*ibid.*, p. 316).

This record extends the period of Jayakēśin's reign by 8 years; for, the present charter is issued in Śaka 1055 and the last known date of Jayakēśin II, as recorded by the late Dr. Fleet and as found in inscriptions published since then, is Śaka 1047.[1]

All the same I must confess that this record does not throw any light on his political relation to the successor of the Chālukya King Vikramāditya. This record has nothing to show whether he acknowledged the Chālukya supremacy.

After the 25th verse appear two usual imprecatory verses. The last two stanzas tell us that one Sōmadēva, son of Trailōkyadēva, of the Upamanyu *gōtra* drafted the grant, and an artisan named Rāmadēva engraved it.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Vv. 1-8, 13-24, 27, 29 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 9, 11, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 10 *Āryā*; v. 25 *Gāthā*; v. 26 *Śālinī*; v. 28 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate.

1 श्री[: ॥*] भूयाद्विभूत्यं भवतां स वराहवपुर्हरिः [।*] पोत्रप्रांतस्थिता य-

2 स्य मुस्तास्तंवा(बा)यते मही ॥[१॥*] स वशिशवशिशवं दद्यान्मौलौ यस्य

3 हिमद्युतिः [।*] वि(बि)भर्ति नाकनलिनीमृणालशकलश्रियं(यम्) ।[। २॥*] पुरा पु-

4 राणां विजये शंभोः कतिचिदास्पदं(दम्) । चकुर्ललाटफलके श्रमस्वे-

5 दोदवि(बि)दवः[3] ।[। ३॥*] कदंव(ब)तलमाप्तेभ्यस्तेभ्यो नेत्रत्रयार्चितः [।*] चतुर्भु-

6 जस्समभव स्यौ(त्स्यै)र्यधैर्यधरो नरः [॥४॥*] शक्तिमान्विवु(बु)धानंदक-

7 र[:*] स्कंद इवापरः [।*] त्रिलोचनकदंवा(बा)ख्यां वि(बि)भ्रदद्भुतविक्रमः [॥५॥*]

8 स नागवल्लीकलिते कदलीखंडमंडिते । चकार कोंकणे वा-

9 सं विलासवसतिस्त्वि(श्चि)रं(रम्) ।[। ६॥*] ततः प्रववृते वंशश्शुद्धश्शीतांशुनि-

10 र्म्मलः । अम्लानकमलोल्लासो महेस्व(श्व)रकृतस्थितिः [॥७॥*] कादंव(ब)प-

11 दविस्याातो राजहंसोपशोभितः । अभंग इव गंगायाः प्रवा-

12 हो हिमव[।[4]]द्गिरेः ।[। ८॥*] एतस्मि[5]जयकेशिभूपतिरभूदंभोधिगर्भो-

[1] *Bombay Gazeteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 568 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, 298, 316. Prof. Moraes in his *Kadamba Kula* (p. 197), seems to extend this period to A. D. 1147 (Ś. 1070 current), because Jayakēśin II's son succeeded him in that year. But unless records of the intermediate period are found, that will not be the final conclusion. There may have been other causes, such as chaos, which may have prevented the son from succeeding his father before Ś. 1070 current. [Two inscriptions of the reign of Jayakēśin II bearing the date Śaka 1058, have been noticed in the *An. Rep. on S. I. E.* for 1925-26 (Nos. 453 and 461 of Appendix C). Another record of the same ruler (*ibid.*, No. 450) probably belongs to A. D. 1138 (Kālayukta).—N. L. R.]

[2] Prepared from the original plates.

[3] The two circles representing the sign of *visarga* are separated, one appearing at the top and the other at the bottom of the letter *va*. Evidently the engraver first omitted the *visarga* inadvertently and later on, discovering his mistake, inserted it in the manner described above for want of space.

[4] The form of द्गि resembles very much that of हि.

[5] Read एतस्मिञ्जयकेशि°.

Second Plate ; First Side.

13 द्रूवं रत्नैर्व्विहितैश्चकार सफलं यस्त्यागसिंहासनं(नम्) । निश्शं-
14 कोंकतटे गृहीतसमरो चालुक्यचोलाधिपौ कृत्वा रायपि-
15 तामहेति महतीमद्य प्रसिद्धिं गतः ।[। ९॥*] तस्माद्विजयादित्यस्सत्यवता-
16 मग्रणीर्गुणैः प्रगुणः [।*] जातस्स यस्य कीर्त्तिर्व्विलसति लोके पताकेव ॥[१०॥*]
17 जातोस्माज्जयकेशिदेवनृपतिस्सी(स्सा)क्षादिवाधोक्षजः क्षोणीर-
18 क्षणदक्षिणस्सुमनसामानंदसंदोहदः । यो वाल्यो(बाल्ये)पि यशोदयाप-
19 रिगतस्सत्योल्लसन्मानसो दृष्टोदारपराक्रमो व(ब)लिजये
20 लक्ष्म्या समालिंगितः [॥११॥*] अस्योसा(त्सा)हसत्वस्य साहसवतो निस्सं(श्शं)क-
21 सौ(शौ)र्यस्थितेः(ते)र्म्माहात्म्यं महनीयमानमहसः किं वर्णयामो वयम् ।
22 यस्मै विस्मयवान्वितीर्य विधिना सर्व्वस्वभूतां सुतां सार्द्धं वाजिगजव्र-
23 जेन पृथिवीनाथः कृतार्थोभवत् ॥[१२॥*] कृतभोगपुरावासो वि-
24 लासवसतिर्नृपः । स पुण्यव्रर्धिसार्थस्य विविधार्थैर्म्मनोरथान् ।[।१३॥*]
25 सरित्सह्याद्रिसंभूता शैवैर्लिंगैर्न्निरंतरा [।*] मलप्रहारिणीत्यस्ति ता-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

26 पपापापहारिणी ।[। १४॥*] क्षत्रक्षेत्रक्षयोद्भूतस्फूर्ज्जद्वृजिनमार्जनात् । प्रा-
27 प्ता परशुरामस्य स्वस्य नाम्नो यथार्थतान्(म्) ।[। १५॥*] तस्यास्तीरेस्ति भगवान्[1]
28 स्वयंभूर्भुक्तिमुक्तिदः । शंभुः प्रसिद्धस्थो(स्थौ)ल्येन गलगेस्व(श्व)रसंज्ञया ।[। १६॥*]
29 दत्तभक्तजनानन्दः पलसीदेशभूषणं(णम्) । प्रकटीकृतमाहात्म्यस्तत्त-
30 द्वरसमर्प्पणात् ।[। १७॥*] तस्मै पूजोपचारार्थं जीर्णोद्धरणकर्म्मणे । त-
31 [था] चैत्रपवित्रादिपर्व्वणे सत्रसिद्धये ।[। १८॥*] तत्तद्भोगविभूत्यर्थं
32 भक्तिनिर्भ(र्भ)रमानसः । महामाहेस्व(श्व)रः प्रादाज्जयकेशिमही-
33 पतिः ।[। १९॥*] कंपणे कालगिर्व्वाख्ये कूपट्टोग्गरिकाभिधं(धम् ।) ग्रामं त्रिभोग-
34 संपन्नं सर्व्वबा(बा)धाविवर्ज्जितं(तम्) ।[। २०॥*] नमस्यं सर्व्वलोकस्य यावदाचंद्रता-

[1] This न appears more like ना.

ASOGE PLATES OF KADAMBA JAYAKESIN (II); SAKA 1055.

i.

ii,a.

SCALE: SEVEN-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

REG. No.3977 E'36-290—x-290'48.

ii b.

iii.

35 रकं । प्रसिद्धचतुराघाटं पूर्व्वसीमासमन्वितं(तम्) ।[।२१॥*] तपोनिष्ठागरिष्ठस्य

36 शिवशक्तेस्तपोनिधेः । वारिधारां समुसृ(त्सृ)ज्य पाणौ तत्पिंडिकात-

37 [टे] ।[।२२॥*] सर्व्वप्रधानसंमत्या पुरोहितपुरस्सरो(रः) [।*] विद्यावदातवदने

Third Plate.

38 विद्वद्वर्गि(र्गो)न्तिकस्थिते ॥[२३॥*] सा(शा)के शरशराशांके प्रमादिपरिवत्सरे ।

39 फाल्गुने शुद्धपक्षस्य प्रतिपद्दिवसे शुभे ।[।२४॥*] सूर्योपरागे सौर्येह्नि(ह्नि)

40 सर्व्वपर्व्वोत्तमोत्तमे । अत्रैव चित्रचारित्रः प्राह श्रीकोंकणेश्वरः [।*]

41 आगामिभूपानभ्यर्थ्य धर्म्मोयं पाल्यतामिति ॥[२५॥*] सामान्योयं

42 धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेता-

43 न्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[२६॥*] स्व-

44 दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम् । षष्टि वर्षसहस्रा-

45 णि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ।[।२७॥*] श्रीशारदापदसरोरुहलोल-

46 भृंगः ख्याति गतो जगति जङ्गमभारतीति । श्रीसोमदेववि-

47 बु(बु)धो व्यदधादिदं श्रीत्रैलोक्यदेवतनुभूरुपमन्युगो[त्रः] ।[।२८॥*]

48 अनल्पशिल्पकुशलो रामदेवाभिधः शुचिः । अलिखल्लिखि-

49 तार्थज्ञश्शाश(स)नं नृपशासनात् ॥[२९॥*] मंगल(लं) महाश्री[:*]

No. 44.—BALSANE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA ; SAKA 1106.

BY MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, B.A., BOMBAY.

The following inscription is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple at **Balsāṇē**, in the Pimpalner *tālukā* of the West Khāndesh District of the Bombay Presidency, a place well known for its several temples in the Chalukyan style. It has been noticed several times previously : in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XII (Khāndesh), p. 433 ; by Burgess and Cousens in the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 55 ; by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1918-19, p. 45 ; and again by Cousens[1] in his *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 26. Its

[1] This inscription, however, does not find a place in the *Progress Report, A. S. I., W. C.*, for 1891-92, where the Balsāṇē temples are described, for the first time, by Mr. Cousens.

text and facsimile have, however, not yet been published. The brief notices of its contents are both inadequate and inaccurate. I copied it in March 1941, when I accompanied Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., the Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, on an archaeological tour in Khāndesh. Its estampage, published here, I owe to the authorities of the P. W. Museum, Bombay. I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to edit it in this journal. I have also to thank Mr. G. H. Khare, of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍaḷa, Poona, and Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A., for some suggestions.

The inscribed piece of the lintel, which is smoothly dressed, measures about 4¼′×½′. The inscription consists of five long lines and two very short ones added at the left end. The letters are deeply carved and are in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet and regular for the period in which the record was inscribed. While most of the letters exhibit the fully developed forms as they are found in the present day Nāgarī, some of them, such as *ch*, *j*, *ṇ*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *r*, *ś*, etc., appear in a transitory stage. The initial *i* (l. 3), *ī* (l. 5) and *ē* (l. 2) show their early forms.

The **language** is Sanskrit, but the composition of the record is very faulty, though most of the mistakes are due to the carelessness of the scribe. Except for the portions giving the particulars of the date and the name of the architect, the inscription is in verse. As regards **orthography**, *b* and *v*, *ś*, *sh* and *s* are generally differentiated, but sometimes confounded. The forms like *puṁṇya* for *puṇya* (l. 1), *samāhvaē* for *samāhvayē* (l. 2), *sthāī* for *sthāyī* (l. 5), etc., are mere phonetic variations. There are a number of other mistakes that are pointed out in giving the text.

The inscription opens with an invocatory stanza. The next verse describes that in the Gārgya family was born one **Sōmēśvara**-Paṇḍita, son of **Padmanābha,** a poet of great renown. His son was the illustrious **Mahalūka**-Paṇḍita, who became famous by his personal good qualities. He is stated to have helped a king named **Kṛishṇa** in obtaining the earth. From this we are perhaps to infer that Mahalūka-Paṇḍita served under that king either as a minister or as a priest. He is further described as a well-known mathematician and a knower of *dharma*. The **object** of the inscription is to record that the *Paṇḍita* repaired the Royal Maṭha (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at **Balasāṇaka,** for the inhabitance of Brahmins. In the last verse a hope is expressed that the *maṭha* should last through hundreds of *kalpas*. At the end it is stated that the engraving was done by the architect **Dāṇḍa.**

The **date** of the inscription is given three times, twice in the second line in words and numerical figures and once again at the termination of the record, as the **Śaka year 1106**, but without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. It does not therefore admit of verification. It corresponds to A. D. 1184.

Banerji[1] was the first to give an abstract of the contents of this inscription and to discuss its bearings. His rendering of it, however, is not all correct. In his account we do not find any mention of the name of Mahalūka-Paṇḍita, who repaired the *maṭha*. He takes the epithets of Mahalūka as those of Sōmēśvara whom he treats as the minister of Kṛishṇa. Evidently his decipherment of the record was imperfect. To the same defect is to be attributed his statement that Sōmēśvara " held the king Kṛishṇarāja in the palm of his hands ". The passage in question, as already shown, refers to Mahalūka and may literally be rendered as " one who quickly does or makes over the earth in the palm of the hand of the king Kṛishṇa ".

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

As regards the identification of this king Kṛishṇa, Banerji has rightly pointed out that he cannot be the Rāshṭrakūṭa or the Paramāra prince of that name, as their known dates are far remote from the period of the present inscription.

Mr. Sachindra Chandra Majumdar,[1] who has further discussed this inscription, follows Banerji's account. According to him, Kṛishṇa belongs to the Nikumbha-vaṁśa. Two inscriptions[2] of this family have been found at Pāṭaṇ, near Chāḷisgāon, in the East Khāndesh District. According to them there were two kings of that name in the Nikumbha family. Mr. Majumdar identifies the Kṛishṇa of the present inscription with Kṛishṇarāja II of the Nikumbha family, who was alive in Śaka 1070. He seems to suggest that the Balsāṇē inscription is a posthumous record of Kṛishṇarāja II. His arguments in favour of the above identification appear to be far-fetched and based on several suppositions. He takes it for granted that the *maṭha* was not repaired *during* the reign of Kṛishṇa. He also suggests the possibility of Sōmēśvara (actually Mahalūka) having outlived Kṛishṇarāja II by over 36 years, which is improbable, if not impossible. In Khāndesh, the Nikumbha-vaṁśa, the dynasty with which he has tried to connect the Krishṇa of our inscription, ruled in the vicinity of Pāṭaṇ, which is about 64 miles, south by west of Balsāṇē, where the present record is found. It seems hardly possible that petty chieftains like the Nikumbhas should have wielded their power over such a great distance.

Taking these things into consideration, it is clear that the king Kṛishṇa of our inscription could not have been the Nikumbha prince of that name, as held by Mr. Majumdar, and should therefore be located somewhere else.

It is well known to the students of history that there were several minor feudatory families ruling in Khāndesh (*Seuṇadēśa*, of those times) during the Yādava[3] period. Many of these go under the general name of Ābhīras or Ahirs, of whom Khāndesh has still a very large population.

Gauḷi rājās, or the Cowherd kings, as they are sometimes called, have several traditions current about them. According to one, the structures in the so-called *Hemāḍpanti* or the late Chalukyan style of architecture are said to be the works of these rulers.[4] Siṅghaṇa, the great Yādava king, is stated to have won several victories over the Cowherd Kings, which are referred to in his inscriptions.[5]

Of the many Ābhīra-kulas,[6] we know of one family from Bhambhāgiri. Siṅghaṇa's victory over one Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, is mentioned in the Āmbē Inscription No. 2

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L (1921), pp. 58 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 39 ff.; above, Vol. I, p. 338 ff. Besides these two inscriptions, another fragmentary inscription, belonging probably to the same family and containing the names of Kṛishṇarāja (II), Indra and Gōvana (III), was discovered by the late Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the well-known Marāṭhā historian, in the river-bed at Pāṭaṇ. He published his account of this inscription in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhulia. This inscription, which he reports to have been removed to Chāḷisgāon, cannot be traced now.

[3] The earliest Yādava inscription in Khāndesh is the Vāghḷī inscription of Maurya Gōvindarāja, Śaka 991, referring to the reign of Seuṇa (Seuṇachandra II) of the Early Yādava dynasty (above, Vol. II, p. 225 ff.): and the latest, so far known, is the Mēthī inscription of Kṛishṇa, Śaka 1176, belonging to the Later Yādava dynasty. See *Saṁśōdhaka* (Quarterly Journal of the Rājwāḍe Saṁśōdhana Mandira, Dhulia), Vol. VI, Nos. 3-4, p. 213 ff. Mēthī, situated about 30 miles to the north of Dhulia, the headquarters of the West Khāndesh District, on the Dhulia-Doṇḍāichē road, has several temples of the Yādava period.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 450.

[5] See his Mārḍī inscription (line 40). G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, p. 43.

[6] For later Ābhīras or Cowherds (Gōpaka-Pālakas) during the reign of Yādava Kṛishṇa, see *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14.

of his general Khōlēśvara.[1] Hēmādri, in his *Vratakhaṇḍa*,[2] mentions the name of this prince as Lakshmīdhara. The defeat of the lord of Bhambhāgiri is also mentioned in the Paiṭhaṇ[3] and Purshōttampurī[4] plates of Rāmachandra. Prof. Mirashi, who has edited the Purshōttampurī plates, has suggested that Bhambhāgiri may possibly be Bhāmēr, four miles to the south of Nizāmpur, in the Pimpaḷnēr *tālukā* of the West Khāndesh District.[5]

Balsāṇē, where the present inscription is found, is situated within a radius of ten miles from Bhāmēr, being only seven miles north by east of the latter place. If Prof. Mirashi's identification of this place is accepted as correct, the king Kṛishṇa of our inscription, may possibly belong to the Ābhīra family of Bhambhāgiri. He may have therefore been an ancestor of Lakshmīdēva above referred to.

No other details regarding the king Kṛishṇa having been given in the inscription, our suggestion is only tentative and provisional. Further research in the matter may prove its correctness or otherwise.

As regards the geographical names the only place referred to here is Balasāṇaka, which is obviously modern Balsāṇē, where the inscription is found. The river mentioned in it, not by name, refers to the modern Bōrāi (Burray, of the maps), by the side of which the *maṭha* is situated. Cousens' statement[6] to the effect that Kēsara was the old name of it, is obviously due to the confusion in the reading.

TEXT[7]

[Metres :—v. 1. *Vaṁśastha* ; v v. 2-3. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 4 . *Upajāti*.]

1 अवंतु वो ब्रह्मपदाज्ज(ब्ज)रेणवः स्वपारसंसारसमुद्रसेतवः । अघोघकक्षक्षयधूमकेतवः सदैव
पुं(पु)ण्योपचयैकहेतवः[8] ।[।१॥*]

2 गोत्रे गार्ग्यसमाह्वए(ये) समभवत्श्री[9]पद्मनाभात्मज[: ।*] श्रीसोमेश्वरपंडितः कविसभालंकारवाचस्पतिः ।
शाके[10] षट्दश[11]चंद्रभिः ११०६ प्र[ति][12] [।*]

3 यद्वाचः प्रचुरोपचारचतुराः श्रुत्वा बुधाः सांप्रतं प्रख्याताद्यकवींद्रवाग्विलसिते जाताः
सुमंदादराः ।[।२॥*] तज(तज्ज)श्रीमहलूकपंडित इह स्वीयै[:*] प्रसिधो(द्धो) गुणैयं[:]

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

[2] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix, p. 171.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 314 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 199 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[6] *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 27.

[7] From the original stone.

[8] The letter *vaḥ* is written separately from the rest of the inscription on account of some flaw in the stone.

[9] [The reading seems to be *°t=śrī* which may be corrected into *°ch=chhrī*.—B. C. C.]

[10] The word *Sākē* was first written, and subsequently restored to *Śākē* by erasing the horizontal stroke, which has come out faintly in the estampage.

[11] Read *shaḍ-daśa*.

[12] Flaw in the stone. Only faint traces of the *akshara* in the brackets are visible. [Excluding the numerals the rest of this date portion reads as if it were a part of the verse, in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, but is obviously not so. The form *chandrabhiḥ* is incorrect for *chandraiḥ*.—B. C. C.]

Left side.

Right side.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: THREE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 3977 E'36-290'42 —X-290'48.

4 श्रे(कृ)ष्णस्य महीपतेः करतले कर्तांशु पिछा(च्छा)चलं(लाम्) । गां(गा)णित्यांबुरुहप्रबोधतरणि-
धर्मज्ञचितामणि[:*] स्थाने स्री(श्री)बलसाणके स(सु)रसरिद्रं(द्र)म्यानदीसद्वने ।[।३॥*]
भ्रा(भ्र)कारयद्रा-

5 जमठं च भग्नं निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः । स्थाई(यी) च यः कल्पशतेषु भूयान्महोदयः
पुण्यविब्रेधि(वृद्धि)हेतुः ।[।४॥*] शक ११०६

6 दांडं सूत्रधारे-

7 ण घटितः ।

TRANSLATION.

(V. 1). May the particles of pollen on the lotuses (*in the form*) of the feet of Brahman protect you !—the particles, every one of which is a very bridge across the endless ocean of *saṁsāra* (a succession of births and deaths), a veritable fire for consuming the straw (*in the shape*) of a multitude of sins, (*and*) the unique source of ever increasing religious merit.

(V. 2). In the family called Gārgya was born the illustrious Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita,—son of the illustrious Padmanābha,—who (Sōmēśvara) was an ornament of the assembly of poets, a very Vāchaspati, having listened to whose elegant and lively utterances the wise men have now become lukewarm in their appreciation of the literary achievements even of the most celebrated and outstanding poets.

(Vv. 3-4). His son is the illustrious Mahalūka-Paṇḍita, who has become famous in this world by dint of his own merits, who is a very sun in unfolding the lotus (in the form) of the science of mathematics, who is, as it were, a desire-fulfilling gem amongst the exponents of the *dharma*, (*and*) who in no time made over the earth (*pichchhāchalā*)[1] to the possession of the king **Kṛishṇa.**

At the holy place of **Balasāṇaka,** in a fine grove, where there is a river beautiful as the Ganges (*flowing by*), he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitance of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery (*Rāja-maṭha*), which is highly auspicious, enhancing the religious merit as it does. May this last through hundreds of *kalpas* !

(Ll. 2 and 5-7). In the **Śaka** (*year denoted*) by six, ten and moon (=one), 1106, (*this*) has been constructed (*i.e.*, reconstructed) by the architect Dāṁḍaṁ (or Dāṁḍama).

No. 45.—CHITTAGONG COPPER-PLATE OF KANTIDEVA.

BY LT. COLONEL R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., Dacca.

This is a **single copper-plate**, inscribed on one side only, measuring 10·4 inches high by 7·6 inches broad. The **seal**, soldered to the top of the plate above the written part, is oval in shape, and has a raised rim with pointed ends. It is divided into two panels. The upper one bears in relief the figure of a **seated lion** inside a temple. The temple is indicated, as in many

[1] I am obliged to Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A., for the meaning of the word *pichchhāchalā*.

sculptures in Bengal, by a trefoil arch with flagstaffs on both sides. The seated lion is represented with mouth open and all the four paws in front. Across the lower panel of the seal is the **legend** *Śrī-Kāntidēvaḥ*. The letters are engraved in bold relief on a raised space. The seal is supported, at its lower end, by two figures of serpents, with raised hoods, whose interlaced tails and parts of the bodies are soldered both to the raised rim of the seal and the plate. On the body of the plate, at about 4½ inches from the bottom and 5 inches from the proper right side, there is an oval hole which has partly cut through its whole depth. As there are writings on both sides of it, and not a single letter is lost, the hole must have existed before the plate was engraved. The plate contains seventeen lines of writing, which cover a space 6½ inches high. The remaining part of the front and the whole of the back side are blank.

The plate was discovered, some time about 1920, by Prof. J. N. Sikdar, in an old temple at **Chittagong**, locally known as *Bara-ākharā*. According to the *Mohunt* (Chief priest) of the temple, the plate was lying there since its foundation. The plate is now preserved in the **Dacca Museum**.

The inscription which the plate bears was edited by Prof. D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., and Prof. J. N. Sikdar, M.A., in the *Modern Review* for November, 1922, pp. 612-14. As this number of the Journal is not easily available and some important historical points were not dealt with properly there, I re-edit the record from the original plate. For the sake of brevity I shall refer to the joint-editors as DJ.

The record is incomplete. It contains only the formal portion of the grant, and ends abruptly just where we should expect a detailed account of the land granted. It is, therefore, not exactly a land-grant, but one that was intended to be used as such. An apt parallel is furnished by the Kedārpur plate of Śrīchandra (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92). The present plate supports the view of the editor of the Kedārpur plate, that such unfinished plates were kept ready in office and filled in with the remaining portion at the time of the actual grant.

The characters are neatly engraved and the plate is in such a good state of preservation that not a single letter presents any difficulty in reading.

The **alphabet** closely resembles that used in the Pāla records of the ninth century A. D. It is, however, difficult to accept DJ's contention that the inscription is to be placed earlier than the Ghosrāwa inscription[1] of Dēvapāla's time. They are of opinion that though "the characters mainly resemble those in the Ghosrāwa inscription..........the letters *bh* and *th* are in ancient forms". A comparison of *bh* in *va(ba)bhūvur-* in l. 2 of Ghosrāwa inscription with that in *°bhāshita-Bhārata* in l. 6 of the present record does not show any material difference. As regards *th*, the letter read as such by DJ in line 6 is really *rth* and hence shows a different form. On the other hand DJ have failed to note that the Ghosrāwa inscription preserves distinctly older forms of *kh*, *ṇ*, and *ś* which are not to be found in the present record. It is true that the later forms of these letters are also to be met with in the records of Dēvapāla. But this only proves that the present record is perhaps slightly later, rather than earlier, than the time of Dēvapāla. On the whole, it would be more reasonable to assign the record on palaeographic grounds to the **ninth century A. D.**, rather than to 750-850 A. D. as suggested by DJ. In view of the advanced forms of some letters it may be even somewhat later.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of line 1 containing the name of the locality whence the charter was issued and the preamble of the grant beginning with *sa khalu* (l. 13), the rest of the record is in verse. The composition shows that the author was proficient in Sanskrit.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307-12.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted. Final consonants like *m* and *t* are represented by distinct symbols (cf. *m* in *lōkam*, l. 3 ; *kshayam*, l. 12 ; *t* in °*vārāt* and *vāsakāt*, l. 1 ; *bhūt*, l. 7), while a slanting stroke is added below *n* (*mahān* in l. 10). The sign for *v* denotes *b* as well. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, the only exceptions being *Varddhamāna* in l. 1 and *kirtti*, in l. 11.

The inscription refers to three generations of a **Buddhist family**. The first name is Bhadra-data, obviously an error for **Bhadradatta**. He was devoted to the Buddha and defeated his enemies. His son **Dhanadatta** married **Vindurati** (Bindurati), a devotee of Śiva and a daughter of a great king. The issue of this marriage was king **Kāntidēva** who is styled *Paramasaugata*, *Paramēśvara* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. It is obvious that neither the father nor the grandfather of Kāntidēva was a king, and he must either have inherited his throne from his maternal grandfather or carved out an independent kingdom for himself.

As to the locality of the kingdom, the record furnishes us two clues. The reference to future kings of the **Harikēlā**-*maṇḍala* in l. 16 leaves no doubt that it was included within his kingdom. It is just possible also that Harikēlā constituted his entire dominion, though this is by no means certain. For, the future kings of Harikēlā might have been selected for admonition only on the ground that the land to be granted was situated there.

The lexicographer Hēmachandra explains Harikēla as a synonym of Vaṅga,[1] while Vaṅga, Samataṭa and Harikēla are mentioned in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[2] as distinct localities. According to two manuscripts preserved in the Dacca University Library,[3] Harikōla, which may be taken as a variant of Harikēla, is synonymous with Sylhet. I-tsing also describes Harikēla as the eastern limit of E. India.[4] It is thus clear that like many other geographical terms, Harikēla was used both in a broader sense, as a synonym of Vaṅga, and in a narrower sense to denote various parts of it. Harikēlā of this inscription is obviously a variant of the usual form Harikēla.

The kingdom over which Kāntidēva ruled must, therefore, be located in Vaṅga, though its exact position is difficult to determine. The only other clue in this respect is furnished by the mention of **Vardhamāna-pura** as the city from which the plate was issued. Vardhamāna is the name of a well-known city in West Bengal which gave the name Vardhamāna-*bhukti* to a territorial division in ancient Bengal. As no other city of this name is known in ancient or modern Bengal, the Vardhamāna-*pura* of our plate should be identified with the city of Burdwan, if there is no insuperable objection against it.

The expression Harikēlā-*maṇḍala* led DJ to infer that Kāntidēva " was only a local chieftain of a comparatively small territory (*maṇḍala*) which subsequently (during the supremacy of the Chandra kings) developed and lent its name to the whole of East Bengal ". DJ were wrong in thinking that a *maṇḍala* denotes only a small territorial unit. For, this term is also used along with big kingdoms and territorial units as is evidenced by the expressions " Gauḍa-*maṇḍala* "[5] and " Varēndrī *maṇḍala* "[6]. Harikēlā-*maṇḍala* may, therefore, well denote the whole of Vaṅga

[1] *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, v. 957. [Monier Williams gives 'Harikēlīya' and explains it as the country of Bengal.—C. R. K.]

[2] Ed. by Gaṇapati Śāstrī, pp. 232-33.

[3] *Rūpachintāmaṇikōsha* (No. 1451) and *Rudrākshamāhātmya* (No. 21415).

[4] Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. xlvi.

[5] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 148.

[6] *Rāmacharita* by Sandhyākaranandin, Kavipraśasti, v. 1.

proper, *i.e.*, S. and E. Bengal, and the conquest, temporary or permanent, of Vardhamāna by a king of Vaṅga cannot be regarded as improbable. It may be noted in this connection, that according to a Chinese map Harikēla comprises the coastal region between Samataṭa and Orissa.[1] Further, we know that king Gōvindachandra, who flourished early in the eleventh century A. D., and possibly also other Chandra kings before him, ruled over the whole of E. and S. Bengal right up to the Bhāgīrathī river, and their original kingdom is said to be that of Harikēla.[2] The two geographical names, Vardhamāna and Harikēlā-*maṇḍala*, therefore, justify the assumption that Kāntidēva was the ruler of Vaṅga, *i. e.*, S. and E. Bengal, and had conquered a portion of W. Bengal, right up to Burdwan, when the present plate was issued. Of course this must be regarded as a tentative theory only, based on the very insufficient data that are available at present.

There can hardly be any doubt that the collapse of the Pāla power in the second half of the ninth century A. D., caused by the Pratīhāra invasions, gave opportunity to Kāntidēva (or his maternal grandfather who is described in l. 7 as a great king) to carve out an independent kingdom in E. and S. Bengal. It is also likely that Kāntidēva ruled over both his own territory, Harikēlā, and the kingdom of his maternal grandfather which probably included Vardhamāna. It is to be noted that Rāḍhā (W. Bengal) and Vaṅga (S. and E. Bengal) constituted separate independent states almost throughout the Pāla period after the death of Dēvapāla, though they were occasionally brought into subjection by powerful rulers like Mahīpāla I and Rāmapāla.

Kāntidēva was undoubtedly a Buddhist as the title *Saugata* is applied to him (l. 14). The seal of the plate is, however, somewhat unique. The figure of the lion enshrined in a temple evidently stands for the Buddha, and we meet with lions in exactly the same pose, carved under Buddha images.[3] But the figures of two serpents are not, so far as I know, found along with the lion in Buddhist images. If we remember that the serpent and the lion are the symbols of the two last Jaina *Tīrthaṁkaras*, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, the seal might be regarded as a Jaina symbol.[4] The invocation to Jinēndra which means both Mahāvīra and the Buddha, might also lend support to the view that the king was Jaina. But the expression *Saugata*, applied to Kāntidēva, definitely precludes this view, as it can only mean a Buddhist, and not a Jaina. It is also possible that the serpents are used here as symbols of Śiva, for we know that

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[1] The map is printed at the end of Vol. II of the French Translation of Hiuen Tsang's Records by S. Julien. It is entitled "Map of Central Asia and India published in Japan in 1710 on the basis of (or in accordance with) the accounts of Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang".

[2] Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra, v. 5 (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar, pp. 4, 7). The verse, as interpreted by Dr. R. G. Basak (above, Vol. XII, p. 141) means that the founder of the Chandra royal family was the chief support of the king of Harikēla, which he ultimately occupied. In any case there is no doubt that the Chandras came into the possession of the kingdom of Harikēla. It may be noted that the Chandra kings, like Kāntidēva, were Buddhists. It is very probable that the Chandras succeeded Kāntidēva's family in the kingdom of Harikēlā.

[3] Cf. *e.g.*, the image of Bōdhisattva (Buddha) in the Mathurā Museum (Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indonesian Art* fig. 84).

[4] Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, informs me that a *motif* "almost similar" to that on the seal "occurs on a Digambara Jaina Nava-Dēvatā (metallic) plate now in the Tiruparuttikunram temple, Kāñchīpuram" (Cf. *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples* by T. N. Ramachandran, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 2).

Chittagong Copper-Plate of Kantideva.

Seal.



(From a photograph).

SCALE : SEVEN-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No. 3977 E'36-290-290'48.

the mother of Kāntidēva was a devotee of that great God.[1] In any case it is noteworthy that the combination of lion and serpents is not met with in the seals of any other royal family in Bengal.

TEXT.

[Metres : v. 1, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2—3, *Āryā* ; vv. 4, 6, *Ślōka* ; v. 5, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti [||*] Śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt **Varddhamāna-pura**-vāsakāt [||*]

2 Yō dharma-ratna-kiraṇair=apavidhya sāndra[ṁ*] mōh-āndhakāra-paṭalaṁ sakalaṁ tri-

3 lōkam | ālōka-lōkam=anayat=sa jayaty=udāra(rō) durvāra-Māra-visara-

4 sya jayī Jinēndraḥ || [1*] Tad-bhakti-valita-śaktir=bhuja-dvay-aurjitya-vijita-ripu-

5 darpaḥ | sa jayati dharm-aika-rataḥ khyātaḥ śrī-**Bhadradatō(ttō)** yaḥ || [2*] Tasya su-

6 bhāshita-Bhārata-Purāṇa-Rāmāya[3]ṇ-ārtha[4]-vit=tanayaḥ [|*] nāmnā **śrī-Dhanadattaḥ**

7 prakaṭita-mahim-ānvayō yō=bhūt || [3*] Tasya gaurī mahābhūbhṛit-sutā vu(bu)dha-

8 guru-stutā [|*] patnī **Vinduratir**=nāma yā va(ba)bhūva Śiva-priyā || [4*] Tasyā bhōga[5]-

9 nidāna-dāna-salilair=ārdrīkṛit-ōrjad-bhuja-sphūrjad-vajra-va(ba)l-ārjit-āji-vija-

10 ya-prājya-pratāpō mahān | saumyaḥ sūnṛita-vāg=arāti-bhaya-kṛid-vikhyāta-

11 kīrttir=yaśō jyōtsnā-hāra-tushāra-kunda-dhavalaṁ yō yātavān=ātmajaḥ || [5*]

12 Yaś=cha kurvañ=jagat-tushṭyai hiraṇya-kaśishu(pu)-kshayam | n=āvalamvi(mbi)tavān=mā-

13 yān=dāna-vārir=api prabhuḥ || [6*] Sa khalv=akhila-jana-manō-bhirām-ābhigāmi-

14 k-ānēka-guṇa-ratna-bhūshaṇaḥ | Paramasaugatō mātā-pitṛi-pā-

15 d-ānudhyātaḥ Paramēśvarō Mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmāna(n) **Kā-**

16 **ntidēvaḥ** kuśalī | **Harikēlā**-maṇḍalē bhāvi-bhūpatīṁs=tad-ātma-hi-

17 tam=idaṁ vō(bō)dhayati viditam=astu vaḥ |

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[1] Vindurati must have been quite an influential personality in her husband's family who were Buddhists. She herself was a devotee of Śiva and continued as such even after her marriage. She did even more. The inscription describes her husband not as one well versed in the *Tripiṭaka*, but as one well versed in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This acquisition on Dhanadatta's part may be ascribed to his wife's influence on him. This would again depict her as a very strong character. It was, perhaps, to preserve each other's tolerance that neither had the other converted to his or her own religious creed. Viewed in this light, the composite character of the seal, affixed to the copper plate, exhibiting both Bauddha and Śaiva emblems, becomes plain. I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for this suggestion. [It may be noted that Buddha himself is seated on a serpent couch and in one instance is flanked by a lion on each side : see, Longhurst, *Bud., Ant., of Nāgārjunikonda*, A. S. Memoir, No. 54, plates XI (*c*) and XXIII (*b*). Five-hooded *nāgas* are also prominently figured on Buddhist pilasters, *ibid.*, plate XXV, figures b and c.—C. R. K.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] This *ya* looks more like *yō*, the medial *ō* being similar to that found in *jyō* of *jyōtsnā* below in l. 11.

[4] DJ. read *tha* and then corrected it to *rtha*. The letter is, however, really *rtha*.

[5] DJ. read *bhāga* but *bhōga* is clear. The translation of DJ is accordingly faulty.

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Om ! Hail ! From his residence, the royal camp of victory (or capital) at the city of **Vardhamāna** :—

(V. 1) Victorious is Jinēndra (Buddha) who triumphed over the vast, irresistible forces of Māra and brought all the three worlds into the domain of light by having dispelled the dense mass of darkness (*caused by*) passion (*mōha*) by means of the ray of the jewel (*which was*) religion (*dharma*).

(V. 2) Victorious is he who is known as **Śrī-Bhadradatta** and solely devoted to religion ; (*who*) humbled the pride of enemies by conquering (*them*) by means of the strength of his pair of arms, and whose prowess was increased through devotion to the Buddha.

(V. 3) He had a son named **Śrī-Dhanadatta** who was well-versed in the meaning of witty sayings, the *Bhārata* (*i.e.*, the *Mahābhārata*), the *Purāṇas* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and whose glory was always manifest.

(V. 4) His wife, named **Vindurati**, was fair in complexion, the daughter of a great king, praised by the learned and the elderly persons, and a favourite of Śiva.[1]

(V. 5) Her son, who acquired great splendour by victory in battles gained by the strength of thunder (or thunder-like destructive weapon) shining from his hands rendered vigorous by being moistened with the water (*poured on the occasion of making*) gifts which were the causes of his enjoyment ; who was noble, charming, truthful and pleasant in speech, and cause of the terror of the enemies ; whose glory was well known, and who was possessed of fame, as white as moonlight, necklace (*of pearls*), snow and *kunda* (flower).

(V. 6) Who, the lord, spent gold, food and clothing for the satisfaction of the world, and had always water for gifts, but never took resort to fraud.[2]

L. 13. Now, he, who was decorated (endowed) with many jewels of virtues, and inviting and agreeable to the hearts of all the people ; the great devotee of Sugata (Buddha), who meditated on the feet of his parents ; *Paramēśvara Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Kāntidēva**, being in good health, informs as follows the future kings of **Harikēlā**-*maṇḍala*, for the sake of their own welfare : "Be it known to you".

No. 46.—A NOTE ON THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER.

BY DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Some Kharōshṭhī inscriptions on a damaged steatite casket, found at Shinkot in the Bajaur tribal territory, have been published in this journal[3] by the late Mr. Nani Gopal Majumdar. There are **two dates** in the record. The first of them is a year of the reign of the *Mahārāja* **Minedra** (Mīnēndra)[4] who has been identified with the Indo-Greek king Menander.

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[1] The epithets given to Vindurati also apply to Durgā who was *Gaurī* (by name), *mahābhūbhrit-sutā* (the daughter of the great mountain, *i.e.*, the Himālaya), *Budhaguru-stutā* (praised by the preceptor of Gods) and *Śiva-priyā* (spouse of Śiva).

[2] The poet means to convey that although the king resembled Vishṇu, he did not, like the latter, take resort to fraud. The resemblance is based on the applicability to Vishṇu of the expressions *Hiraṇyakaśipu-kshaya* (destruction of Hiraṇyakaśipu) and *Dānav-āri* (enemy of demons).

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.

[4] Mr. Majumdar ignores the *e*-sign of *ne* in *Minedrasa*. I am inclined to take *Mīnēndra* as a perfectly Sanskritised form of the Greek name. Other Indian forms are *Mēnandra* of the coins and *Milinda* and *Milindra* of literature.

Unfortunately, however, the portion of the casket that contained the date, is broken and lost. The second date is *Year 5*; but there is no reference to the reign of any king. Mr. Majumdar, chiefly on palæographic grounds, divided the inscribed passages of the record into two groups and pointed out that the two dates referred to above belong to the two different groups. It was also suggested by him that "the difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years". He assigned the first date referring to the reign of Menander to the second century B. C. but the second date, *i.e.*, *Year 5* of an unspecified reign, to the first century B. C.[1] I am, however, inclined to believe that both the dates belong to Menander's reign and that the first date is a year falling between the accession and the fifth regnal year of the king.

According to Mr. Majumdar, the first group of the inscribed passages consisting of sections A, A-1, A-2 and B has letters formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in the second group containing sections C, D and E, the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. Group I again has the cerebral *ṇ* with a rounded head; but in group II, it shows an acute angle in its head. Further, in the former group, dental *n* has a long sweep in the top curve, while in the latter it has taken the angular or hook-like appearance. The dental *s* is of the closed type in group I; but in group II, it is open-mouthed, that is to say, it shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop. Mainly on these grounds, the two groups have been placed by Mr. Majumdar more than half a century apart from each other. His theory was also influenced by the use of the word *śakamuni* in group I and of *śakimuṇi* in group II, and also by the passage *sa śariatri kaladre* occurring in the latter group. Mr. Majumdar seems to have further considered the fact that Menander's reign is usually assigned by numismatists to the second century B. C., while Vijayamitra's coins are said to bear the legend in Brāhmī characters of the first century B. C. Let us examine these points one by one.

Deeply incised strokes are a peculiarity only of section A. The size of letters in E is at least as big as that of the letters of any section of group I. The size of letters, moreover, is of little importance when passages of a particular record are incised in different sections.[2] The head of the cerebral *ṇ* in *praṇa-sameda* of A-2 (as also in *praṇa-sameda* of A) is angular and not round. In C, line 1, Mr. Majumdar reads *vijayamitra*........; but there is a *ṇ* with the lower part of two following letters quite clear after that passage. It is interesting to note that the head of this *ṇ*, though a little damaged, appears to be the only instance of the round-headed cerebral *ṇ* in the whole inscription.[3] It may be noticed in this connection that the head of *a* is usually round; but sometimes it is angular,[4] and sometimes *a* is hardly distinguishable from *v*.[5] As regards the dental *n*, we have three types slightly differing from one another. *N* in *śakamunisa* of A-2 (which is practically of the same type as *n* in *minedrasa* of A) shows a little less curved neck than the *n*-s of all the sections excepting E. In E, *n* has an angle about the middle of the upper curve. Closed dental *s* is peculiar to A; but the mouth of *s* in *praṇa-sameda* of A-2 is only half-closed (=half open). It is usually half closed in D; but in a few cases the open-mouthed type is also noticed. In *veśrakhrasa masasa divasa*, only the third *s* is fully open-mouthed. But the most interesting point is that none of the two *s*-signs in B (which belongs to group I according

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

[2] Compare, *e.g.*, the Bhaṭṭiprōlu Casket Inscriptions (above, Vol. II, ff. 323 ff. and plates) and the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, part i, pp. 30 ff. and plates).

[3] Round-headed *ṇ* cannot be an indication of early date. It is found in the inscriptions of the Scytho-Kushāṇas and in the Central Asian documents.

[4] Cf. *bhadrao* in section D, line 1.

[5] Cf. *apomua* in section D, line 2

to Mr. Majumdar) is of the closed type. The above observations would show that the grouping of the inscribed passages into two broad groups with a difference of more than fifty years between them is rather difficult to justify. There are of course reasons to believe that more than one man were responsible for the engraving of the passages. If, however, B is to be grouped with A, it is not even impossible to suggest that one man incised the two groups in different periods. As regards the form *śakimuṇi*, it may be noted that in Central Asian Kharōshṭhī documents both *arōgi* and *arōgiya* for *ārōgya* are sometimes found in the same inscription.[1]

We now come to section D which contains the passage *sa śariatri kaladre*. The section reads: *ime śarira paluga-bhudrao na sakare atrita* [| *] *sa śariatri kaladre* [| *] *no*[2] *śadhro na piṁḍoyakeyi pitri griṇayatri* [| *] *tasa ye patre apomua*[3] *vashaye paṁchamaye 4 1 Veśrakhrasa masasa divasa*[4] *paṁchaviśraye iyo pratrithavitre Vijayamitrena apracharajena bhagravatu Śakimuṇisa Sama-saṁbudhasa śarira* [| *]. Mr. Majumdar translates: "This corporeal relic having been broken is not held in worship with zeal. It is decaying in course of time, (*and*) is not honoured; (*and here*) by the offering of alms and water ancestors are no longer propitiated: (*and*) the receptacle of that (*relic*) has been cast aside. (*Now*) in the fifth year and on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha, this has been established by Vijayamitra, 'who has no king as his adversary',—(*namely*) the corporeal relic of the lord Śakimuṇi (*i.e.*, Śākyamuni), the one who is truly enlightened."[5]

I am inclined to suggest some modifications in Mr. Majumdar's translation. *Na sakare atrita*= Sanskrit *na satkārēṇa* (or, *satkāraiḥ*) *ādṛitam*, "has not been honoured by homages". This seems to refer to the fact that the relic established by Viyakamitra (Vīryakamitra[6]) which was broken, had never been worshipped. It should also be remembered that if homages are once begun to be paid, they are never easily discontinued. As regards *na griṇayatri*, I would prefer "is not propitiated" instead of Mr. Majumdar's "no longer propitiated". *Sa śariatri kaladre*=Sanskrit *tat śiryatē kālataḥ*, "it is decaying in course of time". By "time" Mr. Majumdar means a period of more than fifty years. But a relic well preserved in a stone casket would not literally decay even in by far longer a period. The verb *śiryatē* is therefore used in a broader sense to mean "is wasting away without being cared for", just like the Bengali verb *nashṭa-hawā*, literally "to decay", but actually "to be without (proper) use". *Śiryatē* seems to be used to emphasize the absence of worship and the want of persons devoted to the relic established by Vīryakamitra and to justify Vijayamitra's action in taking away the casket. *No śadhro*=Sanskrit *no* (=*na*) *śraddhaḥ* "nobody is respectful (towards the relic)". The word *śraddha* usually means the person having respect and not the thing respected. According to Mr. Majumdar, *apomua* corresponds to Sanskrit *apamukta*, 'cast aside'; but in that case the *o*-sign cannot be explained. I prefer *avamukta*, 'taken away', or better *avamuktvā*=*avamuchya* 'having taken away'. *Tasa ye patre apomua* may then be translated: "after having taken away the receptacle of (or, *from*) that

[1] See, *e.g.*, Boyer-Rapson-Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 288: Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 242.

[2] Mr. Majumdar reads *na*: but the *o*-sign seems to be clear both in his plate and in the original now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Mr. Majumdar does not prefer a full stop after *kaladre*.

[3] Mr. Majumdar prefers a full stop after *apomua*. His plate suggests *piḍoṁyakeyri* for *piṁḍoyakeyi* which, however, seems to be the reading of the original.

[4] Read *divase*. Mr. Majumdar reads *divasa- paṁchaviśraye*.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[6] [Why not Viśākhamitra ?—C. R. K.]

(*relic*) ". The word *iyo* corresponds to Sanksrit *iha*, " at this place "[1] and not to *idam*, " this, namely, the relic " as suggested by Mr. Majumdar. The last sentence of Section D of the Bajaur inscription may therefore be translated : " after having taken away the receptacle from that (*broken relic previously established by Vīryakamitra*), a (*new*) relic of the lord Śākyamuni, the perfectly enlightened one, has been established here by the *apratyakrāja* Vijayamitra on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha in Year 5 ". *Apratyakrāja* means a king having no equal, *i.e.*, an unrivalled king.[2] This title is applied both to Vīryakamitra and to Vijayamitra. As Vīryakamitra, who used the year of Menander's reign, was very probably a feudatory of the Indo-Greek king, *apratyakrāja* appears to be a feudatory title. Like the first date of the inscription, Year 5 thus seems to refer to the reign of the overlord and not to that of Vijayamitra as taken by Mr. Majumdar.[3] The overlord was apparently Menander whose name has already been mentioned once in the record and has therefore not been repeated.

What seems to me to be the fact is that Vīryakamitra died soon after he had established the casket. He may have had a wish to replace the broken relic by a fresh one ; but death seems to have stood in his way. A fresh relic for that casket was secured by his immediate successor (probably his son), Vijayamitra who took away the casket, put a fresh relic into it and established it with the usual ceremony. The difference between the two events need not have been more than four or five years, and I am inclined to assign both of them to the period covered by the first five years of Menander's reign. Vīryakamitra in his later years and Vijayamitra in his earlier years were probably feudatories of the Indo-Greek king.

As regards the date of Menander, it must be admitted that no definite assertion is possible in the present state of our knowledge. Indian tradition ascribes him to a period five hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha.[4] But no date can be calculated from this tradition, as " five hundred " is a round number and as there is a large number of traditional dates for the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. If we accept the Ceylonese date of 544 B. C., we arrive at about the middle of the first century B. C.[5] Numismatists usually assign Menander to about the middle of the second century B. C. It must, however, be remembered that no less an authority than Gardner placed him in *circa* 110 B. C.[6] Elsewhere[7] I have tentatively assigned Menander's reign to the period *circa* 115-90 B.C. If this date is accepted the Bajaur inscriptions may be ascribed to about the end of the second century B.C. There is then no difficulty in assigning the coins of Vijayamitra, who may have had a long reign extending beyond Menander's death, to the first quarter of the first century B.C.

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[1] Cf. *garuḍa-dhvaje ayaṁ kārite ia heliodoreṇa*, lines 1-2 of the Besnagar pillar inscription (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157).

[2] Elsewhere I have suggested " a king who is not equal to the Mahārāja ", *i.e.*, a feudatory ruler. See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation* (in the press). p. 104.

[3] *Op. Cit.*, p. 5,ᵃ. 5.

[4] Cf. *mama parinibbāṇato pañca-vassa-sate atikkante ete upajjissanti* (Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, p. 3).

[5] Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 323) prefers this date. He is inclined to place Menander later than Heliokles, Strato I and Strato II.

[6] Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 258.

[7] *Select Inscriptions* (in the press), p. 102. The letter *s* in the Bajaur record seems to indicate a transitional stage which is possibly to be placed a little later than the early Indo-Greek period.

No. 47.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA; SAKA 632.

BY H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., Ll.B., Ph.D., POONA.

The copper-plate grant which is edited here for the first time belonged originally to the Satara Museum. It was presented to that Museum by Rao Saheb S. K. Duduskar of Satara. Since this Museum was closed down by the Government of Bombay in 1938-39 and its collection transferred to the newly opened Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute at Poona, the plates are now exhibited in the Museum of this Institute. For a long time the writer was under the impression that the grant had been published before and so no attempt was made to edit it. Subsequent inquiry, however, showed that it had not been published in any of the known research journals. Hence it is now edited.

The grant is engraved on three copper-plates. Of these the first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only. The plates seem to have been cleaned, subsequent to the presentation, because at present there are no signs of rust except at a few places. They are broken and effaced at several places. Each plate measures about 9¾ inches by 4½ inches. The **ring**, which originally fastened the plates, is almost round, having a diameter of 3 inches. The **seal** attached to it is oval, 1·7 inches in length and 1½ inches in breadth with a figure of **varāha** in relief, facing left. The plates weigh 77¾ *tolas* and the ring with the seal 48½ *tolas*. Plate I has 12 lines of writing of which large portions of lines 1, 2, 10, 11 and 12 are obliterated. Plate II (*a*) has 10 lines of writing. This is inscribed clearly in a bold hand, but a few letters, particularly of lines 1 and 2 are filled with verdigris. Plate II (*b*) has also 10 lines of writing and is the best preserved part of this grant. Plate III has 12 lines of writing. The letters in the first 8 lines are small and crowded together, making the reading difficult, whereas a few letters have become indistinct in the last line.

So far fourteen inscriptions of **Vijayāditya** are published. Of these seven are copper-plates.[1] In these, except for the grant portion, the text of the inscription is almost identical with that of our plate.

As usual the entire grant is in Sanskrit and in prose but for the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The **script** is of the South-Indian variety, identical in almost all respects with that noticed in other records of the Chālukya family. Attention is, however, drawn to different types of *la*, cf. *sakala*, l. 2, *sakalōtta*, lines 7 and 17, *nikhila*, line 21, *bala*, line 16, *sakala*, line 30, *vilasita*, line 38, *Gaulu*.., line 35, *chañchala*, line 38, *phala*, line 41 and *pāla*, line 41, *kulam=alaṁ*, line 4, *Pulakēśi*, line 5 and *maṇḍala*, line 6, *lāñchhana*, line 4, and *Chalikyānāṁ*, line 4, *samunmūlita*, line 21, and several times in *vallabha*, lines 5, 7, 9, 14, 19, 31. Dravidian *ḷa* is met with in *pāḷidhvaja*, lines 18, 25, and *paḷāyamānair=*, line 26. Initial *i* is found in *iva*, line 28, and the sign for *upadhmānīya* in °*rasikaḥ=parāṅmukhī*° in l. 24, *paraiḥ=paḷāyamānair=*, lines 25-26 and in *viśvambharaḥ=prabhur*° in l. 28. The final *m* is usually changed to *anusvāra*, and the consonant reduplicated after *r*.

The grant is dated on the **Kārttika paurṇimā** of **Śaka 632**, in the **14th year of the rule of** the **Chalikya** king **Vijayāditya**, Satyāśraya Śrī-Pṛithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka. It records the donation of a village, named **Kāruva**, near **Karahāṭanagara**, on the bank of the **Krishṇa[-Veṇṇā]**, and a field called........ -paṭṭikā[2] measuring

[1] Six of these are published as under:—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 125, 130, 132; above, Vol. X, p. 14: *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, p. 425; *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. IX, ii, p. 1.

[2] [See foot-note 1 on p. 326—Ed.].

25 *nivartanas* at Karahāṭanagara, to **Bhānudēva(?)śarmman**, son of **Bhaviśarmma-Gaulusada** (?)[1] and grandson of **Dāmōdaraśarmman**, made by Vijayāditya from his camp of victory at Karahāṭanagara at the request of (prince) Vikramāditya. The grant is written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Niravadya Puṇyavallabha. It was this very person who also wrote the Rāyagaḍ plates of Śaka 625, the Nerūr grant of Śaka 627, the Ēlāpur plates of Śaka 626 and possibly the Naravan plates of Śaka 664, where the name preceding Puṇyavallabha is read as Śrī-Ativāti.[2] Thus this writer lived almost conterminously with his master Vijayāditya and also during some part of the reign of his son Vikramāditya II. [He was probably the son of Rāma Puṇyavallabha, the composer of Vinayāditya's grants: see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 85 and above, Vol. XXII, p. 24. Puṇyavallabha was perhaps their family name.—C. R. K.]

Historically the grant is not very important because it is neither the earliest, nor the latest grant of Vijayāditya. Nor does it give any new information about the political events of that time. Geographically this would be the second grant of Vijayāditya from the Satara District[3] and the first grant actually granting a village in that district. **Karahāṭanagara**, which is also mentioned as Karahāṭa,[4] is the ancient Karahakaṭa of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Bharahut,[5] and the modern Karāḍ.[6]

Kāruva-grāma[7] is either Koregaon or Karva[8] about 6 and 4 miles respectively from Karāḍ. Both are on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā. My colleague, Dr. S. M. Katre, tells me that linguistically Karva would be a more probable derivation from Kāruva, but in the case of proper names, he added, one might not expect a very accurate derivation, and Koregaon would not be improbable. Personally I am inclined to identify Koregaon with the Kāruva of the plate, because the map shows some ruins of ancient temples at the place.

Perhaps an earlier reference in Chālukya inscriptions to the river **Kṛishṇa-Veṇṇā** is in a grant of Vinayāditya.[9] It refers to, as has been already pointed out,[10] not to the single stream of the Kṛishṇā which rises at Mahābaleshwar but to the combined streams of the Kṛishṇā and Vēṇā which, after meeting at Sangam-Māhulī, flow as one stream.

TEXT.[11]

First Plate.

1 [स्वस्ति जयत्यावि]ष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभि[तार्णवं । दक्षिणोन्नतदं]ष्ट्राग्र[विश्रान्त]भुवनं वपुः [॥*] [श्री-

2 मतां स]कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यस[गोत्राणां हारिती]पुत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्स-

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[1] [See foot-notes 3 and 4 on p. 325 below.—Ed.]

[2] *Bhārata Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly*, March-June 1929, Vol. X, i, p. 14.

[3] The first is the Rāyagaḍ plates, above, Vol. X, p. 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16, probably as a district.

[5] *Ibid.*, Appendix, Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 705, 763, 767, 809.

[6] Survey Sheet, No. 47 K/3 and 7.

[7] [See foot-note 5 on p. 325.—Ed.]

[8] Survey Sheet, No. 47, K/3 and 7.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 88. There the name of the river is spelt as Kṛishṇa-Vārṇā.

[10] *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 334, n. 2.

[11] From the original plates and photographs. Letters broken away or effaced have been restored with the help of the published plates.

3 [प्तमातृ]भिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्या[णपरं]पराणां भगवान्नारा[यण]प्र-

4 [सादस]मासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्ष[ण]वशीकृताशे[ष]मही[भृतां] चालिक्यानां कुलमलं-

5 क[रि]ष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्ना[नप]वित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुल[के]शिवल्लभमहाराजस्य

6 [सू]नुः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्ध[कीर्तिः]

7 [की]र्तिवर्म्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समरसं[स]क्तसकलोत्त-

8 [राप]थेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपात्तपरमेश्वरशब्द[स्त*]स्य स[त्या][1]श्रयश्री-

9 [पृथिवी]वल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर[मेश्व]र[स्य] प्रियतनयस्य प्र[ज्ञा]तनय-

10 [स्य खड्ग]मात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिधा[नप्र]वरतुरंगमेणैकेनैवोत्सारि[ता]-

11 [शेषविजिगीषोरवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितां स्व]गुरो[:*] श्रियमात्मसात्कृ[त्य]

12 [प्रभावकुलिशदलितपा]ण्ड्यचोळ[2][केरळक]ळभ्रप्रभृतिभू[भृ]-

Second Plate; First Side.

13 [ददभ्रविभ्रमस्यानन्या]वनत[काञ्चीपतिमुकु]टचुंबितपादांबुजस्य वि-

14 क्रमादित्यसत्याश्र[यश्रीपृथिवी]वल्लभ[म]हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-

15 रभट्टारकस्य प्रियसू[नोऽपि]तु[राज्ञया बा]लेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारा[ति]रि-

16 व दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं [त्रैराज्यकाञ्ची]पतिबलमवष्टभ्य कर-

17 दीकृतकमे(वे)रपारसीकसि[हलादि]द्वीपाधिपस्य सकलोत्तरा-

18 पथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जितपाळिध्वजादिसमस्तपारमैश्वर्य्य-

19 चिह्नस्य विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराज-

20 परमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियात्मजश्शैशव एवाधिगताशेषास्त्र[शा]-

21 [स्त्रो] दक्षिणाशाविजयिनि पितामहे समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्टक-

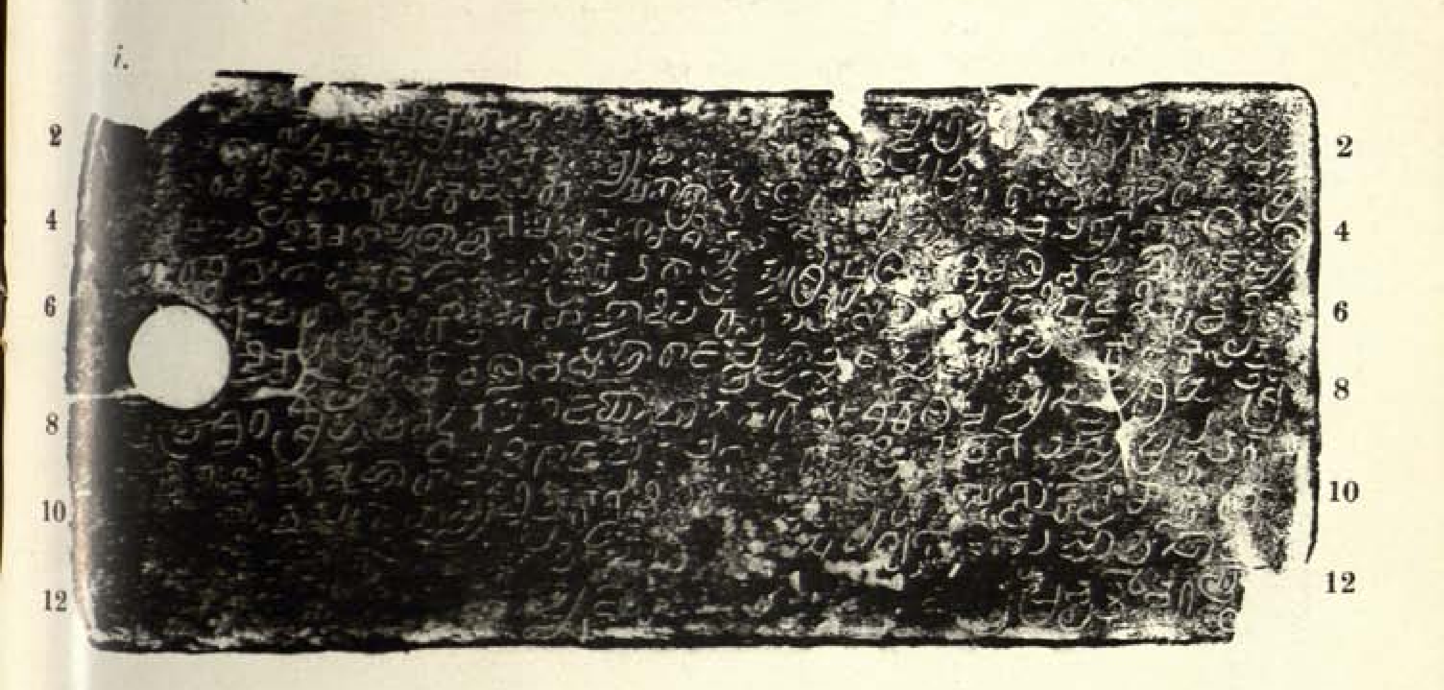
22 [सं]हतिरुत्तरापथविजिगीषो[र्गुरोर]ग्रत एवाह[वव्यापा]-

[1] There is a crack in the plate here.

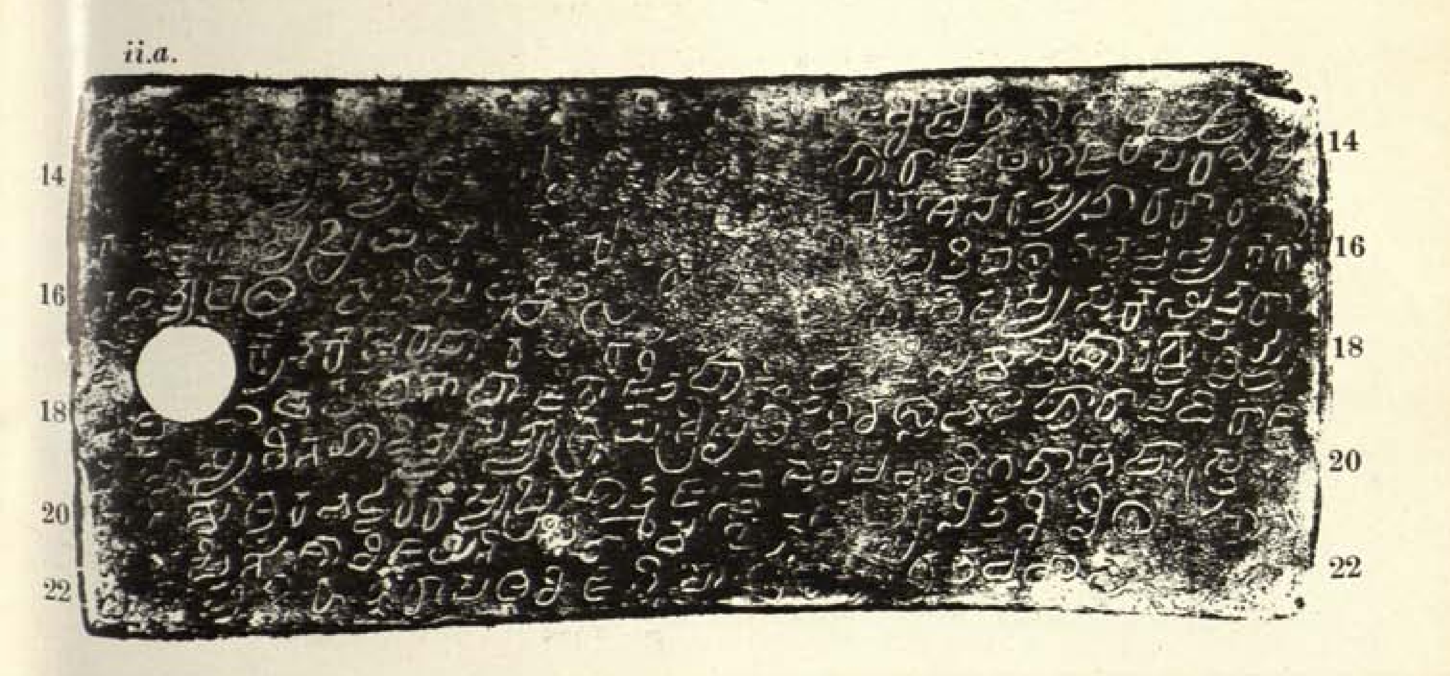
[2] [Reading seems to be *Chēra*.—N. L. R.]

A Copper-plate Grant of Chalukya Vijayaditya; Saka 632.

i.



ii.a.



N. P. Chakravarti.

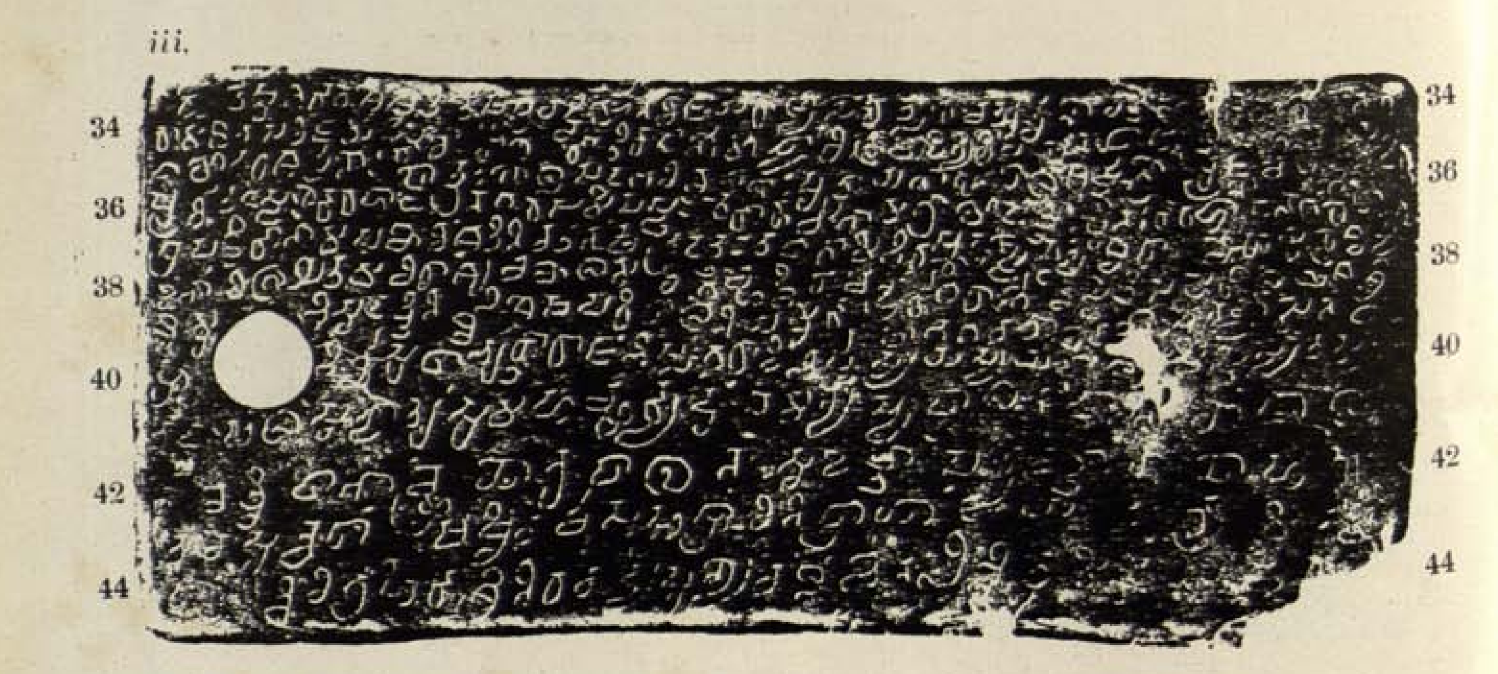
Scale: Seven-tenths.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reg. No.3977 E'36-290—x-290'48.

ii.b.

iii.



Second Plate ; Second Side.

23 रमाचरन्नरातिगजघटापाटनविशीर्य्यमाणकृपा[णधारस्समग्र]विग्र-

24 हाग्रेसरस्सत्साहसरसिकः पराङ्मुखीकृतशत्रुमण्डलो [गंगा]यमुनापा-

25 ळिध्वजपड(पटह)ढका(क्का)महाशब्दचिह्नकमाणिक्यमतंगजादीन्पितृसात्कुर्व्वन्प-

26 रैः पळायमानं रासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतोपि प्रताप(पा)देव वि[ष]-

27 यप्रकोपमराजकमुत्सारयन्वत्सराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायक-

28 स्तदवग्रहान्निर्गत्य स्वभुजावष्टंभप्रसाधिताशेषविश्वंभरः प्रभुर-

29 खण्डितशक्तित्रयत्वात्शात्रमदभञ्जनत्वादुदारत्वान्निरवद्यत्वाद्यस्स[म]स्तभु-

30 वनाश्रयस्सकलपारमैश्वर्य्यव्यक्तिहेतुपाळिध्वजाद्युज्वलप्राज्यराज्यो

31 विजयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराज[प]रमे[श्वरभ]-

32 ट्टारकस्सर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिः द्वात्रिंशदु[त्तरष]-

Third Plate.

33 ट्शतेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्द्ध(र्द)[शे] वर्तमाने करहा[टन]ग-

34 रमधिवसति जयस्कन्धावारे कार्ति(र्त्ति)कपौर्णमास्यां विक्रमादित्य[1]वि[ज्ञापन]या — — —
त्यु[स*] गोत्राय[2]

35 दामोदरशर्म्मणः पौत्रः(त्राय) गोलुसदभवि[3]शर्म्मणः पुत्राय भानुदेवशर्म्मणे[4] कृष्णवे[ण्णान]दी-

36 पूर्व्वंतटस्थः करहाटनगरसमीपस्थः कारुव[5]नामग्रामो दत्तः [।*] — —[6] करहाटनगरे —

[1] This reading seems to be certain. The following word is probably *vijñāpanayā* as suggested here, the whole expression referring to a common Chālukya practice of making a grant at the request of the crown-prince. It must be noted, however, that the word for the 'crown-prince' is omitted here. [Grants were also made at the request of a feudatory or a high officer.—C. R. K.]

[2] All the letters are much worn out here, but from the traces of a few of them, they probably refer to the name of the Brāhmaṇa's *gōtra*. [Reading is *Ātrēya-gōtrāya* —N. L. R.]

[3] This name appears strange, through the reading is certain. [Reading is *Golla-[Sh]aḍagavi-śarmmaṇaḥ. Shaḍagavi* here apparently stands for *shaḍaṅgavid*.—N. L. R.]

[4] [Reading seems to be *Nāgullaśarmmaṇē*.—N. L. R.]

[5] [Reading is *Kāruč-nāma*.—N. L. R.]

[6] [Reading is *punaḥ*.—N. L. R.]

37 —[1] पट्टिकानाम पञ्चविंशतिनिवर्तनं क्षेत्रं दत्तः(त्तं) [।*] तदागामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैर[न्यै]श्च रा[जभि]रायुरैश्व[र्य्या]-

38 दीनां विलसितमचिरांशुचञ्चलमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्क्कधरार्णव[स्थिति]समका[लं] यशश्चि-

39 चीमु(षु)भि[:*] स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषपरिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च भगवता [वे]द[व्या]सेन व्यासेन [॥*] ब-

40 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[र्य]स्य (भिः । यस्य) यस्य यदा [भूमि]स्तस्य तस्य

41 तदा फलं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यस्य पाल[नं] [।*]दा[नं] वा पाल-

42 नं वेत्ति(ति) दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

43 त वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्ठि(ष्टि)वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जाय[ते] कृमिः [॥*] म-

44 हा[सा]न्धिविग्रहिकश्रीनिरवद्यपुण्यवल्लभेन लिखित[मिदं शासनं] . . .

No. 48.—EPOCH OF THE GANGA ERA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The question of the epoch of the **Gāṅga era** has been discussed by several scholars during the last sixty years and various dates ranging from A. D. 349-50 to A. D. 877-78 have been proposed as marking the foundation of the era.[2] The palaeography of early Gāṅga grants dated in that era shows that it must have been founded some time about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Mr. R. Subba Rao, who for the first time worked on some positive data, fixed A. D. 494-95 as the initial year of the Gāṅga era.[3] Subsequently, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, working on the dates of some Gāṅga and Kadamba grants came to the conclusion that the Gāṅga era started in A. D. 496.[4] This conclusion was accepted by Mr. Subba Rao in the paper which he read before the Seventh Oriental Conference in 1933.[5] But the epoch does not

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[1] These letters seem to mention the name of the field, ending in *paṭṭikā*. [Reading seems to be *Āmbra-(Āmra)paṭṭikā*.—N. L. R.]

[2] For the commencement of the era Mr. G. Ramdas has proposed A. D. 349-50 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 291), Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 494 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267 ff.), Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 496 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 ff.), Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, A. D. 497-98 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff.), Dr. R. C. Majumdar some date between A. D. 550 and 557 (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, p. 179 ff.), Mr. R. D. Banerji, A. D. 741 (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239), Mr. Majumdar, A. D. 772 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62) and Mr. R. Sewell and D. B. S. K. Aiyangar, A. D. 877-78 (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 58.). [See also *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1931-32, p. 45.—C. R. K.]

[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272 ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 ff.

[5] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 519. In his latest article on the subject (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 472 ff.), Mr. Subba Rao shifts the initial year of the era to A. D. 509.

suit all cases.[1] Besides, Mr. Subba Rao has not given any further details about the Gāṅga era, *viz.*, whether the years of the era cited in epigraphic records were current or expired and the months *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* and what were the initial month and *tithi* of the Gāṅga year.[2] These questions are indeed difficult to settle; for Gāṅga records do not generally give sufficient details for the verification of their dates. They mention, for instance, that certain grants were made on the occasion of lunar or solar eclipses, or *ayanas*, but they do not generally state in what particular months and years these eclipses[3] and *ayanas*[4] occurred. Nor do they mention any week-day, *nakshatra*, etc., in connection with the dates on which the grants were recorded.[5] The absence of such details has led to a great divergence of opinion. Mr. G. Ramdas, for instance, rejects the Śaka year 419 as the initial year of the Gāṅga era, because a certain solar eclipse did not occur in a particular year calculated according to that epoch,[6] while Mr. J. C. Ghosh justifies his epoch of the era on the ground that though in certain cases the solar eclipses did not occur in the particular years, they occurred in the preceding years.[7]

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[1] See, for instance, the dates of the Santa-Bommāli plates of Nandavarman, the Pondūru plates of Vajrahasta II and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman, discussed below. All these would appear irregular according to this epoch.

[2] In his article on the Gāṅga era in *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, pp. 508 ff., Mr. J. C. Ghosh has attempted to prove that the era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa va. di. 1 in A. D. 496. But the only definite evidence which he cites in favour of his view is the date of the Siddāntam plates (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 ff.). Other dates can as well be explained according to the epoch fixed in the present article, and one date definitely goes against Mr. Ghosh's epoch as admitted by him. As regards the date of the Siddāntam plates, the grant recorded in them was made on the occasion of the Dakshiṇāyana and the plates were issued on Śrāvaṇa va. di. 5. Mr. Ghosh says that the date of the grant and that of the issue of the plates were identical, *viz.*, the 21st June, A. D. 691, which, according to him, proves his epoch. According to my calculations, however, the dates were not identical. In A. D. 691-92, which, according to Mr. Ghosh, corresponds to the Gāṅga year 195, the *tithi pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa va. di. 5 no doubt fell on the 21st June A. D. 691 as it *ended* 20 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise that day, but the Karkaṭaka *saṅkrānti* occurred *next day* (the 22nd June, A. D. 691) 16 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. As the plates could not have been issued *before* the *saṅkrānti*, Mr. Ghosh's epoch is impossible. As regards the date of the Urlām plates, (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.) on which he relies for proving that the months of the Gāṅga era were *pūrṇimānta*, it may be pointed out that it conflicts with the date of the Pondūru plates (discussed below, p. 329) which mentions a week-day and is therefore quite definite. We must therefore suppose that in l.23 of the Urlām plates the mention of the fortnight was inadvertently omitted.

[3] The only exceptions so far known are the dates of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.) and the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.). For the reading of the latter, see below p. 329.

[4] The Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman mention the lunar month and *tithi* in connection with *Udagayana*, but if *Udagayana* means *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*, the date is impossible, see above, Vol. IV, p. 131, n. 2.

[5] The only exception so far known is the Pondūru grant of Vajrahasta II (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 7 ff.)

[6] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 280.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 238.

The latest attempt to fix the epoch of the era is that of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.[1] From the scanty material available Mr. Krishna Rao has tried to prove that—

(1) the Gāṅga era commenced in the Śaka year 419 (A. D. 497-98)
and (2) the Gāṅga year began on the *amānta* Bhādrapada bahula 13.

According to Mr. Krishna Rao therefore the era commenced on Bhādrapada va. di. 13 in the Śaka year 419 (Monday, the 11th August, A. D. 497). He has examined the dates of 10 Gāṅga records[2] and claimed that they can be satisfactorily explained according to his epoch of the era. He has shown that in most cases the solar eclipses occurred in the particular years of the Gāṅga era, while in one case only,[3] the eclipse occurred a few months before the commencement of the particular Gāṅga year. As the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III dated Gn. 128 show, these grants were sometimes recorded some months after they were actually made. So the result may be held to be satisfactory.

There are, however, certain difficulties presented by this epoch, which Mr. Krishna Rao has not noticed. In this article on this subject in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff., Mr. Krishna Rao has stated in several places that the Gāṅga era commenced in the expired Śaka year 419. He has also conjectured that the Gāṅga year commenced on *amānta* Bhādrapada va. di. 13. So in order to convert a Gāṅga year into an expired Śaka year, we must add 418 when the date falls on any *tithi* from the *amānta* Bhādrapada va. di. 13 to Phālguna *amāvāsyā* and 419 when it falls on any *tithi* from Chaitra śu. di. 1 to Bhādrapada va. di. 12. The *epoch* of the Gāṅga era, *i.e.*, the year immediately before the commencement of the era, should thus be Śaka 418-19. But Mr. Rao has almost throughout applied the epoch Śaka 419-20 to get the equivalent of the Gāṅga dates. See for instance the following—

(1) Gn. 127 (Mārgaśirsha full moon)=Ś. 546.
(2) Gn. 154 (Mārgaśirsha new moon)=Ś. 573.
(3) Gn. 221 (Āshāḍha śu. di. 5)=Ś. 641.
(4) Gn. 251 (Chaitra new moon)=Ś. 671.
(5) Gn. 304 (Jyēshṭha „ „)=Ś. 724.
(6) Gn. 397 (Mārgaśirsha „ „)=Ś. 816.

One would therefore suppose that he is in favour of applying the epoch Śaka 419-20. But see the following equivalent of the Gāṅga date 500 given by him,[4] which is possible only with the epoch of Śaka 418-19:—

(7) *Gn. 500, Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra*=Ś. 919 (Sunday, the 13th June, A. D. 997).
Mr. Krishna Rao has not shown how to reconcile this date with the preceding ones. Again

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff.
[2] Nine of these he calculated in his article (*loc. cit.*) and one later on (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.).
[3] *Viz.*, the date of the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11 ff.
[4] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 148.

his equivalents of the Santa-Bommāli plates of Indravarman II[1] and the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III[2] do not appear to be correct even according to his epoch. The question of the commencement of the Gāṅga era must therefore be examined afresh and an epoch proposed which would satisfactorily explain all the published verifiable dates of the era.

Among the dates of the Gāṅga era published so far, that of the Pondūru plates[3] is most important as it contains the mention of a week-day. The date, Gn. 500 Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra, regularly corresponds to Śaka 919, Sunday, the 13th June, A. D. 997. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.[4] This date shows Gn. 500=Ś. 919 and therefore Gn. 0=Ś. 419. It also shows that the month Āshāḍha had begun only four days before, on the first *tithi* of its bright fortnight. This proves that the months of the Gāṅga year were *amānta*.

Let us next take the date of the Indian Museum plates of Dēvēndravarman.[5] These plates are dated in the Gāṅga year 308. No further details of the date are given, but we learn from line 20 that the plates were intended to record a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Māgha.[6] Supposing that the solar eclipse occurred in the same Gāṅga year in which the grant was recorded, we find that the only year which would correspond to Gn. 308 is Śaka 728. In this year there was a solar eclipse in *amānta* Māgha on the 11th February, A. D. 807. It is noteworthy that this is the only solar eclipse in *amānta* Māgha in the period Śaka 711-728. This proves the untenability of the epochs proposed by Messrs. Subba Rao and Krishna Rao. It further corroborates the conclusion we have already drawn, namely, that the months of the Gāṅga year were *amānta*. Now according to this date Gn. 308=Ś. 728 and therefore Gn. 0=Ś. 420.

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[1] For the calculation of this date, Mr. Krishna Rao has relied on the reading [Gāṅga] Year 87, Jyēshṭha divasa 10, given by Raja Bahadur L. H. Jagadeva in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 23. Mr. Krishna Rao has supposed that the grant was made on the very day on which it was recorded and that the *tithi* fell on a Wednesday coupled with the *nakshatra* Hasta and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta (of which there is no mention at all in the grant). By an elaborate calculation he has shown that this combination of the *tithi*, week-day, *nakshatra* and *yōga* took place on the 24th May, A. D. 584. But according to his epoch mentioned above, this *tithi* in Jyēshṭha should fall in A. D. 585, not 584. It is noteworthy that the combination of the *tithi*, etc., does not occur in A. D. 585. Again, the correct reading of the date is *Jyēshṭha divasa 30* as recently given by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 194 ff.). The *akshara lō*, which together with O here denotes the *tithi*, signifies 3 in other records also. See, *e.g.*, the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman II (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 133).

[2] If the Gāṅga year began in Bhādrapada, there is no reason why the lunar eclipse in Mārgaśirsha, mentioned in the Chicacole plates dated [Gn.] 128, Chaitra di. 15, should be referred to Gn. 127, for Gn. 128 was current at the time of the eclipse.

[3] The date of this grant was read as 100 by Mr. M. Narasimham (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, part iii, pp. 23 ff.) and as 700 by Mr. G. Ramdas (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 12). The correct date given above was first pointed out by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 147).

[4] For the verification of the dates, etc., I have used throughout Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

[6] The editor of these plates has not read the *aksharas* after Māgha-māsē in l. 20. There appear clear traces of five *aksharas* after that word, the first two of which are certainly *sūrya* and the last, ṇ[ē]. The omitted expression seems therefore to be *sūrya-grahaṇē*.

The third important date is that of the Santa-Bommāli plates of Nandavarman, the son of Anantavarman I.[1] These plates record a grant which was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in some unspecified month. The plates are dated on *Āshāḍha dina pañchamī* in the [Gāṅga] year 221. On the analogy of the dates of the aforementioned Pondūru and Indian Museum plates, this date may be taken to be the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Āshāḍha. From the evidence of the Pondūru plates one would expect that the Gāṅga year 221 would correspond to the Śaka year 640. But there was no solar eclipse in that year, nor even in the preceding year. There was, however, one in the *amānta* Jyēshṭha of Śaka 641. The proximity of this eclipse to the date Āshāḍha śu. di. 5 (on which day the grant was recorded) indicates that the equivalent is probably correct. This date shows Gn. 221=Ś. 641 and therefore Gn. 0=Ś. 420.

The only way in which we can reconcile the date of the Pondūru plates with those of the Santa-Bommāli and the Indian Museum plates is to suppose that the former date is stated in the current year and the latter two in expired years. Mr. Krishna Rao, who did not notice the possibility of some Gāṅga dates being in current years and others in expired ones, took the aforementioned date of the Santa-Bommāḷi plates as showing that the Gāṅga and Śaka years were not concurrent and that the Gāṅga year commenced in some month after Jyēshṭha. Such a supposition does not appear to be necessary. In fact the aforementioned dates of the Santa-Bommāli and Indian Museum plates show that the Gāṅga year began in some month before Āshāḍha śu. di. 5 and ended in some month after Māgha. It appears probable therefore that, like the Śaka year, the Gāṅga year also began on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1.

The fourth important date is that of the Chicacole plates[2] of Indravarman III, *viz.*, *Chaitra di 15* in the [Gāṅga] year 128. In the absence of further details this date does not admit of verification, but in lines 10-11 the plates mention a lunar eclipse which occurred in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. We have seen above that the Gāṅga and Śaka years were probably concurrent. The lunar eclipse must therefore have occurred in Gn. 127. This year, if current, would correspond to Ś. 546 and, if expired, to Ś. 547. In both these years there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. This date also may therefore be said to corroborate the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed above.

The foregoing examination of these four Gāṅga dates which contain details for verification has shown that the Gāṅga era began in the expired Śaka year 420 (A. D. 498-99), probably on the first *tithi* of the bright half of the *amānta* Chaitra. To convert a date of the Gāṅga era into that of the Śaka era we have therefore to add 419 if the Gāṅga year was current, and 420 if it was expired. Let us now state in a tabular form all the Gāṅga dates which contain some details for verification to see what was the proportion of current and expired years. It must be remembered in this connection that many Gāṅga records mention a solar eclipse, but give no particulars about the year and month in which it occurred. In such cases the identification of the corresponding Saka year is likely to be doubtful.

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.

Dates of the Gāṅga Era with their equivalents in the Śaka era.

Serial No.	Name of record.	Name of King.	Particulars of the date in the Gāṅga era.	Corresponding Śaka year.[1]	Whether Gāṅga year was current or expired.	Remarks.[2]
1	Santa-Bommāli Plates (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 194 ff.)	Indravarman II[3] *alias* Rājasiṁha.	[Gn.] year 87, Jyēshṭha divasa 30.	Ś. 507.	Expired.	In Ś. 507, Jyēshṭha had 30 days (from the 5th May to the 3rd June A.D. 585).
2	Parlākimeḍi Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.)	Indravarman II *alias* Rājasiṁha.	[Gn.] year 91, Māgha dina triṁśatima, 30.	Ś. 510 or Ś. 511.	Current or expired.	In both these years Ś. 510 and 511 Māgha had thirty days (from the 24th December A. D. 588 to the 22nd January A.D. 589 and from the 12th January to the 10th February A.D. 590 respectively).
3	Chicacole Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.)	Indravarman III[4] .	[Gn.] year 128, Chaitra di. 15 and a lunar eclipse in the previous Mārgaśirsha.	Ś. 547 or Ś. 548.	Current or expired.	There was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśirsha in both Ś. 546 and Ś. 547.
4	Tekkali Plates (above Vol. XVIII, pp. 309 ff.)	Indravarman III, son of Dānārṇava.	[Gn.] year 154, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 573.	Current.	There was a solar eclipse in Mārgaśirsha in Ś. 573 only, none in Ś. 574.
5	Tekkali Plates (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. XI, pp. 30 ff.)	Dēvēndravarman I, son of Guṇārṇava I.	[Gn.] year 192, and a lunar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 611 or Ś. 612.	Current or expired.	There was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśirsha in both Ś. 611 and 612.
6	Santa-Bommāli Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 187.)	Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I.	[Gn.] year 221, Āshāḍha dina paṁchamī and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 641.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Jyēshṭha in Ś. 641, none in Ś. 639 and Ś. 640.

[1] The years of the Śaka era given above are all expired.

[2] The months mentioned in the Remarks column are all *amānta*.

[3] In his Genealogical Table of Early Gāṅga Kings (*Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 386) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar does not number this Indravarman.

[4] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar calls him Indravarman II. having omitted to number Indravarman II as stated in the foregoing note.

Dates of the Gāṅga Era with their equivalents in the Śaka era—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name of record.	Name of King.	Particulars of the date in the Gāṅga era.	Corresponding Śaka year.	Whether Gāṅga year was current or expired.	Remarks.
7	Chicacole Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273 ff.)	Dēvēndravarman II, son of Anantavarman I.	[Gn.] year [2][1] 51 and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 671.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Chaitra in Ś. 671, none in Ś. 670.
8	Ālamanda Plate (above, Vol. III, p. 17 ff.)	Anantavarman II, son of Rājēndravarman.	[Gn.] year 304, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 723 or Ś. 724.	Current or expired.	There was one solar eclipse in Jyēshṭha in Ś. 723 and two in Jyēshṭha and Margaśīrsha in Ś. 724.
9	Indian Museum Plates (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.)	Dēvēndravarman II, son of Rājēndravarman.	[Gn.] year 308, Māgha-māsē sūrya-grahaṇ[ē].	Ś. 728.	Expired.	There was a solar eclipse in Māgha in Ś. 728 but there was no such solar eclipse in Māgha in the period from Ś. 711 to Ś. 727.
10	Chicacole Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff.)	Satyavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman III.	[Gn.] year 351, and a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 770.	Current.	There was a solar eclipse in Jyēshṭha in Ś. 770, none in Ś. 771.
11	Chīdivalasa Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 146 ff.)	Dēvēndravarman IV, son of Bhūpēndravarman.	[Gn.] year 397 with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month.	Ś. 816 or Ś. 817.	Current or expired.	There were two solar eclipses in Jyēshṭha and Mārgaśīrsha in Ś. 816 and also two more in Jyēshṭha and Kārttika in Ś. 817.
12	Pondūru Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 7 ff.)	Vajrahasta (II).	[Gn.] year 500, Āshāḍha māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra(ē).	Ś. 919 (Sunday, the 13th June, A.D. 997).	Current.	In Ś. 920, the *tithi* fell on a Thursday.

[1] The symbol for hundreds is omitted here, but as shown by Mr. Krishna Rao (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 27 ff.), it must have been one for 200.

The above examination of the twelve dates of the Gāṅga era which contain some details for verification has shown that the view that the Gāṅga era was started on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 explains all the dates satisfactorily. We found that according to this epoch the eclipses occurred in the respective Gāṅga years (current or expired) mentioned in the records and in two cases even in the specified months, and where the week-day or the number of solar days in a month was given they could be completely verified. Of the twelve dates examined above, three are in current years, four in expired years and the remaining five doubtful, being in either current or expired years. Of the doubtful dates also, a majority is likely to be in expired years; for, as Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out, " the Hindu's usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date is not ' in the year so and so ', but ' after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event took place.' "[1] Even if we leave these doubtful dates out of account, the expired years of the Gāṅga era are more in number than the current ones, which is in accordance with the practice observed in the case of the dates of the Vikrama,[2] Śaka,[3] Kalachuri[4] and other eras.

We can therefore conclude that **the Gāṅga era commenced on Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March, A. D. 498)**.

Let us next see if this epoch of the Gāṅga era conflicts with any known data. Certain synchronisms of Gāṅga kings with princes of other dynasties are either known definitely or are conjectured by scholars. We have to see if they can be satisfactorily explained with the present epoch.

1. From the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithivīmūla[5] we learn that the Adhirāja Indra fought in company with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Indrabhaṭṭāraka. These plates are dated in the twenty-fifth year of the increasingly victorious reign, apparently of Pṛithivīmūla.[6] The date does not contain any details for verification. Dr. Fleet who edited the plates conjectured at first[7] that the Adhirāja Indra was the king Indravarman of the Gāṅga dynasty who made the Chicacole grant dated [Gn.] year 128. He further identified Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated by the Adhirāja Indra with Indrarāja, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The name of this Indrarāja is omitted in most Chālukyan records, because, according to Dr. Fleet, he, being slain in this battle, did not ascend the throne.[8]

If this identification is correct, it does not conflict with our epoch of the Gāṅga era; for according to it, the Adhirāja Indra was ruling in Ś. 548 (128+420) and the Eastern Chālukya prince Indrarāja also flourished in the same period as he must have fought the battle during the reign of his elder brother Jayasiṁha (Ś. 549 to 579 or 582).

[1] *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, pp. 288 f.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 398.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 266 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 120 ff.

[5] *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.

[6] The expression *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara* which introduces the date in these plates occurs in all the early grants of the Gāṅga kings (with an expression like *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa* prefixed to it in the case of some later ones), but this is no sure index of the Gāṅga era, for the expression occurs in the records of other dynasties also. See *e.g.*, ll. 25-6 of the Chikkulla plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Vikramēndravarman (above, Vol. IV, p. 197; l. 14 of the Īpūr plates of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman, (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337; and ll. 21-2 of the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of Pṛithivī-Mahārāja, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 98).

[7] Later on he identified him with the Gāṅga king Indravarman (II) who issued the Parlākimeḍi grant dated Gn. 91. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 131.

[8] Since then, his Koṇḍanagūru grant has been discovered and published (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.).

The identification of Indrabhaṭṭāraka with Indrarāja, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha, has, however, been called in question, and that perhaps rightly, for, the characters of Pṛithivīmūla's grant appear to be earlier than those of Jayasiṁha's grants. Prof. Kielhorn suggested that Indrabhaṭṭāraka was identical with the Vishṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman mentioned in the Chikkulla plates and his view has since then been generally accepted.[1] The identification of the Adhirāja Indra is however more difficult; for though there seems little doubt that he belonged to the Gāṅga dynasty, there were as many as three kings in that dynasty who bore the name Indravarman.[2] Some scholars identify the Adhirāja Indra with the Gāṅga king Indravarman I who issued the Jirjingi plates in Gn. 39, because like the Vishṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka, he also is said to have won many battles with four-tusked elephants. The description, however, appears to be conventional; for it occurs in some grants of other dynasties also.[3] If we identify the Adhirāja Indra with Indravarman II of the Gāṅga dynasty, he becomes a contemporary of the Vishṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman; for the former was ruling at least from Gn. 87 to Gn. 91 (*i.e.*, from A. D. 585 to 598) and the latter probably flourished from circa A. D. 570 to 600 as shown by me elsewhere.[4] This synchronism also may therefore be said to be in agreement with the epoch.

2. The Kadamba chief Rāṇaka Dharmakhēḍi, the son of Bhīmakhēḍi, was a feudatory of two Gāṅga kings, Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman. His Mandasa plates which were issued during the reign of his suzerain Anantavarman are supposed to be dated Ś. 976 (or 967).[5] Another grant of his, recorded in the Siṁhīpura (also called Santa-Bommāli) plates[6] during the reign of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman, is dated in the Gāṅga-Kadamba era 520.[7] According to the epoch fixed above, the latter date would correspond to Ś. 940. This date is *earlier* by 36 (or 27) years than the date of the Mandasa plates, instead of being later as it should be, since it belongs to the succeeding reign. This is the main reason which has led Dr. R. C. Majumdar to bring down the epoch of the Gāṅga era to some date between A. D. 550 and 557.[8]

This discrepancy, I submit, is solely due to a wrong interpretation of the aforementioned date of the Mandasa plates. This date has been read as *Śak-ābda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa-mata* which has been taken to denote Ś. 913 by Mr. G. Ramdas and Ś. 976 (or 967) by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. I have no doubt that the intended date is *Śak-ābda-nava-śataka-saptadaśa-mitē, i.e.*, Ś. 917. It may be noted that the record has been very carelessly written and engraved. The scribe has confused *śa* and *sa* in several places in it. The facsimile shows that the reading here is *śaptaraśa* (not *sapta-rasa*) which is evidently a mistake for *saptadaśa*.[9] Perhaps the scribe was unconsciously influenced by the Prakrit of his time which had corrupted Sanskrit

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 195. See also Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91.

[2] Indravarman I was ruling in Gn. 39, Indravarman II in Gn. 87-91 and Indravarman III in Gn. 128-54.

[3] See *e.g.*, the Khāmkhēḍ plates of Pratāpaśīla (above, Vol. XXII, p. 95): Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhallaśakti (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267) and the Ellorā plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, p. 30).

[4] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff. The expression denoting the date used in this grant is read *Śak-abda-nava-śataka-sapta-rasa* by the editor Mr. G. Ramdas, who took *sapta-rasa* as denoting 7 *plus* 6 (*rasa* signifying the number six, because there are six flavours). So according to him the plates are dated Ś. 913. Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the other hand took the same expression to mean 76 (or rather 67 according to the saying *aṅkasya vamā gatiḥ*). According to him therefore the date of the grant is Ś. 976 (or rather, Ś. 967). See *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff.

[6] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.

[7] The Gāṅga-Kadamba era has been admitted by all scholars to be identical with the Gāṅga era.

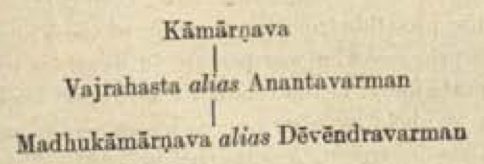
[8] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174 ff.

[9] It may be noted that the system of word-numerals is not met with in other Gāṅga records of the period. The numerals were then written and read as we do them now.

saptadaśa into *saptarasa*.[1] The date of the Mandasa plates is thus Ś. 917 which agrees admirably with the date Gn. 520 (Ś. 940) of the same chief Dharmakhēḍi's Siṁhīpura grant. The difference between the dates of the two grants is only 23 years which perfectly squares with the fact that the former grant was made by the aforementioned Kadamba chief during the reign of his Gāṅga suzerain Anantavarman and the latter during that of Anantavarman's sōn Dēvēndravarman.

3. We have seen above that the Gāṅga king Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman was ruling in Gn. 520. Another grant recorded in his Chicacole plates[2] mentions the Gāṅga king Anantavarman's son *Mahārājādhirāja* Madhukāmārṇava as ruling in Gn. 526.[3] The proximity of these two dates suggests that Dēvēndravarman was another name of Madhukāmārṇava. Messrs. G. Ramdas and Subba Rao have identified this Gāṅga king Anantavarman with Vajrahasta II *alias* Aniyaṅkabhrma, who had a son named Madhukāmārṇava, on the assumption that all the rulers of the Gāṅga family were called alternately Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman.[4] Dr. R. C. Majumdar has, however, objected to this assumption. 'The assumption', he says, 'rests on the fact that for some generations, the Gāṅga kings were named in succession Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman. But it would be unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence for the same.'[5]

The necessary evidence is now supplied by the Pondūru grant of Vajrahasta (II). As already stated this grant is dated Gn. 500. It was made by Vajrahasta, the son of Kāmārṇava. As this grant was made 20 years earlier than Dharmakhēḍi's Siṁhīpura grant of Gn. 520 which belongs to the reign of Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman, it appears quite plausible that Anantavarman was another name of Vajrahasta (II). From these three grants then we get the following genealogy of these Gāṅga kings :—



This genealogy is perfectly possible if we identify these princes with Kāmārṇava I, Vajrahasta II and Madhukāmārṇava III mentioned in the Naḍagām, Ganjām and other records of Vajrahasta III.[6]

Here I may anticipate an objection. I have identified above Madhukāmārṇava who was ruling in Gn. 526 with Dēvēndravarman who was on the Gāṅga throne in Gn. 520. But it may

[1] Sanskrit numerals change their *d* into *r* in the Prakrits and modern North-Indian languages.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272 ff.

[3] Dr. C. Narayan Rao and Mr. Subba Rao read this date as 528. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 170.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 180-81.

[5] *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. IV, pp. 175 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff. : XXIII, pp. 67 ff. In fairness to Dr. R. C. Majumdar I must state that this genealogy is also possible according to the epoch (some date between A. D. 550 and 557) proposed by him, if we *assume* that Madhukāmārṇava was another name of Rājarāja (I)-Dēvēndravarman. The overwhelming evidence of other dated records set forth above would, however, preclude that epoch altogether.

be objected that this goes against the evidence of the Naḍagām and other plates of Vajrahasta III; for according to them, Madhukāmārṇava III ascended the throne 19 years before his nephew Vajrahasta III. The latter's accession is known to have taken place in Ś. 960.[1] Deducting 19 years from this, we get Ś. 941 as the date of the accession of Madhukāmārṇava III. This conflicts with the statement in the Siṁhīpura plates that Dēvēndravarman (with whom we have identified Madhukāmārṇava III) was ruling in Gn. 520, *i.e.*, Ś. 940.

In connection with this I have to point out that the reign-periods of the several Gāṅga kings mentioned in the Naḍagām and other plates are not exact, but only approximate; for they do not mention any months and days in addition to the years of their reigns. If Madhukāmārṇava III reigned for 19 years and a few months, he might have been on the throne in Ś. 940 (perhaps towards the close of it), when the Siṁhīpura grant was made. I may add that the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed above will not be affected in the least even if we identify Dēvēndravarman of the Siṁhīpura plates with one of Madhukāmārṇava's elder brothers, Kāmārṇava II and Guṇḍama II who preceded him on the throne and ruled for six months and three years respectively.[2]

We have thus seen that the view that the Gāṅga era was started on Chaitra *śu.* di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 presents no difficulties and squares with all the known data. Before concluding this article it would not be out of place to discuss what political event it commemorates.

From a Vākāṭaka inscription in cave No. XVI at Ajaṇṭā,[3] we learn that Harishēṇa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, had something to do with Āndhra and Kaliṅga. Unfortunately the inscription is very badly damaged in the portion where the names of these countries are mentioned together with a number of others such as Kuntala, Avanti, Kōsala and Lāṭa. Perhaps Harishēṇa raided these countries and made their kings acknowledge his suzerainty. That he did so in Āndhra appears quite probable from the marriage of the Vishṇukuṇḍin prince Mādhavavarman I with a Vākāṭaka princess[4] who was perhaps a daughter or some near relative of Harishēṇa. From several grants found in the Ganjām District, we know that in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., Kaliṅga was held by some princes whose names ended in *varman*, such as Śaktivarman, Umavarman, Chaṇḍavarman, Anantavarman, etc.[5] They must have been obliged to submit to the mighty Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa. From recent researches in Vākāṭaka history it seems probable that Harishēṇa closed his reign about A. D. 500,[6] and this, we find, is also approximately the time when the Gāṅga era was started. The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that it marks the establishment of a new kingdom in Kaliṅga when the power of the Vākāṭakas declined towards the close of the fifth century A. D.

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[1] The exact date of the coronation of Vajrahasta III mentioned in the Naḍagām and other plates corresponds, according to Kielhorn, to Sunday, the 9th April, A. D. 1038.

[2] Messrs. J. C. Ghosh and Subba Rao identify him with Kāmārṇava II who ruled only for half a year (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237 and *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 519), while Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao takes him to be Guṇḍama II, who ruled for 3 years (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 21).

[3] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p 125.

[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 196

[5] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff., Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff., etc.

[6] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 148-9.

MGIPC—S1—60 DGA—18-5-51—265.

No. 49.—A NOTE ON SIRODA PLATES OF (BHOJA) DEVARAJA

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Ootacamund

The valuable inscription on these plates was edited in this journal[1] by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu. In 1943, when I was studying the record in connection with the early history of Western India, I examined the text of the inscription as published by the learned editor and checked the reading with the excellent facsimile accompanying the article. As a result of this scrutiny I was convinced that the name of the dynasty of Dēvarāja had not been correctly deciphered. Mr. Charlu read the word, indicating the name of the family to which Dēvarāja belonged, as *Gōminām* and claimed that he had discovered a hitherto unknown dynasty on the West Coast of India, *viz.*, that of Gōmins. His reading was accepted by many scholars, one of whom has even tried to identify this Dēvarāja with the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince of the same name[2] figuring in the Paṇḍaraṅgapalli plates of Avidhēya[3] and the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu,[4] though he has not been able to explain satisfactorily how the family name Gōmin could be connected with the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Let us examine the disputed reading with the help of the photographic reproduction of the plates. The syllable that first roused my suspicion about the incorrectness of the reading of the dynastic name is the one that has been read as *mi* in the given reading *Chandrapurād=Gōminām* (line 1). If we compare this letter with *mi* in *bhūmis*=(line 12) and *bhūmidaḥ* (line 13) it becomes clear that its shape is altogether different. If it is not *mi*, what else can it be ? The letter very closely resembles *ja* of *vijaya-* in line 17 and the superscript of the conjunct letter *jya* in *rājya* in the same line. It is well known that the medial *ā* sign of *ja* is usually added to the horizontal stroke at the centre of the letter. Even in the present case it starts from the central stroke, goes up and turns to the left round the letter in a curl. Thus, it is obvious that the whole syllable should be read as *jā*. This led me to scrutinize the reading of the preceding letter, namely, *d=Gō* in *Chandrapurād=Gōminām*. On a careful examination of the subscript I came to the conclusion that it answers more to *bh* than to *g*. We may compare, for instance, *bha* in *bhavishyad*=(line 2), *bhu* in *prabhu* (line 4) and *bhyā* in *svāmibhyām* (line 6), etc. It may be noted that *ga* is more upright than *bha* which is a little slanting. With these two emendations, the word has to be read as *Bhōjānām* and not *Gōminām*. Further it appears to me that the syllable after *Chandra* is an initial *ū* and not *pu* (cf. initial *u* in *uktañ=cha* in line 10) ; what is seen at the bottom of the letter obviously denotes length. It is to be observed that in this record the sign of *p* is open at the top (cf. *puṇy-ōpachayāya* in line 5). If this correction also be accepted, the whole expression would read *Chandraūrād=Bhōjānām*. Accordingly, **the name of the family of the donor-king Dēvarāja is Bhōja** and not *Gōmin*, whil the name of the capital of the territory of this line of rulers, *viz.*, the Bhōjas, round about Goa on the West Coast, was *Chandraūra*.[5] The

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff. with 1 plate.

[2] *An. Bhand, Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 43 ff.

[3] *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, pp. 197 ff. In this record the name of Dēvarāja's family is not given.

[4] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

[5] The termination *ūra* is the Sanskritized form of the Dravidian word *ūr* meaning village or town and corresponds to Sanskrit *pura*. Such village names, ending in *ūra*, are found in many Sanskrit inscriptions ; the following are a few instances from records ranging from the 4th to the 9th century after Christ :—*Koṭṭūra* (Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 13) ; *Kaṁgūra* (Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 329), *Chendalūra* (Chendalūr plates of Pallava Kumāra-Vishṇu, above, Vol. VIII, p. 235), *Vaṭṭūra* (Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Western Chālukya King Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17), *Cheṛupūra* (Chīpurapalle plates of the Eastern Chālukya-King Vishṇuvardhana I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16) *Kumūlūra* (Timmāpuram plates of the same king, above, Vol. IX, p. 318), *Allūraka* (Sūrat plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya of the Gujarat Chālukya family referred to on p. 231, Vol. VIII, above) and *Lattalūra* (Nīlgund inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, above, Vol. VI, p. 103).

discovery of some copper plates of the Bhōja dynasty during the years 1948 and 1949 has confirmed the correctness of my reading of the family name. These are noticed in the sequel.

Now, it is known from the 13th rock edict of Aśōka that the Bhōjas and the Pitinikas (within his territory) were conforming to his instruction in morality.[1] Dr. Hultszch who regards them as tribes says that they have to be looked for in the west.[2] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, explains the word *Petenika* (*Pitinika*) as 'one who enjoys hereditary property' and takes *Bhōja-Petenikas* as one word meaning 'the rulers called Bhōjas'. He also considers them to be the same as the Mahābhōjas who were minor rulers holding the present Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā Districts of the Bombay State.[3] Inscriptions mentioning them are found at Beḍsā, Kaṇheri and Kuḍā. From these we learn that they were responsible for the excavation of many of the caves in these localities.[4] The Bhōjakas are mentioned also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Kaliṅga king Khāravela, which says that he caused the Raṭhikas and the Bhojakas to bow down at his feet.[5] According to Dr. Jayaswal the expression *Bhōjas*, as opposed to *Petenikas*, means non-hereditary leaders who observed the Bhaujya form of constitution mentioned in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*. To him, thus, the Bhōjas appear to be so called because they followed that special form of constitution. He also points out that the name still survives in the modern caste-name *Bhōjaka* found in the Indian State of Cutch in the Kathiawad Agency.[6] Dr. B. C. Law who has collected almost all the references to the Bhōjas is of the view that the Bhōjas were a very ancient tribe whose princes held not only the Sātvats, near the Ganges, in subjection, but also ruled over the Vidarbha (Berar) and, according to a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, even over the Daṇḍaka, the region round Nasik.[7] It may be added that the *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇḍin also places the Bhōjas in Vidarbha.[8] We have, however, no means of ascertaining whether, or in what way, the Bhōjas mentioned in the rock edict of Aśōka as well as in the cave inscriptions of Western and Eastern India noticed above were related to the ruling dynasty of the Bhōjas of Goa, one of whose scions was Dēvarāja of the Sirōda plates.

Recently a number of copper plates have been discovered in and near the Goa territory. A notice about them by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Director of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, is found on page 99 of the *Summary of Papers submitted to the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference*. They comprise three charters. Two belong to the Bhōjas, while the third pertains to the Maurya dynasty (of Koṅkaṇ), though Mr. Panchamukhi has taken them all to be Bhōja grants.[9]

Both the Bhōja grants refer themselves to the reign of Pṛithivīmallavarman, one dated in the first (*prathama*) regnal year and the other in the 25th regnal year.[10] The earlier record, issued from

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. I (Inscriptions of Aśōka), pp. 46 and 48, text-line 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48, f.n. 11.

[3] *Asoka* (1932 : 2nd edition), pp. 34-35.

[4] *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, Vol. IV, p. 90, (Beḍsā ins. No. 3) ; p. 85 (Kuḍā ins. No. 6) ; Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, 1052, 1058.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 79.

[6] K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (1943 : 2nd edition); p. 80.

[7] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 384. *Yathā Dāṇḍakyō nāma Bhōjaḥ kāmād=brāhmaṇa-kanyām=abhimanyamānas=sa-bandhu-rāshṭrō vinanāśa.* (*Arthaśāstra*, edited by Shama Sastri, 2nd edition, 1924, p. 11, ll. 13-14). This passage is also found in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana who apparently copied it from Kauṭilya (*Kāmasūtra*, Banaras edition, *adhikaraṇa* 1, *adhyāya* 2, *sūtra* 44). See also *Studies in Kāmasūtra* by H. C. Chakaladar, pp. 84 f.

[8] *Vidarbhō nāma janapadaḥ | tasmin=Bhōjavaṁśa-bhūshaṇaṁ......................Puṇyavarmā nām=āsīt* (*Uchchhvāsa* 8) ; *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii), p. 143 and note 2 ; *An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXVI (1945), pp. 20, 22.

[9] These are shortly to be published in this journal.

[10] Mr. Panchamukhi gives the date of the former as the 13th year and of the latter as the 15th year. My reading of the dates is based on an examination of the original plates.

Vṛishibhiṇikhēṭa, registers the grant made by the king of a piece of land to a Brāhmaṇa, named Mā[tvā]rya, of the Agnivēśya *gōtra*. The land was situated in the village of Bhāgalapallikā in the Kupala[pa]kaṭa *āhāra*. The grant was made for the increase of merit of the king's mother Chētasādēvī at the request of his brother Śatrudamana on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the first year of the king's reign. At the end of the inscription we are told that it was the gift of Chētasādēvī, described as Nēllikabālikā. The charter was written by Dēvaśarmāchārya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The later grant was issued from Pṛithivīparvata and states that the king made a gift of a plot of land in the village of Malāra in Kupalākaṭa to a Brāhmaṇa, named Dāmārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The gift was made for the merit of the king himself on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the 25th year of the king's reign. The *ājñapti* of the grant was Nidhivara and the writer was Buddhadāsa of the Kāmbōja *gōtra*. The inscriptions on both these sets of plates are written in the Sanskrit language and in the southern alphabet assignable to about the 7th century A. C.

Another copper-plate record of this dynasty was discovered early in 1950 by Mr. P. B. Desai, M.A., Epigraphical Assistant, at the village of Hire Gutti in the Kumta *taluk* of the North Kanara District which adjoins Goa. The document, issued by king Aśaṅkitarāja of the Bhōja lineage, registers the grant, made by him, of the village Sundarikā in the Dīpaka *vishaya* to a *vihāra* which had possibly been erected by himself (*sva-vihāra*). The invocation to the Buddha at the commencement of the inscription shows beyond doubt that the monastery (*vihāra*) to which the gift was made was Buddhistic. It is also noteworthy that this set of plates bears a seal depicting the figure of an elephant which was evidently the emblem of this royal family. The language of this grant is likewise Sanskrit. Though the record is not dated its palaeography would place it in the same period, namely about the 7th century A. C.[1]

Yet another copper-plate inscription of this dynasty, falling in that very period, has been discovered by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi. I have not seen this record, but, according to Mr. Panchamukhi, it registers a gift of land made by *Dharmamahārāja* Kāpālivarman of the Bhōja family to a certain Svāmikarāja who, in his turn, granted it to a Brāhmaṇa, named Bhavārya. The land was situated at the village of Śivapuraka. The grant was issued from the king's camp at Pāmāsakhēṭaka.[2]

Thus we have, in all, five inscriptions of this dynasty, all on copper plates. Of these, the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja happen to be the earliest, as they are palaeographically referrable to the 4th century A. C., while the rest belong to about the 7th century. They disclose the names of four ruling monarchs, namely, **Dēvarāja, Pṛithivīmallavarman, Aśaṅkitarāja** and **Kāpālivarman. Chētasādēvī**, the queen of Pṛithivīmallavarman, and **Śatrudamana**, the latter's brother, are two others, brought to light from one of these documents. We have seen that these grants were issued from four different places, *viz.*, **Chandraūra, Vṛishibhiṇikhēṭa, Pṛithivīparvata** and **Pāmāsakhēṭaka**. Chandraūra has been considered to be identical with Chandor in Goa.[3] The other places may also have to be looked for around that region which appears to have been the dominion over which the Bhōjas held sway. The relationship in which the four rulers of the family stood to one another and the order of succession of the three last named kings, *viz.*, Pṛithivimalla, Aśaṅkita and Kāpāli, are points to be determined only by future discoveries.

Incidentally, I may also briefly notice the Maurya grant here, which is interesting in its own way. It records the order of the illustrious **Anirjitavarman**, the **Mauryya Mahārāja**, issued

[1] This record is also being edited in this journal.

[2] *Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference* (1949), *Summaries of Papers*, p. 99.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145.

from the victorious **Kumāradvīpa,** to the inhabitants and officials of twelve villages (*dvādaśa-grāmyāḥ*). The order announces that a gift of certain lands, tank, garden and house-site was made by the king to a Brāhmaṇa, named Hastyārya, of the Hārita *gōtra*. The gift was made with the object of securing the welfare or final beatitude (*ni[ḥ*]śrēyas-ārttham*) of Nāgapadda, Malladatta, Achala and the king himself. The inscription is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Hē[manta*] in the 29th year, apparently of the king's reign. This mode of recording dates in seasons and fortnights is not usually met with in inscriptions of a period later than the 6th century.[1] Consequently this record may be placed in the 6th century, and palaeography does not militate against this view. In the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikēśin II, his father Kīrtivarman I is stated to have been 'the night of doom to the Naḷas, Mauryas and Kadambas'.[2] Pulikēśin II himself claims a decisive victory over the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇas.[3] Evidently it is to this Maurya family that Anirjitavarman belonged.

[1] An Eastern Chālukya inscription of a later period (7th century) citing a season date (*Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49) is the only one of its kind that I know of.

[2] Above, Vol. VI, p. 4, text-line 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6, text-line 10.

INDEX.

By H. K. Narasimhaswami and S. Vijayaraghavachari

[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—*au.*=author; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *Chron.*=Chronicle; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *dt.*=district; *dn.*=division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *Hist.*=Historical; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure or land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office or officer; *pr.*=prince; *q.*=queen; *rel.*=religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *Tel.*=Telugu; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tn.*=town; *tq.*=taluq; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work.]

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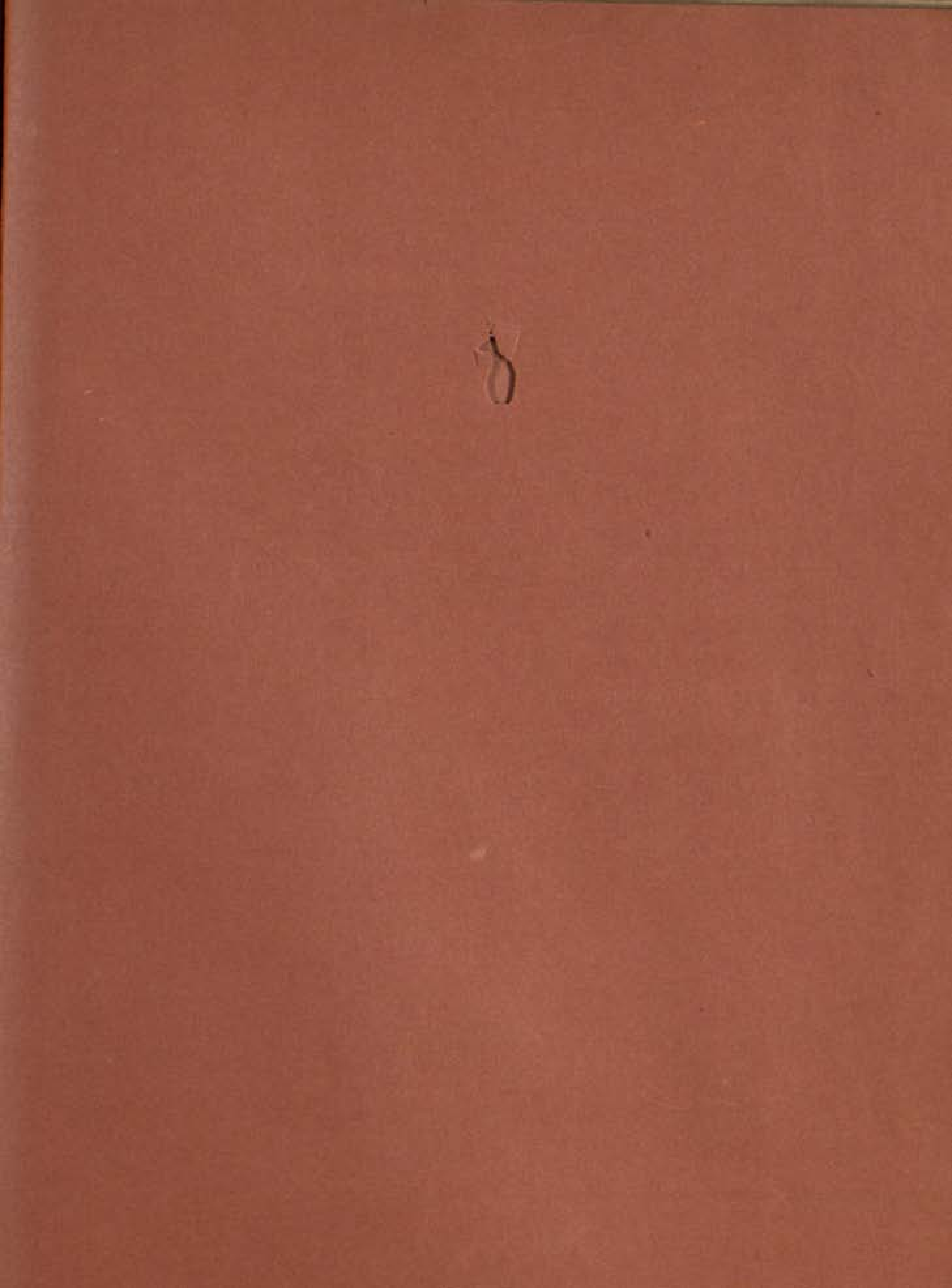
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